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The  
Emma  
Goldman  
Papers



REEL

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Goldman  
Papers

*A Microfilm Edition*

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Reel 42

Correspondence

January 16, 1938, to April 15, 1938

Edited by  
Candace Falk  
Ronald J. Zboray  
and  
Alice L. Hall

CHADWYCK-HEALEY INC.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers Project

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- [Letter, 19]38 Feb. 25, New York [to Emma Goldman, London] / Harry Rosenberg.
- [Envelope, 1938 Feb. 25] New York [to] E[mma] G[oldman], London / H[arry] Rosenberg.
- [Letter, 19]38 Feb. 25, London [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Eleanor M.M. Hellins.
- [Letter, 1938 Feb. 25, London to Emma Goldman, London (enclosure)] / [Eleanor M.M. Hellins].
- [Letter] 1938 Feb. 25 [London to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Louis Golding.
- [Letter] 1938 Feb. 25, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / Mariano R. Vázquez [and] Pedro Herrera.
- [Letter] 1938 Feb. 26, Corwen [Wales to] Emma Goldman, [London] / John [Cowper] Powys.
- [Letter] 1938 Feb. 26, Chicago [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Jeanne [Levey].
- [Letter] 1938 Feb. 28, Split, Yugoslavia [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Ethel [Mannin].
- [Letter] 1938 Feb. 28, Boston [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Rose [Pesotta].
- [Letter] 1938 Feb. 28 [Boston to] Emma [Goldman, London] / [Rose Pesotta].
- [Letter] 1938 Feb. 28 [Barcelona to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Lou[is Frank].
- [Letter] 1938 Feb. 28, Paris [to] Emma Goldman, London / Nemesio Galve.
- [Letter] 1938 Feb. 28, London [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Fredric J. Warburg.
- [Letter, 1938? March? Barcelona to Emma Goldman, London (fragment)] / José Rodríguez Vega [and] Mariano R. Vázquez.
- [Letter, 1938? March? Barcelona to Emma Goldman, London (enclosure)] / [José Rodríguez Vega and Mariano R. Vázquez].
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- [Letter, 1938 March? London to Stella Ballantine, Bearsville, N.Y. (fragment)] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter, 1938 March? London to] Margaret [Taylor, Bristol, England (fragment)] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter, 1938 March?] Corwen, Wales [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / John Cowper Powys.
- [Letter, 1938 March?] Corwen, Wales [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / John Cowper Powys.
- [Letter, 1938 March?] Corwen, Wales [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / John Cowper Powys.
- [Letter, 1938 March?] London [to Emma Goldman, London] / Isabel Brown.
- [Letter, 1938 March? London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Ida Gershoy.
- [Letter, 19]38 March 1, London [to] Rose [Pesotta, Boston] / Emma Goldman.
- [Letter] 1938 March 1, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / P[edro] Herrera.
- [Letter] 1938 March 1, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / Martin [Gudell].
- [Letter] 1938 March 1, Paris [to] Emma Goldman, London / Nemesio Galv[e].
- [Letter] 1938 March 1 [London to] Emma Goldman, [London] / George Photiades.
- [Letter, 19]38 March 2 [London to] Ethel [Mannin, Split, Yugoslavia] / [Emma Goldman].



- [Letter] 1938 March 2, London [to Mariano R.] V[á]zquez, [Barcelona] / Emma Goldman.
- [Letter] 1938 March 2 [London to Mariano R.] V[á]zquez, [Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter] 1938 March 2, London [to Pedro] Herrera, [Barcelona] / Emma Goldman.
- [Letter] 1938 March 2 [London to Pedro] Herrera, [Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter] 1938 March 2, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / M[ariano] R. V[á]zquez and P[edro] Herrera.
- [Letter] 1938 March 3 [London to] Ethel [Mannin, Split, Yugoslavia] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter] 1938 March 3 [London to] Helmut [Rüdiger, Paris] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter] 1938 March 3 [London to] Rebecca [West, London] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter] 1938 March 3 [London to] Peter [Chalmers Mitchell, London] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter] 1938 March 3, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / M[ariano] R. Vázquez [and] P[edro] Herrera.
- [Letter] 1938 March 3, Paris [to] Emma Goldman, London / Helmut [Rüdiger].
- [Letter, 19]38 March 3, Paris [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Anita [and Hanns-Erich Kaminski].
- [Letter] 1938 March 3, Manchester [England to] Emma Goldman, [London] / W.P. Crozier.
- [Letter, 19]38 March 4, London [to] Mark [Mratchny, New York] / Emma [Goldman].
- [Letter, 19]38 March 4 [London to] Vanguard, [New York] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter, 19]38 March 4 [London to] Emmy [Eckstein, Nice? (fragment)] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter] 1938 March 4, Barcelona [to] Emma [Goldman], London / [Pedro Herrera].
- [Letter] 1938 March 5, Split, Yugoslavia [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / E[thel Mannin].
- [Letter, 19]38 March 5, Beaconsfield [England to Emma] Goldman, [London] / Herbert Read.
- [Letter] 1938 March 7, London [to] Emma Goldman, London / John McNair.
- [Letter] 1938 March 7, London [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Fredric J. Warburg.
- [Letter] 1938 March 8, Paris [to] Emma Goldman, London / Nemesio Galve.
- [Letter] 1938 March 8 [London to Emma] Goldman, [London] / P[eter] Chalmers Mitchell.
- [Letter] 1938 March 8 [London to] Emma Goldman, [London] / S. [Wood?].
- [Postcard] 1938 March 9 [Split, Yugoslavia to] Emma [Goldman], London / Ethel [Mannin].
- [Letter] 1938 March 10, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / Martin [Gudell].
- [Letter] 1938 March 10 [Paris to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Helmut [Rüdiger].
- [Letter, 19]38 March 11, Glasgow [to] Ethel [Mannin, Paris] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter] 1938 March 11, New York [to] E[mma] G[oldman], London / Harry Weinberger.
- [Letter] 1938 March 11 [New York to] E[mma] G[oldman], London / [Harry Weinberger].
- [Letter, 19]38 March 12, Glasgow [to] Helmut [Rüdiger, Paris] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter] 1938 March 12, New Milford, Conn. [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Stewart [Kerr].

- [Letter, 19]38 March 13, Glasgow [to] Martin [Gudell, Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter, 1938 March 13, Glasgow to Martin Gudell, Barcelona (enclosure?)] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter, 19]38 March 13, Glasgow [to] Sonia [Clements? and] James [Harrison, London] / Emma Goldman.
- [Letter] 1938 March 14, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / Mariano R. Vázquez [and] Pedro Herrera.
- [Letter, 19]38 March 15 [London to] Ethel [Mannin, Paris] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter, 19]38 March 15, London [to] Rose [Pesotta, Boston] / Emma [Goldman].
- [Letter, 19]38 March 15 [London to] Rose [Pesotta, Boston] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter, 19]38 March 15, Hollywood, Calif. [to Emma] Goldman, [London] / Aldous Huxley.
- [Letter, 19]38 March 15, Hollywood, Calif. [to Emma] Goldman, [London] / Aldous Huxley.
- [Letter, 19]38 March 15, Hollywood, Calif. [to Emma] Goldman, [London] / Aldous Huxley.
- [Letter] 1938 March 15, London [to] Emma Goldman, London / John McNair.
- [Envelope] 1939 March 16, London [to] Lilian Wolfe, Stroud [England] / E[mma] G[oldman].
- [Letter] 1938 March 16, Paris [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Ethel Mannin.
- [Letter] 1938 March 16, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / Mariano R. Vázquez [and] Pedro Herrera.
- [Letter] 1938 March 16, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / Mariano R. Vázquez [and] Pedro Herrera.
- [Letter, 19]38 March 17 [London to Ethel Mannin, Paris (fragment)] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter, 19]38 March 17 [London to George] Photiades, [London] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter] 1938 March 17, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / Mariano R. Vázquez [and] Pedro Herrera.
- [Letter] 1938 March 17 [London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Stella Churchill.
- [Letter, 19]38 March 17, Wallington [England to Emma] Goldman, [London] / Eileen Blair.
- [Letter, 19]38 March 18 [London to] Rebecca [West, London] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter, 19]38 March 18 [London to] Fredric [J. Warburg, London] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter] 1938 March 18, London [to] Spain and the World, [London] / Emma Goldman.
- [Letter] 1938 March 18, Paris [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / [Helmut Rüdiger].
- [Letter, 19]38 March 18, Vence [France to] Emma [Goldman, London] / [Martha Gordon Crotch].
- [Letter, 1938] March 18 [London to Emma] Goldman, [London] / P[eter] Chalmers Mitchell.
- [Letter] 1938 March 19 [London to] Helmut [Rüdiger, Paris] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter, 19]38 March 19 [London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Stella [Churchill].
- [Letter] 1938 March 21, London [to] Dorothy [Rogers, Scarboro Bluffs, Canada] / Emma [Goldman].
- [Letter] 1938 March 21 [London to] Dorothy [Rogers, Scarboro Bluffs, Canada] / [Emma Goldman].

- [Letter] 1938 March 21 [London to] Jeanne [Levey, Chicago] / [Emma Goldman].  
[Letter] 1938 March 21, London [to] Samuel [Freedman, New York] / Emma Goldman.  
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[Letter, 1938 March 21, London to Samuel Freedman, New York (enclosure)] / [Emma Goldman].  
[Letter] 1938 March 21 [London to] Eileen Blair, [London] / Emma Goldman.  
[Letter] 1938 March 21 [London to] Eileen Blair, [London] / [Emma Goldman].  
[Letter] 1938 March 21 [London to] Aaron [Halperin] / [Emma Goldman].  
[Letter] 1938 March 21 [London to] Anita [Karfunkel Kaminski, Paris (fragment)] / [Emma Goldman].  
[Letter, 19]38 March 21, Barcelona [to] Emma [Goldman], London / P[edro] Herrera.  
[Letter] 1938 March 21, London [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Fredric J. Warburg.  
[Letter, 1938 March? 22? London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Ethel [Mannin].  
[Letter, 19]38 March 22 [London to J.] F[alk] [Liverpool, England] / [Emma Goldman].  
[Letter] 1938 March 22 [Paris to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Helmut [Rüdiger].  
[Letter] 1938 March 22 [Paris to] Emma [Goldman, London] / [Helmut Rüdiger].  
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[Letter] 1938 March 22, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / Martin Gudell.  
[Postcard] 1938 March 23 [London to] Emma Goldman, London / Ethel [Mannin].  
[Letter, 19]38 March 23, Barcelona [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / P[edro] Herrera.  
[Letter] 1938 March 23 [Scotia, N.Y. to Emma Goldman, London] / [W.S.] Van Valkenburgh.  
[Letter] 1938 March 24 [London to] Martin [Gudell, Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman].  
[Letter] 1938 March 24 [St. Tropez to] E[mma] G[oldman], London / Robert Sandström.  
[Letter, 19]38 March 24 Stroud [England to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Tom Keell Wolfe.  
[Letter] 1938 March 25, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / Mariano R. Vázquez [and] Pedro Herrera.  
[Letter] 1938 March 25 [Paris to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Helmut [Rüdiger].  
[Letter] 1938 March 25 [Paris to] Emma Goldman, [London] / [Helmut Rüdiger].  
[Letter, 19]3[8] March 26 [London to Martha Gordon Crotch, Vence, France] / [Emma Goldman].  
[Letter, 19]38 March 26, London [to] Banque Seligman, Paris / [Emma Goldman].  
[Letter, 19]38 March 26, London [to] Banque Seligman, Paris / [Emma Goldman].  
[Letter, 19]38 March 27, Liverpool [England to Emma Goldman, London] / J. Falk.  
[Letter] 1938 March 28 [London to Mariano R.] V[áz]que[z, Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman].  
[Letter] 1938 March 28 [London to Pedro] Herrera, [Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman].

- [Letter, 19]38 March 28 [London to] Helmut [Rüdiger, Paris (fragment)] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Postcard] 1938 March 28 [London to Emma Goldman, London] / E[thel Mannin].
- [Letter] 1938 March 28, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / Mariano R. Vázquez [and] Pedro Herrera.
- [Letter] 1938 March 28, New Rochelle, N.Y. [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Harry [Kelly].
- [Letter, 19]38 March 28, Nice [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Emmy Eckstein.
- [Letter, 19]38 March 29, London [to] Martin [Gudell, Barcelona] / E[mma Goldman].
- [Letter, 19]38 March 29 [London to] Martin [Gudell, Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter, 19]38 March 29, London [to] Rudolf [and] Milly [Rocker, Crompond, N.Y.] / Emma [Goldman].
- [Letter, 19]38 March 29 [London to] Rudolf [and] Milly [Rocker, Crompond, N.Y.] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter, 19]38 March 29 [London to] Ben [and] Ida Capes, [St. Louis?] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter, 19]38 March 29 [London to J. Falk, Liverpool, England] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter, 1938 March? 30? London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Ethel Mannin.
- [Letter, 1938] March 30, Haarlem [The Netherlands to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Wim Jong.
- [Letter] 1938 March 30, London [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / John [McNair].
- [Letter, 19]38 March 30 [London to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Miles Malleson.
- [Letter] 1938 March 31 [London to] Ethel [Mannin, London] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter, 1938 April?] London [to] Doris [Zhook, London] / Emma [Goldman].
- [Letter, 1938 April? to Emma Goldman, London (enclosure?)] / [Laurence Housman].
- [Letter] 1938 April 1, London [to Pedro] Herrera, [Barcelona] / Emma Goldman.
- [Letter] 1938 April 1 [London to Pedro] Herrera, [Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter, 19]38 April 1 [London to] Ethel [Mannin, London] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter, 1938 April 1, London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / E[thel Mannin].
- [Letter] 1938 April 1, Boston [to] Emma G[oldman] Lo[n]don / Rose [Pesotta].
- [Letter] 1938 April 1 [Boston to] Emma G[oldman], Lo[n]don / Rose [Pesotta].
- [Letter, 19]38 April 2, London [to] Doris [Zhook, Edgware, England] / Emma [Goldman].
- [Letter, 19]38 April 2 [London to Frances] Briggs, [London] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter, 19]38 April 2 [London to] Miles Malleson, [London] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter] 1938 April 2, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / Mariano R. Vázquez [and] Pedro Herrera.
- [Letter] 1938 April 4 [London to John Cowper Powys, Corwen, Wales] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter] 1938 April 4 [London to] Stella [Churchill, London] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter] 1938 April 4 [London to] Rebecca [West, London] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter] 1938 April 4 [London to W.S.] Van [Valkenburgh, Scotia, N.Y.] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter] 1938 April 4 [London to] Harry Rosenberg, [New York] / [Emma Goldman].
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[Letter] 1938 April 4, London [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Frances Briggs.  
[Letter] 1938 April 5, London [to] Rudolf [Rocker, Crompond, N.Y.] / Emma [Goldman].  
[Letter] 1938 April 5 [London to] Rudolf [Rocker, Crompond, N.Y.] / [Emma Goldman].  
[Letter, 1938 April 5, London to Rudolf Rocker, Crompond, N.Y. (enclosure)] / [Emma Goldman].  
[Letter, 1938 April 5, London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Ethel [Mannin].  
[Envelope] 1939 April 6, London [to] Lilian Wolfe, Stroud [England] / Emma [Goldman].  
[Letter, 19]38 April 6 [London to J. Falk, Liverpool, England] / [Emma Goldman].  
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[Letter] 1938 April 6 [London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / E[thel Mannin].  
[Letter] 1938 April 6, Corwen, Wales [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / John [Cowper] Powys.  
[Letter, 19]38 April 6 [London to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Miles Malleson.  
[Letter] 1938 April 6, Edgware [England to] Emma [Goldman, London (fragment)] / [Doris Zhook].  
[Letter] 1938 April 7, New York [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Samuel Freedman.  
[Letter] 1938 April 7 [London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Stella Churchill.  
[Letter] 1938 April 8 [London to Eileen] Blair, [Wallington, England] / [Emma Goldman].  
[Letter] 1938 April 8 [London to] J.C. Little, [London?] / [Emma Goldman].  
[Letter, 1938 April 8, London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / E[thel Mannin].  
[Letter] 1938 April 9 [London to] John [Cowper] Powys [Corwen, Wales] / [Emma Goldman].  
[Letter] 1938 April 9, Corwen [Wales to] E[mma] G[oldman, London] / J[ohn] C[owper] Powys.  
[Letter, 1938 April 9, Corwen, Wales to Emma Goldman, London (enclosure)] / [John Cowper Powys].  
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[Letter] 1938 April 9 [Los Angeles to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Jeanne [Levey].  
[Letter] 1938 April 10, Beaconsfield [England to Emma] Goldman, [London] / Herbert Read.  
[Letter, 1938 April 11, London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / E[thel Mannin].  
[Letter] 1938 April 11, New York [to] E[mma] G[oldman], London / Jack White.  
[Letter] 1938 April 11, New York [to] E[mma] Goldman, London / Clara Freedman.  
[Letter] 1938 April 11, London [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Elisabeth Wilkinson.  
[Letter, 19]38 April 12, London [to] Rose [Pesotta, Boston] / Emma Goldman.  
[Letter, 19]38 April 12 [London to] Rose [Pesotta, Boston] / Emma [Goldman].  
[Receipt] 1938 April 12, London [to] Rose Pesotta, [Boston] / Emma Goldman.  
[Letter] 1938 April 12, Wallington [England to Emma] Goldman, [London] / Eileen Blair.

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 [Letter] 1938 April 14 [London to] Ethel [Mannin, London] / [Emma Goldman].  
 [Letter, 19]38 April 14, London [to Mariano R. Vázquez and Pedro Herrera,  
 Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman].  
 [Letter] 1938 April 14 [London to] Eli[s]abeth Wilkinson, [London] / [Emma  
 Goldman].  
 [Letter] 1938 April 14 [London to Frederick] Woodhouse, [London] / [Emma  
 Goldman].  
 [Letter] 1938 April 14 [London to] May Harrison, [London] / [Emma Goldman].  
 [Letter] 1938 April 14 [London to Thomas?] Burke, [London?] / [Emma Goldman].  
 [Letter] 1938 April 14 [London to Max] Pirani, [London?] / [Emma Goldman].  
 [Letter] 1938 April 14 [London to] Herbert Read [Beaconsfield, England] / [Emma  
 Goldman].  
 [Letter] 1938 April 14 [London to Eileen] Blair, [Wallington, England] / [Emma  
 Goldman].  
 [Letter, 1938 April 15? London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Elisabeth  
 [Wilkinson].  
 [Letter, 19]38 April 15, Barcelona [to Emma Goldman], London / P[edro] Herrera.  
 [Letter, 1938 April 15] Barcelona [to Emma Goldman, London] / P[edro] Herrera.

## **Introduction to Reels 38 through 45 (July 1, 1936, to March 15, 1939)**

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During July 1936, Goldman, still grieving over Berkman's death, redirected her energies toward the anarchist struggle in the Spanish Civil War. She devoted herself wholeheartedly to enlisting international support against Francisco Franco's Fascist forces and their allies among right-wing groups.

At first, Berkman's suicide left Goldman at a loss about the future direction of her life. "We burried [*sic*] him yesterday," she wrote to Liza and Semion Koldofsky, "and the largest part of my life was burried with him" (7/1/36). She was unable to work on her lectures with the deluge of expressions of condolence from family, friends, and comrades to respond to. In accordance with Berkman's last wishes, she helped his companion, Emmy Eckstein, relocate to her parents' home in Czechoslovakia. At the same time, Goldman tried to get a passport to facilitate Eckstein's emigration to the United States.

Goldman had taken an interest in Spanish anarchism long before war began. She had visited Spain briefly in 1928 with Henry G. Alsberg, an associate from New York, to learn about the growing anarcho-syndicalist movement. There she met Federica Montseny, daughter of veteran anarchists and during the Civil War the first woman to serve in a Spanish cabinet. Throughout the 1930s, Goldman had been impressed with Spanish anarcho-syndicalist organizations, which were among the most successful in Europe.

After her return to Europe from Canada in 1935, Goldman began to follow events in Spain more closely. She learned about conditions there from several of her correspondents who had become involved with the Spanish anarchists: Augustin Souchy, Max Nettlau, Helmut Rüdiger, and Alexander Schapiro. As members of the anarcho-syndicalist International Working Men's Association (IWMA), they volunteered to work for the two affiliated Spanish organizations, Confederación Nacional del Trabajo (CNT), the

association of anarcho-syndicalist trade unions, and the Federación Anarquista Ibérica (FAI), the political organization of anarchist militants.

Throughout these years, however, and even for a few weeks into the war, Goldman saw little hope of an anarchist revolution in Spain. Indeed, on first hearing the news of the outbreak of fighting between the military forces of General Franco and the anarchist and socialist militia, Goldman worried that the people could become the victims of change, as they had during the Paris Commune and the Russian Revolution, rather than its beneficiaries (to Therese Souchy, 7/22/36). In light of the early military victories by Republican forces, Goldman decided that she had been mistaken about the chances of an anarchist victory in Spain. "The awful pall that hung over me since Sashas untimely death has been broken," she wrote to her friend Arthur Leonard Ross. "It was due to the call I have received from my Spanish comrade[s] to help them in their heroic struggle" (8/29/36).

Soon after arriving in Spain in September 1936, Goldman decided to contribute her formidable public relations skills to the anarchist struggle. She would meet with important anarchists, gather information and documentary material, and then return to Great Britain to set up a press service and propaganda bureau. During her three-month tour of the areas under anarchist control, she visited agrarian collectives and worker-operated factories and utilities to learn as much as possible about economic conditions and labor organizations. Based in Barcelona, where she produced the English language version of the weekly *CNT-FAI Information Bulletin*, she traveled throughout Catalonia, the Levante, and Aragón and visited the Huesca and the Aragón fronts. She was hindered by her inability to speak Spanish, but with the help of interpreters and her fluency in French, the most commonly spoken foreign language in Spain, she was able to ascertain enough to be impressed by the level of organization that was maintained in most sectors of the economy. In her letters she repeatedly contrasted the innovativeness of Spanish

revolutionaries with her experience of the inability of their Russian counterparts to create new social institutions during the early 1920s.

Goldman's accounts of the Civil War, while naturally influenced by her partisanship, nevertheless provide some of the most thoughtful contemporary commentary on events in Spain. Her relatively balanced observations are all the more valuable because of the war's controversial nature, which produced grossly inaccurate reportage from the mass media and left-wing press alike. Goldman refrained from hasty assessments of a complex political situation about which she initially knew little. For example, she avoided publicly criticizing the CNT-FAI for issuing so much publicity about Soviet aid to the Republican forces. She suspected Stalin's motives in supplying arms and noted that the arms went only to troops controlled by the Spanish Communist party, Partido Comunista de España (PCE), leaving the anarchist-controlled militia in Catalonia very poorly supplied. Nevertheless, in a letter from Barcelona to an unnamed comrade (12/7/36), she warned against judgments based solely on theory: "Bear in mind that life is more exacting than theories. Not that I can agree with some of the steps taken by the CNT-FAI. But being on the spot I can understand them."

Another issue that Goldman faced was the extent to which anarchists should ally themselves with other parties of the Left. Accompanying the anarchists in their struggle against the Right were the PCE, the socialist Unión General de Trabajadores (UGT), and the dissident (anti-Stalinist) Communist party, Partido Obrero de Unificación Marxista (POUM). Caught in the cross fire between anarchist purists of the IWMA, including Alexander Schapiro and Mollie Steimer (who opposed any anarchist alliances with other organizations), and generally uncritical supporters of CNT-FAI policies such as Max Nettlau, Goldman identified most with the pragmatic flexibility of Mariano Vázquez of the CNT-FAI. She believed that the demands of the military struggle against Franco forced anarchists to ally with other antifascist organizations. But she continually urged anarchists to expand their own



political activities in the liberated regions by holding public meetings, producing propaganda, and increasing mass participation in anarchist organizations. She warned that otherwise, in the competitive political dynamics of Civil War Spain, anarchist groups would lose their identity in mass organizations.

Returning to Britain in early 1937 as an official representative of the CNT-FAI, Goldman rose to the familiar challenge of defending a movement beset by critics from both the Right and the Left. While she had her own criticisms, she concentrated on publicizing the constructive work of the Spanish anarchist movement, emphasizing the revolutionary aspects of the struggle: the agrarian collectives, the new public schools, the worker-owned factories and utilities, the democratic structure of the anarchist militia. These new, democratic institutions, Goldman insisted, were replacing a corrupt system dominated by the landed aristocracy with its allies in the Catholic church and the army. This emphasis corrected both the conservatives' portrayal of Spanish anarchists as destroyers of civil order and traditional values and the pro-Soviet Left's dismissal of anarchists as undisciplined opportunists unwilling to do their share of fighting on the front lines.

Her role as a representative of an organization, the CNT-FAI, was a new one for her. Throughout her life she had worked as an independent activist, forming coalitions or *ad hoc* committees as the need arose. As the London representative for the CNT-FAI, she agreed to function as an official of a large organization, an organization that had the opportunity and the will to undertake governmental functions. Federica Montseny, for example, one of Goldman's associates in the CNT, was serving as the Minister of Health, along with three other anarchist ministers. Goldman faced this dilemma with an extensive understanding of the political dynamics in Spain. She knew that Spanish anarchists had to choose between two potentially damaging alternatives. On one hand, they could stay out of the Popular Front government and allow other parties to take power and risk having that power

used against them in the future. On the other hand, they could join the government and risk abandoning the central tenet of their political philosophy: that the functions of government are oppressive in all contexts. While Goldman did not take a definite position on this issue, she insisted that anarchists should never work to limit the freedom of other parties or individuals, except that of Fascists.

Her first project consisted of an effort to display her collection of photographs, posters, journals, newsletters, manifestos, and paintings from Spain as a way to demonstrate the importance of the anarchist contribution to the Spanish Revolution. Her exhibition of photographs of the bombardment of Madrid by Franco's forces was also an appeal for humanitarian aid for the casualties of an increasingly mechanized war that targeted civilian populations. She worked with Fenner Brockway and Roland Penrose of the Independent Labour Party on a joint exhibition of her collection and other materials from Republican Spain. And she was a prime mover behind the Committee to Aid Homeless Spanish Women and Children which raised about £500 during the winter and spring of 1937.

While her public meetings were well attended, usually attracting seven or eight hundred people, she frequently complained in her letters about the lack of response to her efforts in Britain. She may have been comparing the British response to her Spanish aid campaign with the huge crowds she drew in the United States in the similarly charged atmosphere of the years before World War I. As before, she was convinced that she could do more in the United States to aid the Spanish anarchists; in early 1937 she applied through Roger Baldwin of the American Civil Liberties Union for another visa to lecture in the United States. This application, her last major effort to return, was rejected.

Goldman also set herself the formidable task of convincing the British labor movement to take direct action to force the government to end its arms embargo against Spain. Without foreign aid, except the small amounts of arms

and a few advisers from the Soviet Union and Mexico, the Republican forces were unable to hold ground against Franco's army, which was well supplied by the governments of Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy. The British government's arms embargo continued throughout the Civil War, despite general public support for the Republican cause. The anticommunist sympathies of the leadership of the Labour Party and the Trade Union Congress prevented any rank-and-file challenge to the government's "neutrality". In addition, Goldman and her associates had few contacts with British labor unions. They were unable to attract more than a few individuals to the Anarcho-Syndicalist Union, which was formed primarily to provide support for the CNT-FAI.

Goldman's journalistic efforts on behalf of Spain were considerably more successful. She worked with Vernon Richards, the son of an Italian anarchist, and his companion Marie-Louise Berneri, the daughter of the Italian anarchist Camillo Berneri, a major figure in the CNT in Barcelona, on the fortnightly newspaper, *Spain and the World*. Although Goldman wrote several letters to the editors of major British dailies to try to correct their inaccurate reporting on the Civil War, she preferred to write for an anarchist journal. She was able to obtain financial support for *Spain and the World* from the CNT, and she recruited several British writers, including the poet and art critic Herbert Read, to write for the paper. In addition to providing an alternative to the mass media's distortion and the neglect of Spanish events, *Spain and the World* contributed to the sense of urgency about the Civil War that led hundreds of individuals to volunteer for the International Brigades, which were essential to the Republican military efforts.

Events in Spain became more complicated after the outbreak of street fighting in Barcelona between the CNT militia and the central Republican forces, which were increasingly dominated by troops loyal to the PCE, during the "May Days" of 1937. The fighting, which continued for several days, began when the central government attempted to remove the Barcelona telephone exchange, the primary center for communications for Catalonia, from CNT



control. Hundreds of CNT and POUM militants were killed and hundreds more arrested. After the negotiated settlement, in which Federica Montseny played a crucial role, Goldman changed her initial stance of muting her public criticism of the other leftist parties in Spain. She began to criticize the suppression of the workers' organizations and the arrest and detention of anarchist militants. She held the PCE responsible for the street fighting because she believed that the Republican government, dependent on Soviet aid, was being forced to eliminate the revolutionary programs of the CNT-FAI, that the desire to limit the revolutionary potential of the Civil War guided the Soviets' policy. They ostensibly wanted to maintain the participation of all levels of Spanish society in the Popular Front against Franco and to avoid offending the governments of Britain, France, and the United States, countries whose governments were opposed to a communist or anarchist revolution in Spain. When the left-wing socialist premier, Largo Caballero, who had resisted communist influence, was removed, along with the four anarchists in his cabinet, and procommunist Juan Negrín was installed in his place, Goldman's criticism became even harsher. In an article in *Spain and the World* of June 4, 1937 (see the Goldman Writings Series), she accused the Communists and right-wing socialists of plotting to end the social revolution in Spain. She also attributed the death of Camillo Berneri—found shot in the back after being arrested during the May Days—to agents of Stalin. Finally, she likened this campaign, which included attacks on agrarian collectives, to the repression of the anarchists and other noncommunist leftists in Russia under Lenin and Stalin.

The events of May 1937 shattered the solidarity of the Popular Front government in Spain but did not surprise Goldman who had been prepared for such an outcome by her disappointing experience in the Russian Revolution. She was angered by the conciliatory position of the CNT leaders who were trying to avoid a protracted battle between anarchists and the Republican government. But she was also angry at the insistent criticisms of Mollie

Steimer, Alexander Schapiro, and others in the international anarchist movement, who demanded that the anarchists cease all cooperation with the Republican government. She argued that the urgency of the war against Franco, in which the Republican forces were taking heavy losses, made such theoretical purity impossible. Goldman was also able to place what she saw as the mistakes of the CNT-FAI leaders in the context of the constructive efforts they were making.

During the months after the May Days, Goldman became impatient for reliable news from Spain. A comrade from New York, Abe Bluestein, after visiting her in London, wrote her several detailed reports from Barcelona, documenting the repression of the anarchist organizations by the Republican government. He also described the developing split between the leaders of the CNT-FAI and a new organization, Libertarian Youth, whose members wanted to resist the repressive governmental actions. Feeling the need to reassess the political situation for herself, Goldman returned to Spain in September 1937. She visited the Madrid front and was impressed by the high morale of the Republican troops. She found many of the agrarian collectives in Catalonia still thriving. She also visited the Modelo Prison in Madrid where she learned that fifteen hundred anarchists and several hundred members of POUM were being held as political prisoners. Outraged by these arrests and the recent disappearance of Kurt Landau, a member of the Executive Committee of POUM, Goldman attacked the Republican government in an article, "Political Persecution in Republican Spain," in *Spain and the World* (12/10/37, Goldman Writings Series). Mariano Vázquez and Pedro Herrera of the FAI, in a response to this article, advised Goldman to use more tact in her criticisms of the Republican government. Such complaints, they argued, could undermine the support the Republican government sought in its struggle against fascism.

Back in Britain by December 1937, Goldman continued to campaign for the CNT-FAI. She wrote for *Spain and the World*, organized a musical evening

for the benefit of Civil War refugees, and formed a British branch of a new organization, Solidaridad Internacional Anti-Fascista (SIA), founded in Spain by Federica Montseny to raise funds for humanitarian aid for Catalonia. By the spring of 1938, Goldman began to find it more difficult to arouse support for the Spanish cause as the attention of the public was drawn to Central Europe; Hitler occupied Austria in March and began to intensify his anti-Semitic propaganda campaign. Meanwhile, after the Soviet government's indictment of the Old Bolsheviks, Goldman focused increasingly on the links between Stalinism and fascism, an analysis that had limited appeal in Britain. Feeling that her work in Britain was failing, Goldman decided to visit Spain once more and then move to Canada, where she hoped to be more successful at raising funds for the CNT-FAI. As the military situation worsened and Franco's troops advanced toward Barcelona, she knew that the anarchist cause might be defeated in Spain. But she needed to draw inspiration once again from "the only people in the world who still love liberty passionately enough to be willing to die for it" (to Arthur Leonard Ross, 6/17/38).

At the same time she faced another personal crisis when her niece Stella Ballantine was hospitalized in New York for severe depression. For decades Goldman had been closer to Ballantine than to any other family member, relying on her even more for emotional support after Alexander Berkman's death. The loss of this support contributed to the growing feeling of isolation that Goldman experienced as her work in Britain brought fewer results.

By the time she reached Barcelona in September 1938 for her third and final visit, a deep split had developed within the anarchist movement over the issue of cooperation with the Republican government. Although she sympathized with the faction of the CNT-FAI, led by Pedro Herrera, that adhered to the classical anarchist principle of avoiding any cooperation with the state, she considered this an internal matter about which she was unwilling to comment. She nevertheless remained determined to call attention to the

Republican government's political repression of dissident leftists. She spoke out against the charges brought against a number of POUM activists accused of collaboration with the Fascists, declaring that it was the POUM's anti-Stalinism that had led to their arrests. And she expected CNT personnel like Mariano Vázquez to do more to obtain the release of the jailed anarchists.

After Goldman returned to London in November, she closed the CNT-FAI press office, as there was no one else in London able to carry on her work, and she convinced Ethel Mannin to take responsibility for the SIA. Before moving to Canada, where she planned to raise funds for the SIA, Goldman needed to find a safe repository for Berkman's papers, which were in storage in her house in St. Tropez. She chose the International Institute of Social History, located in Amsterdam, because of its reputation for independence from any government restrictions or monitoring. She spent most of January 1939 cataloguing his papers. Briefly absorbed again in her private life, perhaps effecting a final separation from Berkman and an integration of the experience of the decades she was associated with him, she thus insulated herself from the final defeat of the Spanish anarchists with the fall of Barcelona to Nationalist troops in late January.

The plight of the Spanish refugees detained in poorly supplied refugee camps in France, however, evoked an immediate response from Goldman. She began work to raise money to help them emigrate to North America. She also began a dispute with Mariano Vázquez about the cause of the defeat of anarchism in Spain. Goldman believed that the sabotage of the social revolution by the Communists was the deciding factor; their attacks on the programs and organizations that benefited the Spanish masses led to the demoralization of the groups that supported the Republican cause. Vázquez saw the failure of Western democracies to come to the aid of Republican Spain as the primary cause of the defeat because it left the Republican forces hopelessly outnumbered by the well-equipped Nationalist troops assisted by their German, Italian, and Moroccan units.

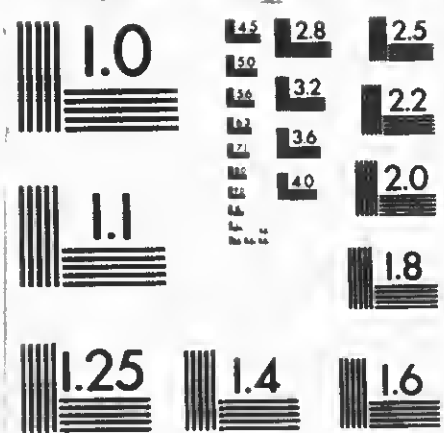
Each of these positions included differing assessments of the actions of the anarchists themselves. Goldman thought it was naive to ally with the Communists in the Popular Front government. She was aware of the importance of public morale in maintaining a protracted civil war with heavy casualties; therefore it was important to distinguish one's efforts from any organization that could act against the interests of the people. She could not see as clearly as Vázquez the importance of external, international forces in a conflict as complex as the Spanish Civil War. Vázquez believed that without support from an international anarchist movement, other labor organizations abroad, or democratic governments, the Spanish anarchists had no choice but to accept support from the Soviet Union. In late 1937, Goldman had been willing to admit that she may have been too optimistic in her assessment of the strength of the anarchist movement in Spain. This allowed her to accept the eventual defeat of the anarchists without losing hope for the future. She had come to realize that "it will take more than one revolution before our ideas will come to full growth. Until then the steps will be feeble, our ideas no doubt fall from the heights many times and many will be the mistakes our comrades are bound to make.... I will die as I lived[,] with my burning faith in the ultimate triumph of our ideal" (to Mollie Steimer and Senya Fleshin, 9/7/37).

*Editor's Note.*

Many documents relating to Emma Goldman's involvement with the anarchist cause during the Spanish Civil War, including a large body of correspondence, were acquired too late to be incorporated in the chronologically organized Correspondence Series. Users of the microfilm are advised to consult reels 68 and 69, which consist of supplementary correspondence, for those documents, especially material from the

Confederación Nacional del Trabajo Archives at the International Institute of  
Social History, Amsterdam.

# 16X





# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 Jan. 16, Vence [France to] Emma [Goldman, London] / [Martha Gordon Crotch].— 3 p.; 26 × 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Dearest Emma,

Thanks for your long letter also cheque which I got last week. You seem to be going a pace and the work you are engaged on I should say was full of interest and possibilities. I do wish you success with all my heart. I know how intensely you feel about Spain and although the situation makes one despair it must be a great satisfaction to you to be able to give all your energies to the cause. As you say there is nothing else in life that could give you the same interest. I hope the meeting was a bumper one. There is no doubt that many thousands are interested <sup>in Spain</sup> two quite simple women whom I met the other day told me of the collections they had made in a little villiage near Bristol and got really large sums of money. The only things in whose hands does it fall? That is what gives me to think. Nancy Cunard has just come from Barcelona. She writes to Norman and the work she is going seems to be terrific. Her activities are mostly in finding homes for Spanish orphans and she has placed a number I believe. I met about a fortnight ago a Mrs Davis (?) I think she calls herself that, she is the unofficial wife of Davis, Orioli's partner. I know she is also known as Ivy. It seems she was on the Committee that so annoyed you last year - with Lady Hastings and the dressmaker woman - you will remember. She reminds me rather of Frieda Lawrence, but more overpowering, with less charm perhaps. One seems to meet everyone in these parts.

I am glad the holidays passed pleasantly for you



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You would be ggled to have Ethel back - not is Maggie? A Real  
at the Ivy is always amusing. Here Xmas was a very gay  
affair. I dont know how the foreigners manage to get such a  
lot out of it. They go to far more trouble here than at home.  
I am sure. The Parsons gave a dinner to about 20. I did not  
go because I went to stay with some friends at their villa.  
that was a great treat. This room here was getting on my  
nerves. I had spent so many days in it - and it seemed I never  
saw the sun at all. The villa was a sun trap and the young  
people I stayed with so gay and merry. It is years since I  
had such a time. Douglas went to Cannes to stay a few days  
with Levy but he came up boxing day with a charming gift  
for me, thnx and invited my friends and I to dine with him new  
years eve and see the New year in. That was a time I shall  
never forget. Despite my crippled knee ( which still troubles  
me ) I danced and capered about - I felt like a kid let loose.  
What a night. We all went to the Casino and there met some  
people with whom we joined up and it ended in our running the  
Casino. Champagne and all the things that were bad for me took  
their toll next day - my knees creaked like badly fitting doors.  
but it was worth it.

Nellie came up a couple of sundays ago. She looks  
in the pink and seems very happy and contented with her little  
flat. What her plans are for the future I cannot say. When  
I ask her how things go, she says "Fine" everything is splendid.  
So what more can one want?

I had a letter from Stella, she is coming for a  
short holiday and tomorrow I must get her some  
nice accommodation. She seems to have had a  
of peace and ease. I am looking forward to see

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... this new crisis in the London Cabinet. There is  
it all leading? On the surface things seem calm enough here,  
no unemployment, everyone - so far as one can see - contented.  
Still one realised there is an undercurrent of unrest and  
revolt. It may only be the general signs of the times -  
then again it may Not. Who knows? So far as my type  
of business is concerned there is nothing doing. I take the  
pulse of it from the people on face. They, as you know,  
spend 365 days a year in unceasing looking after their job.  
As you also know I DONT.... thank God. But what I do  
realise by watching the results of their work opposite, that  
the whole character of buyers have changed. No one want  
pottery - or very few - Something small, easy to pack, cheap  
that is what interests the tourist these days. Youth is  
only asks a small car, the least possible baggage, no encum-  
brances, and the open road. Freedom - or what seems like it.  
And do you blame them? Who wants possessions these day?  
I worry and search my mind for something else to give me  
a living. But it is difficult to decide. Here I have  
a full shop of stock that cost a lot of money - I must do  
something with it. BUT WHAT? There's the rub.  
Still why worry, On the whole if I have a wonderful life  
here - too wonderful perhaps. I seldom get an hour  
to myself. I have seen nothing of Emmy. Why I cant  
say..... Take care of yourself. Dont get one of your bad  
coughs. The cold weather we had for nearly a fortnight here  
has broken now and it is mild and gloriously sunny.  
My love to you dear Emma. I shall be anxious to hear how  
things go - and what kind of a meeting you had. Send me  
a line when you have a moment. Affectionately, *Anna*

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938 Jan. 17? London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Ethel [Mannin]. —  
2 p. ; 10 × 16 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Monday

17206

Dearest Emma,

I return Novinson's letter herewith. Could not sign the a peal alone without other significant names... I wonder that man so venerated and so distinguished could bring himself to write anything so contemptible ! I could hardly have credited it had other than your- self told me - and even then might have thought you exaggerated without actually seeing the letter !

I have written Housman - not very hopefully, I am afraid; these 'humanitarians' are frightened of any political reference, and the simple words anti-fascist are enough to scare them off. But we shall see; I am, like yourself, all in favour of trying even the most remote possibilities, on the remotest off-chance.

Reg says I ought to write to Epstein - in view of the fact that whether he recognises you or not in a public restaurant ~~xxx~~ he cannot pretend not to know you. What do you think ?

Reg also says Yes put his name down as a sponsor.

It would suit me much better to send my cheque for the SIA later on, as you kindly suggested. I felt I had to offer it then as I

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172  
knew it would be no use, no earthly use, trying to get another £14 out of that hall. I was surprised we got as much as we did. But if Spain and the World take £25 from their widows and orphans fund is that rather 'robbing Peter to pay Paul'? I mean that fund and the SIA refugees fund is surely doing much the same work?

I wrote to Barr at Frith St. saying I'd attended to the IOU people and about letting me have any cheques or postal orders made out to me as they 'll need endorsing by me.

I liked the young Austrian of those two boys, but not the Canadian Jew at all; I thought him very conceited, and very, very reactionary.

Dinner at the W's was as dressed-up as I had feared, all dinner-jackets; there were some quite awful people there (Americans) and not a single intelligent remark was passed throughout the evening; it was impossible. She is more 'human' than I'd thought, but frivolous to a degree, I mean essentially 'smart' and 'amusing', and I can't be bothered with these people who make this their chief preoccupation in life. I'll never be able to like her.

I must work, my dear! If we go away on the 29th, be sure we shall meet before then for another quiet evening. (We'll meet before then anyhow, but I mean don't for a moment imagine I'll go off without seeing you again!) I do think you'd be better sharing a flat with some sympathetic person instead of living alone there with no one to look after your meals and everything to do for yourself, and so lonely. My love to you *EM*



## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 Jan. 17 [London to Martha Gordon Crotch, Vence, France] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 20 × 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Jan. 17th 38

Dearest Auntie.

I am sorry to have to send you the unpleasant news that I have to give up the flat. So long as I was able to combine the work for Spain with my own quarters it was alright to go on with the expenses the upkeep of the flat involved. But I had to have offices centrally located for a reading room, exhibitions, Spain and the World and for the work I have to do this year for my Spanish friends. I will have to be in Frith Street, the address of our new place pretty much the largest part of the day and until late in the evening. I would therefore only be in the flat for sleep. It is the same about meals. Hateful as it was all this time to cook for myself I did it because I was in the flat all the time. But now that I will have to be away I will not have the time to bother about my food. Over and above everything is the awful strain of being alone nights. My old affliction, insomnia, has been upon me since I returned from Spain. You have no idea what torture it is to be awake alone night after night. Its gotten on my nerves to the extent that I have come to think it is the loneliness which causes my insomnia. The reason I have waited ~~in~~ with the necessity of a change is that I expected someone from Barcelona who was going to share the flat and all expenses with me. But that is unfortunately off. So I have decided to make a change. I hope my dear you will understand. I will of course send you next months rent. and I will get out early next month so you can order ~~your~~ the renovation of the flat and have your agent advise it to let. I would rather not have applicants start coming until I go. Nellies experience with the theft of her watch makes me hesitate to receive people who might call to see the flat. Besides beginning next week I will be away from here all day. But I promise you that I will get out to give your agent enough time to let the flat.

I have shipped half of the furniture to the office and there several more that will go when I move. I am going

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18006

going to Iza Koldofsky. She has taken a small house on Sneath Avenue Golders Green Road. She has a nice large room for me and of course she will relieve me of the need of cooking for myself or worrying about the other responsibilities of keeping house. She is frightfully lonely and so am I. being together will relieve our depression somewhat.

Dearest there are a few things here belonging to you. I want to be able to send them as it would cost a lot of money from here. But if anyone of your friends should go to France and they would get in touch with me I would be glad to make up a parcel of your things and deliver it to them. I really don't know what is yours and what you have bought for me. If you remember please let me know. Also about the electric heaters in the two rooms. Were they hired from the electric Co. or did you have to pay for them? Please let me know as soon as possible. Whatever is yours will go with me to Liza and when I get instructions about anyone of the many people going South I will send along your things.

Dearest own Auntie please do not be angry with me for the change I am obliged to make. As proof that I had not intended to do so is the fact that I paid £1 and some shilling (I haven't the time now to look for the ~~xxxxix~~ bill from the telephone Co. to continue the phone and also five shillings for the change in the name. I did so because I was almost sure that the friend in Barcelona was coming to share the flat with me. It is only since Saturday that I found out he is not coming so soon. That's why I decided not to wait any longer and to let you know at once of my decision.

With my old love.

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Jan. 17 [London to Jean Ay, Perpignan, France] / [Emma Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 20 × 16 cm.

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18143

17 de Enero de 1938.

querido caradura:

He recibido tu carta del 3 de Noviembre. Espere para escribirte como quería saber de Martin si el habia recibido varios paquetes que le habia enviado para el. Tambien cartas para Martin. Solo ayer recibí una contestacion de Martin pensando como recibo de un drama que tu le habias mandado, pero no la segunda obra o cartas por mediacion o aquellas que habia enviado directamente a Barcelona. No puedo comprender esto. Sufrí que operara una oportu para enviar todo a Martin a traves de una via segura y esto explica la dilacion. Asi es que vuelvo a tratar de comunicarme con el por tu mediacion. Incauto, pues, una carta para el y tambien varios libros. Te agradecería que lo entregaras todo a Martin Russell tan pronto como puedas.

Cuando me escribas harlo en frances, pues ahorraré el tiempo que se tarda en traducirlos al ingles.

Conste tener pronto noticias tuyas y hasta entonces te saluda fraternalmente,

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Jan. 17 [London to] Paul [Robeson, London] / [Emma Goldman].—  
2 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Re

18092

17th January, 1938.

Dear Paul,

I have received the play from America. The author, whose name is Frank Wells, I met in Barcelona on my recent visit and spent a considerable time with him. The play was sent by his wife from New York. To tell the truth it has been lying around at my place for over a month. It is called "John Henry" and rests on the negro legend as Frank Wells told me. The caste consists of negroes and whites. The principal character seems to me just made for you. Please let me know by return whether you would like to read it, as if you do not want to, or do not care for it when you have read it, I shall have to send it back to America.

I am delighted to see your active expression of sympathy with the struggle in Spain. You will be interested, I am sure, in reading the enclosed draft of an appeal and manifesto a few of us here are preparing for England. The venture, launched in Barcelona with sections in France, Scandinavia and the United States, is strictly non-political, on behalf of the tens of thousands of suffering victims of Franco. You will see that it is not in any way to infringe on the efforts made in this country to help Spain. It is only that no matter how much is being done, it still remains a mere drop in the ocean in comparison with the dire needs of the people, especially in Catalonia. It is because of this urgency that I ask you to let me use your name on the list of sponsors. I have written the same request to others, including Aldous Huxley, Rebecca West, Herbert Read, Hamilton Fyfe, Rose Macaulay, Evelyn Waugh and several more. Whatever the change of attitude I feel is between us may be, do not let that influence you against the efforts I am making to organise a section of the International Anti-Fascist Solidarity (S.I.A.) in England.

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

870926014

[Letter] 1938 Jan. 17 [London to] Paul [Robeson, London] / [Emma Goldman].—  
2 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

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18093

2

I had hoped that you would let me see you and Essie, but evidently this is not to be. I have always held that friendship should be given only if it can be done from the fullness of one's heart. For twelve years I have been happy in the certainty of this kind of friendship from you and Essie, but during last year it was borne in on me that you have both undergone a change. True, you were both very indignant last year when I expressed my foreboding that something had come between us. You, dear Paul, even wanted to come up and give me a "thrashing". It would not require much effort on your part to whip this old lady. While I was grateful that you appeased my anxiety, I am frank enough to tell you that you did not entirely destroy it. After all, there is much in forebodings. I am particularly sorry that you permitted your new political orientation (I never dreamed that it was necessary for a supreme artist and a great human soul to bother about politics one way or another) to affect the free and easy camaraderie which existed between us. You both gave me a distinct feeling at the Albert Hall meeting that you were rather embarrassed in meeting me so unexpectedly.

Of course your change cannot possibly affect my affection for you and my abiding recognition of your personality and of your art.

Affectionately,

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10

## The Emma Goldman Papers

870930376

[Letter] 1938 Jan. 17 [London to Mejorte? de Sesias?, Paris] / [Emma Goldman].—  
1 p.; 25 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

19107

17 de Enero de 1938.

Querida camarada . Salud;

En contestacion a la tuya del 13 del actual, me puse en contacto con el secretario de la Independent Labour Party, Fenner Brockway, para preguntarle acerca del movimiento de juventudes en Inglaterra. El corrobora lo que ya me habian dicho otros buenos amigos mios, es decir, que el unico movimiento de juventudes que podria afiliarse a las Juventudes Libertarias en Espana seria el que pertenece al mencionado partido. El secretario del grupo en cuestion es la hija de Fenner Brockway, se llama Audrey Brockway, y las senas; 35, St. Bride Street, London, E.C.4. Escribele en frances, al cuidado de la Independent Labour Party a las senas indicadas. Cuando te hayas puesto en contacto con ella hazmelo saber y lo que ella te conteste y si esta dispuesta a ayudarte en tus esfuerzos para establecer contacto en Inglaterra con la juventud mas o menos revolucionaria.

Si, lo es, es muy dificil para espanoles poder entrar en Inglaterra, y ademas resultaria un gasto muy elevado; pero si las juventudes de la I.L.P. se comprometiera a hacer un mitin para que tu resentases tus deseos, tal vez estarian dispuestos a abonarte tus gastos. Tambien la invitacion de ellos para venir aqui te facilitaria conseguir la visa del pasaporte. No se que otro medio mejor podria buscarse.

Tus buenos deseos por el exito de nuestro mitin se vieron confirmados. Tuvimos un mitin excelente y la colecta se eleva a 75 libras para la S.I.A. Los comunistas estuvieron alli para armar escandalo, pero creo que no salieron contentos, pues no sacaron nada de provecho. Todo el mundo los repulso.

Saludos fraternales,

# The Emma Goldman Papers

870930234

[Letter] 1938 Jan. 17 [London to Manuel Mascarell, Paris] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17 de Enero de 1938.

Querido camarada. Salud.

Si estuvieras aquí te daría un abrazo, porque siempre me contestas enseguida a mis cartas y atienden tan bien todo lo que yo te pido. Muchísimas gracias.

Ya que eres tan buen chico, en lo sucesivo, si puedes, escríbeme en francés, pues le ahorraré mucho trabajo al camarada que me traduce la correspondencia española. En lo que toca al trabajo durante el día, me gustaría no darle más trabajo que el que ya tiene. Así, pues, francés, s.v.p.

Siento decirte que los clichés que nos mandastes han sido confiscados por la Aduana. Dicen que fue un envío en una forma ilegal, pues no venían declarados que pagaban derechos. Nos han mandado un formulario lleno de preguntas para ser contestadas y cuando nos digan la suma que hay que abonar por derechos y multa, la pagaremos. Mientras tanto dime que clase de clichés son estos. Son de la lucha en Teruel? Quiero hacerte presente, con respecto a clichés, que necesitamos todos los que vosotros podáis tener, tales como los referentes a acciones militares, colectividades y otros acontecimientos de importancia. A este respecto me gustaría saber si tú tienes la pancarta titulada "La Semana del Niño". Esto es precisamente lo que nos precisamos para anunciar nuestra exposición de los trabajos de varios de los niños en las escuelas de Barcelona. Si no la tienes, rogarte digas al camarada Calvez o Rosa cuando hablen con Barcelona, que ordenen me la envíen enseguida en 150 o 200 ejemplares. ~~Reproducirle aquí costaría 25 libras~~ Reproducirla aquí costaría 25 libras y naturalmente no intentamos gastar tanto dinero en las colectas hechas expresamente para la S.I.A. Dile a Herrera que cuando manden los paquetes declaren el contenido a fin de que la Aduana no pueda cufjarlos y detenerlos. Ocupate de esto pronto, pues me urge.

Mañana o el miércoles te enviare una carta y un paquete para el compañero ~~Manuel~~ Viques que no puede ser enviado por correo. Se trata de una carta urgente y debe ser dada a alguien de confianza para que la lleve a Barcelona. Algunas cosas enviadas directamente

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Jan. 17, Corwen, Wales [to Emma Goldman, London] / John C[owper]  
 Powys. — 2 p. ; 20 x 25 cm.  
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called "Morwyn" had a  
 bad job here & was  
 rejected altogether in  
 America & as I  
 depend entirely on  
 my pen now & haven't  
 anything but what I  
 earn. This was a bit  
 of a blow.

It was an attempt, this  
 book "Morwyn", in the  
 form of a sort of imaginary  
 modern Inferno to  
 attack both the cruelties  
 of Science & the cruelties  
 of Religion together;  
 putting certain Vivisectionists  
 & Poison-gas Inventors  
 along with Torquemada  
 & Calvin in HELL!

But as you can guess

made a double-edged attack upon cruelty was not  
 a burning subject & it was, as I say, completely  
 "burned down" over the water.  
 My next book will be a volume of

— 5 — name for 10/-  
 P. Cae Coed  
 Corwen  
 Merionethshire  
 Jan 17 1938 N. Wales

Dear old friend

I was so relieved  
 to hear from you for  
 I was afraid I knew  
 not that night how  
 beloved to you, between  
 your friends & long  
 enemies.

Well, you are at work  
 again — this hard  
 uphill work as  
 know well as  
 anything else. Do

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Jan. 17, Corwen, Wales [to Emma Goldman, London] / John C[owper]  
 Powys. — 2 p. ; 20 x 25 cm.  
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 Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17768

you know that <sup>now</sup> ~~now~~  
 universally experienced  
 disavowal, or that we  
 it that tells us so  
 of the that a letter from  
 a particular person is  
 arriving or has arrived  
 husband to me this  
 morning! for I said  
 "Oh how I wonder  
 if Emma is safe!"  
 And then I came your  
 good letter —  
 yes surely & by  
 all means use  
 my name; & I  
 send you too

I am not a very long historical  
 romance  
 I know that if  
 beside sent even  
 little more to  
 mount up!  
 Good luck to you  
 This labour of  
 many discouragements  
 yes I did read  
 enclosed carefully  
 & I think not  
 hint  
 Well I'm hard rather  
 a hard-pressed woman  
 from a money point of  
 view for my last  
 book — a book

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 from a money point of  
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 book — a book



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938 Jan. 18? London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Ethel [Mannin].—  
2 p.; 10 × 16 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Tuesday

17010

Dearest Emma, I am glad you and Lisa will come on Sat. When you get out at Wimbledon station you turn right on leaving the station yard, and then cross the road and get a Putney bus outside the Westminster Bank. You get off at Harryat Road. You walk down this road to the cross-roads, where you turn left and Oak Cottage is on the left in the dip. Or you can get a 1/- taxi from the station.

The letter from Lucia is deeply moving. I suppose it is a translation.

Darling Emma I wish you would get it out of your head that I want to see the Spanish or any other people sit down under Fascism and Capitalism generally and do nothing. I don't! I want them to resist — but not by machine-guns. I believe in workers' power — the power of sabotage, the general strike, non-co-operation. It's no new thing invented by me, dearest Emma. It is the philosophy of every fine revolutionary anarchist pacifist — Bart de Ligt. You yourself speak of the power of the international proletariat and what it could have achieved had it stood firmly by the Spanish people. I believe that ultimately this power can defeat the enemies of the masses without firing a shot, because all production, the whole machinery of the social structure, is in their hands.

As to whether life in, say, Berlin or Rome today, for the masses is better than life was for the masses in Madrid or Barcelona during the war, it is a matter of opinion, whether one can feel that the

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938 Jan. 18? London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Ethel [Mannin].—  
2 p.; 15 × 16 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17009

massacre of children and defenceless civilians, and all the horrors of bombardment and air attack is preferable to this or that political regime which denies working-class rights. My own view is that anything is better than that little children should be mutilated, homes destroyed, anything better than what happened to Guernica or Bilbao; I am not prepared to make such sacrifices for 'freedom'. In Fascist countries the children at least skip merrily home from school, and housewives sit outside their doors in the sun and knit and gossip, and men tend their gardens and breathe the sweet air. I suppose it's because I believe so passionately in life — at all costs, at any price, that I feel as I do.

But it's not much use discussing it, I know. Only I do ask that you don't imagine that because I have swung over to Bart de Light's philosophy of non-violence I believe in non-resistance. There is a great difference, a whole world of difference, between the two, as he spent his life pointing out.

Stella Churchill is a good speaker, but will she say the right things? You might like to get to make the appeal? I think it would be a good idea. I don't think Read speaks, does he? With yourself and John is there room for two more speakers?

Looking forward to seeing you both Sat.

Phone you the enclosed to Ralph. It will pay for the hour at least. *Th*

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 Jan. 18 [London to Ethel Mannin, London] / [Emma Goldman].—  
1 p. ; 20 × 16 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17200

Jan. 18th 38

My Dearest. I too should not have believed the change in Nevinson had I not seen it black on white. But his letter merely shows the disintegration of some people who once claimed revolutionary ideas.

I am so glad you know Storm Jameson, its so difficult to write to English people when one does not know them. "ITS not done in England". is it dearie? Well, I pocketed my pride and wrote several people though I do not know them. I was also going to write Storm Jameson. I am so glad it is now unnecessary. I inclose Warburgs letter with the names he suggested. I have written most of them. But a few names seem remote to me as I have never read anything of them or know who they are. Perhaps you do.

The inclosed letter from Louis Golding will gladden your heart. It is some recompence of the disappointment Nevinsons weak-kneed response gave us. I hope the others ~~will~~ I have written will write in Goldings vein.

One of the I.O.U has sent ~~for~~ £5. And another writes she is just back from Rodolia and is a bit hard pressed but she would send the money in a week. Also that she would like to help our work in other ways. So you see darling it is worth while to try. Oh, yes we have also received the £25 pledge.

Alright dearest any time you can come to see me or meet me somewhere I will be happy.

With love.

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938] Jan. 18, Bearsville [N.Y. to Emma Goldman, London] / Stella [Ballantine]. — 1 p. ; 22 x 17 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

18121

Bearsville, Jan. 18th

Dearest: I got back late last night to the coldest day we have had this winter. It is five below zero. I spent yesterday morning with Rose, in fact I stayed over because I couldn't connect with her on Sunday. We went over the whole situation and will start on a committee right away, but first I have another scheme. I am getting an introduction to Mrs. R's closest friend and I will try and get an interview with Mrs. R. the next time she is home at Hyde Park, which is only 25 miles from here, and Rose is getting in touch with Rose Schmideman for the same purpose. If that fails, we can begin a campaign. This close friend is Mrs. R's business partner as well and I know the introduction to her is on its way to me. If that doesn't come off, I will get busy on a committee.

I may get a scholarship for Davy for next year at a very good school. He graduates in June. I was in N.J. all day Saturday. Stayed with Snee, then went out to Ruth's Sunday. I am very happy to report that Ruth is practically well, just like her old self, and it is always a great joy to me to have her little girl, whom I adore. Dorothy hurt her back again and was in bed for a week, but carried on her work just the same. Rose was kind enough to give Ian introductions to Gardner Jackson, Jake Baker, as he goes to Washington in search of a job next Spring when he graduates. He is trying to take care of the stamps and you will hear from him shortly.

I had lunch with Fitz and Pauline just before leaving for the train. They both explained they heard from you and would do anything you suggest, except they both agreed that I was to try my first plan.

I missed seeing Killy. You see I went straight out to Trenton, N.J. Saturday, spent Sunday with Saxe and then went back to Jersey to see Ruth and yesterday I saw Rose, Fitz and Pauline and I got back all in to the worst storm ~~and~~ and cold of the winter.

Rose complains your beds are hard and she will be very mad with you if you don't get yourself the mattress you promised her you would.

She brought back beautiful examples of Senya's work and I got her in touch with some people at once and Pauline oah do a lot through Zilboorg.

Nothing else new. Must get lunch for me old man. Rose delivered the three Mannin books, thank you very much. The enclosed interview will interest you, I am sure. Sending Times and Nation separately. I also enclose the Stolberg article. I understand it was a series.

Teddy and Davy send love.

Devoted love,

*Stella*

I thin Morris Ernst should be encouraged to go on with his plan as well.

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938 Jan. 19? London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / E[thel Mannin]. — 2 p.; 10 × 16 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Wed

17260

Dearest Emma, Well I've written to Lpstein, enclosing the draft. But, dear, don't let yr typist send out any more drafts in such faint carbon copies; this one is a strain to read, and that sort of thing puts people off. Carbon copies are alright, but they should be very clear.

Nice letter from Louis Golding. Interested to see that he too has had a financial 'jam'. The letter has a ring of sincerity about it which I like.

Have written to Storm Jameson and will be seeing her Sat. *I have been from Kamen in a day or two.*

X About the names in Warburg's list - Gerald Pullett is quite well known as critic and author; Geoffrey Gorer wrote a book on Africa and writes in the New Statesman; I wouldn't call him well-known; Brian Howard is a young writer, very anti-Fascist, not known to the general public yet, but well-known in literary circles, and amongst the intelligentsia. This also applies to W.S. Pritchett, who is a very good short story writer but not known to the general public, and Antonia White wrote a good novel last yr but is not known to the general public.

(Warburg could easily have told you all this - no 'full autobiography' was called for) I am very surprised indeed that Warburg cannot come on to the list of sponsors because of his position as head of the publishing firm - dammit it's a Left publishing firm! I can't believe that that is the reason - can you?

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938 Jan. 19? London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / E[thel Mannin].—  
2 p.; 10 × 16 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17281

Dearest Emma, Such a pile of mail today ! I want to ~~get~~ this off to you.  
Tonight I want to see what plans Reg has and then find a day to offer  
you for us to have a quiet evening again together. There seem to be an  
awful lot of things on this week, but there's Fri. and Sat. evenings  
as possibilities, and next Wed if I women I've offered it to does. It  
accept (Mondays and Thursdays being taken out for Branch Meetings and  
Jean 'uses up' the available days so)

I will ring you tomorrow dear.

In haste now, but my devoted love.



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 Jan. 19, London [to Mariano R.] V[á]zqu[e]z, [Barcelona] / Emma Goldman.— 2 p. ; 23 × 18 cm.

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Institutional Location: Confederación Nacional del Trabajo Archives.

C.N.T.

A.I.T.

F.A.I.

Representing—THE NACIONAL CONFEDERACION OF LABOR  
AND REGIONAL COMITE C.N.T.-F.A.I.—BARCELONA  
INTERNATIONAL PRESS SERVICE

London Office

21 FRITH STREET  
SHAFTESBURY AVENUE  
LONDON, W.1

London, Jan 19th 38.

TELEPHONE: GERRARD 2636

306

Dear comrade Vazquz. I am sending thie in my letter to comrade Herrera. I know he will not delay in giving it to you. Thank you for your long letter written in French. I have replied at length. It is now being translated ~~xx~~ into Spanish and I will mail it just as soon as it is ready. I am forced to send it through your Paris bureau because so many letters and printed matter sent to Barcelona have not been received. For instance, the book of trade union names and ~~xxx~~ addressee have evidently gone to people who found it useful for their own work. It was addressed with other printed material to Martin Gudell with instructions to turn it over to you. That was certainly three weeks ago if not longer. His letter dated Dec. 10th tells me he has not heard from me for a long time, yet I have been writing him every week and sometimes twice each week. So you see that it is not safe to send anything bearing on your internal affairs ~~through~~ in the regular way. It must go via the bureau in Paris. The trouble is comrade Galve seems to be very busy to attend without delay to shipping material to you. Roca who always used to be prompt has stopped writing altogether. comrade Aecarell seems to be reliable, I mean in attending to requests with out much loss of time. I have written him yesterday to the effect that I will send him in a few days an important letter for you another copy of the addresses and some other things. I hope he will rush them to you because I am very anxious you should get my answer to your French letter as quickly as possible.

I am glad that you agree with my suggestion to reach the British Trade Unions direct. If possible each trade direct. We here who know the nature of the Trade Unions and Labor Party are not very hopeful of the Central bodies with their conservative leadership. But the Trade Union branches may be worth while. Unfortunately we have not yet been able to get their address book. There are non left of last year we were told and ~~thaxxaw~~ this years directory has not yet been out. We will send it directly we can get hold of it. You see the book cannot be bought and it is extremely difficult to get a copy. We did obtain one and it was given to ~~xxx~~ A.S. to take to Spain. He seems to have lost it. He told me at the Congress he did not know what had become of it. However, we are trying on all sides to get another copy for you. Meanwhile I am sending via the Paris burea the directory of the TRADE UNION DELEGATES to ~~thaxxakaxxxxRaxixxalagatxxx~~ their Congress of last summer. We have used it to send our folder of the structure of the CNT.

Dear comrade if after you have received my reply to your

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 Jan. 19, London [to Mariano R.] V[á]zqu[e]z, [Barcelona] / Emma Goldman. — 2 p. ; 23 × 18 cm.

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Institutional Location: Confederación Nacional del Trabajo Archives.

anyone? 12/4/44

letter written in French you still feel that I ought to continue the work in England for the CNT, the FAI, and the SIA I want to submit to you the proposition of establishing a Press Service here similar to the one in Paris. I don't mean a paper. We have SPAIN AND THE WORLD, one of the best papers the A. in this country have had for since the last war. I mean something very short and concise from Spain that would have news value and that we could give to the Press here. I am not too optimistic that the papers would avail themselves of our news, they certainly try hard not to mention the CNT-FAI in their columns unless it is to misrepresent or lie about you. Even the Manchester Guardian formerly ready to print some correction of the stuff about the CNT-FAI has refused to bring my last letter which corrected the misstatement of its special correspondent about our comrades at the front. However, the papers may take news items.

Now the question is how well we here get the news from you? Paris is of course more fortunate. It is near and Galve is in touch with you by phone. But in the case of England everything from Spain or Paris is frightfully delayed. Perhaps it could be arranged with comrade Galve that he is to relay the news he gets from you by phone to me ~~by plane~~ at our new bureau. That too, would mean a loss of time so important in news, still it would be better than to wait until you will send it. So far we are not in our new place later than 7 P.M. But once the place is in working order, and we have opened our exhibition of the children's work in Barcelonan schools, we will be there until ~~at~~ 9,30 P.M. every day. Galve could therefore phone. Of course all depends on whether you will want me to continue to represent you. If I should have to ~~withdraw~~ withdraw there will unfortunately not be anyone to continue the work. I am hoping that you will take my letter in the same spirit I have taken yours. For it will be one of the most tragic moments in my life to have to discontinue my efforts for your struggle. Please dear comrade better wait until you have my long letter before writing me about the suggestion of the PRESS SERVICE for this country.

Salud.

Emma Goldman

and our reading room.

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Jan. 19 [London to] Herbert Read, [Beaconsfield, England] / Emma Goldman. — 1 p. ; 28 x 20 cm.

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13, Castletown Road,  
West Kensington,  
W.

19th January, 1938.

Dear Mr. Read,

Your reply to the questionnaire of "Authors Take Sides on the Spanish War" and your splendid article in "Modern Thought", which has only just come to my hand, encourage me to write to you.

First I want to congratulate you as being among the very few British writers who have undertaken to point out the danger of Stalin's Communism and the meaning and importance of Anarchism. Having come to this country almost yearly since '24 and having lived here for some time, I find it most discouraging and depressing to come across the ignorance and perhaps also the wilfulness of so many writers here in regard to the menace of Soviet Russia to all libertarian ideas, and the deliberate misrepresentation of Anarchism. Since the revolution in Spain it has been more apparent than ever that the British intelligentsia who are the apologists for everything in Russia, knowingly malign and misrepresent the struggle in Spain. It was such a relief to find one writer of your standing who has seen through the whole fabric of falsehood. Thank you very much indeed.

I want to say here that I am the accredited delegate of the National Confederation of Labour (C.N.T.), and the Anarchist Federation of Iberia (F.A.I.). During my last visit to Spain - the second since April, '36 - I was also entrusted with the formation of an English Section of International Anti-Fascist Solidarity, which is called S.I.A. A French Section has been organised with some of the most outstanding men in letters and art as sponsors. In this City we have only just begun to interest people in the all-important need of helping the S.I.A. to look after the thousands and tens of thousands of refugees and other victims of Franco.

I enclose a draft of an appeal and manifesto we intend to issue. I wonder if you will kindly give your name as one of the sponsors? I have written to Havelock Ellis, Rebecca West, John Cowper Powys and his brother, Llewellyn, Aldous Huxley and a number of others whose contribution to the symposium on the stand towards Fascism led me to believe that they would consent to act as sponsors.

I wish I could meet you some day soon and talk to you about the ideals and aims of the C.N.T. - F.A.I., and my own desperate struggle to rouse the interest of the people in England in their efforts. Will you let me know if we could meet one day? I should of course be happy if you could take tea with me in my flat, or I would come to any place you will mention. I am very keen indeed to meet an Englishman who understands Anarchism and not only feels, but openly declares himself for, its necessity.

Sincerely,

*Emma Goldman*

Herbert Read, Esq.

## The Emma Goldman Papers

870929198

[Letter] 1938 Jan. 19 [London to] Herbert Read [Beaconsfield, England] / [Emma Goldman].— 1 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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17848

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Sincerely,

Herbert Read, Esq.

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Jan. 19 [London to] Louise Morgan, [London] / Emma Goldman.—  
1 p.; 28 × 22 cm.  
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Institutional Location: Phil Kaplan Collection, Morris Library.

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18, Castletown Road,  
West Kensington, W.

19th January, 1938.

Dear Miss Morgan,

Although our meeting was very brief, I am nevertheless taking the liberty of writing to you on behalf of a most urgent cause.

I enclose a draft of an appeal and manifesto, which speaks for itself. As you will see, Ethel Mannin has consented to act as Honorary Treasurer. I have written to a number of people - among them Havelock Ellis, Rebecca West, John Cowper Powys and his brother, Llewellyn, Herbert Read and Aldous Huxley - asking them to add their names to our list of sponsors, and I am asking you to do the same. I hope you will not refuse, since the S.I.A. (International Anti-Fascist Solidarity) is to be kept on humanitarian grounds and not run on political party lines.

I hope I may hear from you soon.

Sincerely,

*Emma Goldman*

Miss Louise Morgan,  
10, Old Square,  
W.C. 2.

For [unclear]  
15 JAN 20 1938  
6304  
[unclear]  
[unclear]  
[unclear]

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 Jan. 19 [London to John] Anders[s]on, [Stockholm] / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p. ; 20 × 16 cm.

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78223

Jan. 19 the 38.

Lieber Genosse Anderson.

Sie müssen entschuldigen dass ich Sie habe so lange warten ~~lassen~~ lassen mit dem Text meiner Ansprache auf dem Kongress in Paris. I hatte nach meiner Rückkehr so fürchtbar viel zu tun ich kam einfach nicht dazu die Notizen zu bearbeiten. Ich war beschäftigt in London passende Räume zu finden für ein Bureau für die CNT, wie auch die SIA und da mir keine grosse Mittel zur Verfügung stehen war die Sache mit allerhand Mühe verbunden schon nicht von dem Verlust der Zeit zu sprechen. Nun ich habe endlich meine Ansprache für den Druck vorbereitet. Ich musste es aber doch in Englisch machen das mir natürlich leichter fällt als Deutsch. ~~Ich kann mich erinnern dass einige Swedische Kameraden die in A. waren Mitarbeiter der ~~Arbeiter~~ Arbeiter waren. Di konnten leicht das MSS ub ersetzen.~~

Natürlich soll ja die Rede nicht für das breite Publikum gedruckt werden. Ich weiss zwar nicht warum man nicht immer aufrichtig reden soll. Aber die Spanische Situation hat uns alle von unserem lebenslanger Konsequenz abgelenkt. Ich kann nicht sagen ich fühle



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 Jan. 19 [London to John] Anders[s]on, [Stockholm] / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p. ; 20 x 16 cm.

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18224

mich wohl darunter. Wenn man ein lebenslang fest auf eigenen Beinen steht, und sich niemals davon ablenken lässt dann ist es in meinem Alter faast unmöglich umzuschwingen. Die Wege die unsere Kameraden in Spanien gehen führen immer weiter abseits von ihre und unsere revolutionary Traditionen. Ich fürchte es wird bald so weit kommen dass ich trotz meiner Hingabe zum Spanischen Kampf nicht werde mit machen können. Nicht dass ich gegen die CNT arbeiten würde. Nie und nimmer so lange sie von allen Seiten gehasst und verfolgt wird. Aber mitarbeiten wird auch immer schwerer und schmerzhafter. Ich bitte Sie von dem beiliegenden nur für die Kameraden Ihrer Organisation gebrauch zu machen.

Herzliche Grusse an Jensen. Ich hoffe es geht ihm besser wie bei dem Kongress der ubrigens auch mich vollständig marode gemacht hat.

Beste Grusse an all Kameraden.

Unsere neue Adresse is Press Servis CNT-FAI  
21 Frith Street, Shaftsbury Ave. London W.1  
Ich bitte Sie dringend uns regelmässig Arbeitern zu senden für unser Lesezimmer. Ebenfalls bitte ich Sie an die andere Suedische Anarcho Syndikalistische und Anarchistische Publikationen zu schreiben sie mogen uns geschickt werden. Sie werden uns damit einen grossen Gefallen tun.

Solidarisch.

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 Jan. 19 [London to Ethel Mannin, London (fragment)] / [Emma Goldman].— 1 p. ; 20 x 16 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

18113

Jun 19th 38

Dearest. You must have received my letter and inclosures I sent with Moss. I don't suppose she got together with you since you are not in town and she probably found an awful lot to do in her organization. But I am sure she sent you the letter. Since she left the fifth of this month, I have been holed over heels in fixing up the new offices, ~~xxx~~ with a gathering to organize the Antifascist Solidarity Fund and with the preparation of my talk last Friday. Not much time left for correspondence is there darling. Oh, yee I forgot to tell you that I was also busy writing Dewey, the Manchester Guardian and with a piece of difficult work, getting my talk at the Congress of the I.W.O. in shape. I am sending you copies of every thing so you will see I get no time for rest or recreation. I prefer being occupied. My trouble is a new attack of insomnia. Since my return from Paris after the Congress I simply can not sleep 3/2 or the highest four hours a night is not much is it? I wake up aching in every bone and it takes me the whole morning to get my bearing.

I think I know the reason for my being unable to sleep. It is the wearing inner conflict between the growing realization that our comrades in Spain are fast slipping down the precipice and the need of going on with the work for them. They have become insane with the obsession that they, more than anybody else must hang on to the anti Fascist ~~xxx~~ front ~~if xxxxxx~~ even if their so called allies are doing everything in their power to smash it, have in fact smashed it. Now, that would be commendable on the part of the CNT-FAI if the price paid for this notion were not so heavy. Our people have already sacrificed 95-00 of all their ideas and principles and every day they make more concessions and compromises and the appetite of the Communist monster can not be appeased. The latest ~~that xxx~~ ~~xxx~~ downward step of the National Committee is their objections to my article on the political persecution in anti Fascist Spain. Strange how history does repeat itself. It is exactly ~~xxxx~~ the same as when Sasha and I began to expose the doings in Russia. Then too some of our comrades as you must remember charged me with injuring the Russian Revolution. Our Spanish comrades are no doing the same. True their letter was most gracious and comradely. This only made it harder for me to write them that there is a limit even to my willingness to compromise my soul. Their letter is in French and I am having copies made. If they will be ready this evening I will insert a copy in this letter. And I am inclosing a copy of my reply. I don't see what

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 Jan. 19 [London to Pedro] Herrera, [Barcelona (fragment)] / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

19048

Jan 19th 38

Dear comrade Herrera. You seem to have as many functions as I do. I see you write in the name of the FEDERACION ANARQUISTA IBERIA, that you also sign letters with comrade Vazquez, and finally as the secretary of the SIA. I only hope your many functions are not so difficult to perform as mine are here where there is no great response. However, to day I am able to let you know that we have made a beginning with the SIA. First I must let you know that shortly after I had written you in regard to the possible clause of the defense of the Spanish Revolution added to the SIA I came to the conclusion that it would not do and I proceeded with the first steps to organise an English section of the SIA without waiting for your reply to my letter because I was certain you will not agree to my original proposition.

Tow weeks ago I called a gathering of some writers, musicians, doctors and others to discuss the steps for SIA. Of the 16ten people present only six prove willing to help with the work and to give their names as sponsors. The rest declared that so much is already being done in England a new organization like the SIA would prove useless. But as I never give up anything I begin I decided to go ahead with the six friends willing to support the efforts to bring to life an English section of the SIA. A manifesto and appeal were written a copy of the draft I inclose herewith. This we have already sent out to about two dozen men and women known in the world of letters and art asking them to let us use their names as sponsors. This is the first thing one must do in England. For, without sponsors who are ~~xxx~~ widely known one can not appeal for anything or hope for results. We have already received favorable replies from about a half dozen people, writers, a physician and publicists. We hope for more soon. We will then print a nice folder and a letter and we will send both to about thousand addresses we have, some of help had been very helpful with our concert last year.

## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 Jan. 19 [London to Pedro] Herrera, [Barcelona (fragment)] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

I believe I have sent you a handbill announcing our meeting for last Friday the 14th of this month. You will be glad to know that it was attended by a large audience. We used the opportunity to explain the purpose and aim of the SIA and we made an appeal for funds. The response brought £75, which we consider very satisfactory in view of the many organizations in this city who under all sorts of names ask for money for Spain. The result of our meeting has decided us to try for a series of meetings in London and the provinces to rouse interest in the SIA. I already have a number of dates in Scotland and other cities for March. But all that is not all.

When in Barcelona I collected quite a lot of drawings of children in some of the schools. Of that we are now organizing an exhibition under the auspices of the SIA. We are trying our best to keep expenses down to a minimum, the artists who are helping me are giving their labor free, a friend has promised to get our printing done at cost price. And as we will have the exhibition in our new quarters we will also be able to save money for a gallery. We hope to open the exhibition early in Feb, in fact the first week.

You sent me one poster of your WEEK FOR THE CHILD. It is most striking and appealing. To reproduce this poster would cost about £30, we certainly cannot go to such an expense. I am hoping you still have a lot of this poster left. For this reason I have written the Paris bureau to tell you when they speak with Barcelona to send me by express as many of this poster you still have on hand. I hope it will not be delayed because we must advertise the exhibition at least ten days in advance. Perhaps the Paris office has received a lot of the posters and that they will send them to me. The trouble with Paris is that Calve seems to be too busy to attend to requests quickly and the only other comrade in the bureau, Mascarell while fairly prompt also takes his time. Comrade Roca used to be very reliable but for some reason he has stopped writing altogether. Yet it is important that our requests from here should receive immediate attention if our work is to proceed. Please dear comrade send me as many of the posters of your WEEK OF THE CHILD. And would you please remember always to send not one copy but a lot of any posters or photos you make of the work of the SIA. It will help us tremendously.

In your letter of Dec. 10th there seems to be a contradiction. You have stressed in your SIA literature and in your letters to me that the INTERNATIONAL ~~WEEK~~ ANTI-FASCIST SOLIDARITY is non-political. Yet you ask me already the second time why I do not get the I.L.P. to cooperate. Can it be that you do not know that the I.L.P. is ultra political? And that if it were to affiliate itself with the SIA it would at once stamp it as a political organization? It is precisely for this reason that I have not approached the I.L.P. But even if I had done so it would not have been of help, and for this reason. The I.L.P. is closely allied with the Co-operatives in this country and while it is not part of the British Labor Party it nevertheless tries to avoid everything that would displease the B.L.P. or the Coops. Now since these two organizations have begun to collect for milk for Spain the I.L.P. could not join the SIA which is to do similar work. It would be afraid to be charged with trying to inure the work of the other bodies.

## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Jan. 19 [London to] The Manchester Guardian, [Manchester, England] / [Emma Goldman].— 1 p. ; 24 × 18 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

18, Castletown Road,  
West Kensington,

19th January, 1938.

Dear Sir,

In writing you again, it is not with the intention of persuading you to change your mind about the publication of letter I sent you. It is only to point out that your reasons for refusing it do not sound entirely convincing. You say "It would occupy far more space than we could afford". In first place you certainly could have shortened the letter and taken only what seemed most essential to you. In the second place you have repeatedly published letters on all kinds of subjects not much shorter than mine. I call your attention to one letter in the issue of the Manchester Guardian of on the question of Ireland, which is certainly not very much shorter than the letter I sent you.

I am rather surprised to have your refusal, not because I care much whether my writings appear in England or not; but because of the deliberate misrepresentation of the Spanish Anarchists of which your special correspondent is guilty. I hoped that the Manchester Guardian, which has always prided itself on its desire to be just and fair, would not refuse to bring forward any correction of statements made by its correspondents.

Granted that in this case your correspondent's objection against the Spanish Anarchists was not motivated by his partiality to the Communists, but that it was ignorance which prompted his statement, surely the Manchester Guardian owes its readers correct and authentic information about the situation in Spain - whatever the leanings of its correspondent. But I realise of course that you have the right to accept or refuse any contribution to the columns of your paper.

Sincerely,

The Editor,  
The Manchester Guardian.



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 Jan. 19 [London to] Albert [Jensen?, Stockholm?] / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p.; 20 × 16 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

18228

Jan. 19, 38

Lieber Genosse Albert.

Ich wolte Ihnen schon langst schreiben und Ihre Notizien zuruckschicken die Sie mir gegeben haben. Ich hatte die Absicht dieselben fur einen Bericht uber den Kongress fur unsere Zeitung in England un Amerika zu verwenden. Aber ich kann so zeruttet zuruck dass es mir nicht moglich waht etwas zusammen zu stellen was auch nur annahernd der Tatsachen gekommen waere. Ich hatte es ja nie zuvir notig ellen zu beschonigen was mir in der Seele zuwied wahr. Und da man eben nicht aufrichtig fur die Offentlichkeit schreiben darf oder kann wegen der Lage in Spanien so habe ich es ganz aufgegeben einen Bericht ~~xxxx~~ herzustellen. Nun hatte mich Genosse Anderson gebeten ich sollte ihm meine Ansprache im Kongress schicken. Da ich sis nur in Notizien From hatte so wolte ich zuerst dieselben ~~xxx~~ verarbeiten was ich auch getan habe, aber in Englischer Sprache. Ich schicke Ihnen hiermit ein Exemplare. Naturlieh sill da dioses nicht fur die Breite Masse veroffentlichen werden. So weit habe es die Zustande unserer Bewegung in Spanien gebracht dass man zwei verschiedene Meinungen haben muss. Fur mich die ihr ganzes leben lang frei, manche sahen auch, frech meine Ansicht vor zu bringen ist es direkt zerfleischend sich damit abzufinden. Viel genutzt hat es auch nicht, wie Kompromisse ja nie nutzen. Ich sage disses viel ich sehe dass es wohl bald soweit kommen wird wo sogar ich nicht mittun werde konnen. Den die Handlungen unserer Spanischen Genossen werden immer toller. Der Steckbrief als Protest gegen die Geldersammlungen in Ausland fur unsere inhaftierte Kameraden in Spanien war wider so ein Schlag ins Gesicht und gegen alle unsere Traditionen. Der allerletzte Brief von V. enthalt eine sehr freundliche, aber auch sehr bestimmte Aufforderung gegen meinen Artikel in SPAIN UND ~~WORLD~~ uber die politische Verfolgungen in Spanien. Man will die zarte Empfindlichkeit der Kommunistin noch immer nicht weh tun.

Nun ich habe V. eien ziemlich ausfurliche Antwort geschickt in der ich erklarte dass ich bis jetzt alles in meiner Macht stehendes fur die CNT-FA<sup>1</sup> getan habe. Aber ich kann die sogenannte Allierten des anti-Fascistischen Krieges nicht ~~xxxx~~ schonen noch ihre konterrevolutionare Tatigkeit verdecken. Ich kann in England nur selbstandig wirken, sonst wurde ich der CNT-FA<sup>1</sup> nu schaden, und ich wurde mich selbst lacherlich machen. Gewiss habe ich nicht die Absicht unsern Genossen im Rucken zu fallen. Aber mir einen Knuppel ins Maul stecken zu lassen das kann icht nicht.



# The Emma Goldman Papers

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

18229

Mein Schreiben an V. wird jetzt übersetzt~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ ins Spanische übersetzt. Sobald ich eine Antwort bekomme, dass heisst wenn sie danach ist dass ich mich zuruck ziehen muss dann werde ich ihnen ein Exemplare senden. Den ich mochte dass meine intimere Genosse wissen warum ich es fur notwendig war meine Ttigkeit fur die CNT-FAI aufzugeben. Sollte das H.C. es doch fur ratsam halten mich nicht an handen und Fusse zu binden dann werde ich weiter machen. Wie Sie ja ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ selber ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ gesagt haben als Sie mich zitierten ich bin 95/00 mit der Kritik v. verschiedener Genossen ~~xxxx~~ einverstanden Ich weiss aber auch dass die Spanier in einem brenden Hause sind und ich kann unmoglich den Brand shuren, jedenfalls nicht offentlich.

Ich bitte Sie lieber Genosse diesen Brief auch nicht im engen Zirkel von Genossen bekannt zu geben. Sollte es zum gultigen Bruch kommen zwischen mir und der CNT, dann werde ich wie ich schon erklarte meine Antwort an einige mir nahe stehende Genossen und ~~xxxxxx~~ Freunden als historisches Dokument senden.

Herzliche Grusse an die Familie.

Soldarisch.

## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Jan. 19 [London to] Peter Chalmers Mitchell, [London] / [Emma Goldman].— 1 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

18, Castletown Road,  
West Kensington, W.

19th January, 1938.

Dear Sir Peter,

My attention was called to your writing more than a year ago when I came back from Spain. At that time two articles of yours appeared in the London Times, expressing a great deal of understanding and sympathy with the National Confederation of Labour. Last year, when you were on your way from Malaga, I took the liberty of sending you a radio expressing my relief that you had escaped safely from the tender mercies of Franco. Since then I have read your reply to the questionnaire of "Authors Take Sides on the Spanish War". You are therefore no longer a stranger to me, even if I continue to be unknown to you.

I am in England as the representative of the C.N.T. - F.A.I., and also of International Anti-Fascist Solidarity, an organisation that has been launched in Barcelona with sections in countries outside Spain. A number of distinguished men and women in France are sponsoring the French section of the S.I.A. In England, together with my friend, Ethel Mannin, I am trying to create a similar section.

The enclosed draft of an appeal and manifesto speaks for itself. We have written to a number of well-known men of letters and people in the artistic and musical worlds, asking them to give their names as sponsors for the S.I.A. in England. I am taking the liberty of appealing to you for the same purpose. S.I.A. is to be kept on humanitarian grounds and not run on political party lines.

May I hope to hear from you soon?

Sincerely,

Sir Peter Chalmers Mitchell,  
C/o Messrs. Faber and Faber,  
24, Russell Square, W.C. 1.

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 Jan. 19, London [to] Martin [Gudell, Barcelona] / E[mma Goldman].—  
2 p.; 23 × 18 cm.

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Institutional Location: FAI Propaganda Exterior.

C.N.T.

A.I.T.

F.A.I.

Representing—THE NACIONAL CONFEDERACION DE LABOR  
AND REGIONAL COMITE C.N.T.-F.A.I.—BARCELONA  
INTERNATIONAL PRESS SERVICE

London Office:

21 FRITH STREET  
SHAFTESBURY AVENUE  
LONDON, W.1

London, Jan. 19th 38.

TELEPHONE: GERARD 3436

Dear Martin. I am in despare that my letter have failed to reach you. I was not surprised that those I sent direct to Barcelona were held up. But what about your reliable man in Perpignan through whom you got the play. By the way I have sent two plays through him in MSS and a play in bound form called WINTERSET which treats the Sacco Vanzetti trial and murder. I admit I am not quite certain that I sent it through him or direct. But it was sent at least five weeks ago. Also my last letter dated Jan 3rd was sent to our friend in Perpignan asking him to please deliver it to you as quickly as possible. I have been waiting since to get a reply from you that would reassure me the letter had reached you. A number of letters written in Nov and Dec. have as it now seems reasonably certain NOT REACHED YOU. But why has the one of the 3rd of this month failed to get to you. I would write you through the Paris Bureau. But between me and you the comrades there are not very reliable. I don't mean to say they are dishonest or any such a thing. I mean they mislay letters intended for Barcelona, or anything ~~XXXXXX~~ sent to me. There is only one comrade Mascarell do you know him with whom I am now corresponding and he seems to attend to things. Roca whom I like very much and who used to be very prompt has stopped writing. Perhaps Mascarell will be more exact. I will see, and if he carries out my requests I will ask him to get my letters into your hand. But for the present I am trying once more to reach you via Perpignan.

Carol

I have been frightfully busy to establish our bureau, our reading room and on the work for the Exhibition of the drawings I collected of the children in some of the Barcelona schools, especially the school the comrade of Fernandez is supervising. In addition I had to prepare the inclosed folder and letter to be sent out to many trade unionists. By the way, in the regular poste I sent you a copy of an address book of the trade union delegates who attended the trade union Congress last summer. Both you and Vazquez have asked me for addresses which of course I sent. It is a shame that the book never reached you or Vazquez. It is extremely difficult to get such books, one cannot buy them though we did succeed in buying two copies one of which I have mailed to you direct to Barcelona. I just looked over some of your letters. I see that you did receive Winterset and Gorkie Mother which I sent from Paris. These plays are all intended for MARCKWARD according to my promise just as the Silone Play which you have received via P. Come to think of it I will take a chance to send the original of this letter the regular way and the copy to P. surely one of them will reach you. If not we will have to make different arrangements.

I have just mailed a letter to Herrera and also V.  
I have told Herrera that I have finally succeeded in starting the work

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 Jan. 19, London [to] Martin [Gudell, Barcelona] / E[mma Goldman].—  
2 p.; 23 × 18 cm.

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Institutional Location: FAI Propaganda Exterior.

I.A.F. T.M.O.  
SIA. At our large public meeting last Friday where I spoke of the Betrayal of the Spanish People an appeal for the SIA was made and 275 collected. I have sent out thirty letters to all sorts of writers and artists asking them to give their names as sponsors for the INTERNATIONAL ANTI FASCIST SOLIDARITY. I have already received several good names well known in the world of letters and art in this country. I will then get out a folder something like the inclosed of the text and send it out to about thousand names. The exhibition I am working on is also in behalf of the SIA. And I may go to the provinces to speak about the SIA. I am already booked for Scotland in March. You see my dear comrade Barr, about two or three others and myself are grudging away to help our comrades in Spain. Believe me I live for nothing else though sometimes I find it extremely hard to follow all the steps our people are taking. I dread nothing so much as the possibility of having to discontinue the work. But you know the German saying "DER KNUCK GEHT SO LANGE AUF DEN ABGRUND BIS ER UNTERGEHT". At my age it is not easy to reverse all one's ideas and habits and to deny one's entire traditions. Well, perhaps it will not come so far.....

My dear you must help me with two things. First see Herrera and get him to attend to my request for the poster which was called the week of the child. I could use two hundred if they could only be shipped at once. I wrote Herrera to day about it but you know how slow our Spanish comrades are. To reproduce them here would cost £30 of course we can not spend such an amount of money. So please hurry up the shipment. The second is again about some notes that impossible Souchy owes me. What on earth has become of him? Not a word since the Congress though he had faithfully promised to send me the notes I again asked for at the Congress. They are from Sept. 17 to twenty and from Sept 25 to 28. The first notes were taken at the Agricultural Dept in Valencia. The other in the Fisher Collective on our way from Alicante to Valencia. Souchy must have these notes why in the name of decency does he not let me have them. Please go after him will you?

Who is the English secret of ~~XXXXXXXX~~ Herrera, is it Ilse. she sent me a note through Prothero and I also got your note and acknowledged it in my letter of Jan 3rd. One more thing item which worries me terribly. Louie Frank. I have written him a half dozen letters and no reply. Is he ill, or on a "holiday" or what? Ilse wrote me the film he made and which was intended for England has already been shown. So why are we not getting it. I could achieve wonders if only I had the film. In any event I want to know what is the matter with him. Please, please write me.

Salud.

cf

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]3[8] Jan. 19, Nice [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Emmy [Eckstein]. —  
2 p.; 29 × 21 cm.  
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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

23666

Nice, January 19th 38.

My dear Emma,

I got yesterday your registered letter and I thank you so deeply for it. Well, that is such a relieve after all that struggle, and believe me, I appreciate it.

My life wouldn't be so difficult if I were in better health, but as time goes it is worse. But, dear, that is the ONL reason why I write so little. What can YOU do? You do already all there is within your power, and cheerfully one cannot write when one is in pain.

You do understand this.

I am sure that you are working hard. I don't know you otherwise like working hard. Ever when I was with you you did so. It is a relieve, Emma, if one can do so physically, and I wished I could. But, I will.

I am in treatment of one of the best doctors here. And there WILL BE DONE SOMETHING, of which I will inform you, dear friend, if everything will be settled. He has found that I have, outside of many other disformation, a very heavy twist in the intestins. That has to be done away with. So or so, he PROMISED to cure me altogether.

I have the luck, at least that the man does not take a cent from me, and he is very good. I feel a bit better just now, but will let you know when something final will be done. In every case he promises me HEALTH. Wouldn't it be splendid, Emma dear? Would then not be an approachment between you and me? When I will have no pain anymore, when I will able to make money and earn and help you. I would be relatively happy then, as far as this could be. Life like that is a burden, dearest.

So, Emma know that this is the only reason why ~~because~~ I do not write now these days. But think, I do of you and will always. This was at every and any time, of our misunderstandings or understandings?....

I have a very cheap room and the people I live with are lovely to me. I am treated like a member of the family, and they cook also for me, so that is ~~luck~~. I have a terrible big expense with my medicaments, but that can't be helped. I wrote Freedman, Emma, and will do so again.

How is your health, Emma? Your cough?  
I would appreciate it deeply if you would let have



## The Emma Goldman Papers

880726189

[Letter, 19]3[8] Jan. 19, Nice [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Emmy [Eckstein]. —  
2 p. ; 29 × 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

2

25867

no a more personal letter even. I want to know more about  
yourself, your plans and so forth.

I will, also soon, send you a long letter, when I will  
know what is going to be done about my health

I will act this time, and may come what will. I need health  
now more than ever.

I thank you, dear Emma, for your punctuality  
and help.

Your EMMA



American Express Co.,  
Nice ATH.  
FRANCE

P.S. I am typing in bed, therefore excuse pencil, please.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

870929255

[Letter] 1938 Jan. 19, New Rochelle, N.Y. [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Harry [Kelly]. — 2 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

25 Prospect St.

New Rochelle N.Y. U. S. A.

Jan. 19, 1938.

17943

Dear Emma:

Your letter with enclosures of Jan. 12<sup>th</sup> received in good time and should have been answered days ago but I have delayed partly because of a cold and partly a reluctance to write bad news. However, here it is and written on my birthday for according to my mother I was born 67 years ago today in a 13 room home in the then Hamlet, Washington, Mo.

I had hoped much from Ernst for he is an able man, was a friend & appointee of Roosevelt to the Banking Commission of the State when the latter was Governor and his two books on the history of the Supremacy made him an outstanding man. He is a good liberal and rather cordial to me. He is on the Executive of the Civil Liberties Union & of course very friendly with Roger. Incidentally I must say that in spite of our disappointment I feel sure Roger did his best with Francis Perkins & what he told Ernst is what he told me. Frankly, I don't know what else can be done and I feel discouraged.

Your letter is most enthusiastic and while I never had your money I do wish it were my lot to do more instead of drying up, sinking into the slough of despondency as I am. Your letters, the Spanish Bulletin - which has not been in weeks, Spain & the World and the Spanish Labor Press.

## The Emma Goldman Papers

870929255

[Letter] 1938 Jan. 19, New Rochelle, N.Y. [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Harry [Kelly]. — 2 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

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Bulletin now being published at 170-5<sup>th</sup> Ave. all tell  
the same story — and a disheartening one at that. With  
Franco in control of half of Spain & seemingly un-  
limited resources — a few days ago, perhaps Sunday, an  
article appeared in the N.Y. Times telling of his control  
of the supply of Pyrites and how England had  
paid him more than a million pounds in sterling  
which he was crediting at 42 Rebel Pesetas to the £ for  
Pyrites supplied last year. In short England is  
financing him. In spite of this, the assistance of Italy,  
Germany & others the Left forces fight among themselves  
and devote most of the time denouncing each other.  
All necessary, no doubt as far as we are concerned  
but what a price our people, the workers & peasants  
are paying while seemingly the stars in their course  
fight for Franco & reaction. Horribly the world is mad.

We have fine weather today for the first time in two  
years & as each winter grows harder for me as I do not feel  
too good or too cheerful today.

My eyes have bothered & still bother me, in fact  
the Oculist told me my right eye is practically dead  
& I see entirely with my left eye. It is easier for me to  
write with pen & ink than typewriter — this after 25  
years using a machine.

Luah, Claire, Nat., Jessica & Hally from whom I had  
a letter yesterday are all well & I am sure would send love  
if they knew I was writing. You probably see the Times & know  
of the general conditions — ten or twelve million still out of  
work & those in power unable or unwilling to cope with it. With  
love & good wishes to you — and Larisa when you see her. Affectionately  
Harry

## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938 Jan. 19, New Rochelle, N.Y. to Emma Goldman, London (enclosure)] / [Harry Kelly].— 1 p.; 27 x 21 cm.

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25 Prospect St.,  
New Rochelle, N.Y.,  
January 12, 1938.

17946

Mr. Morris L. Ernst,  
285 Madison Avenue,  
New York City.

Dear Morris:

Judging by the newspapers of the past few months you have been far too busy to remember my promise to keep in touch with you regarding the case of my friend Emma Goldman. As a matter of fact I did call up your office two or three months ago and left a message to say I called. My reason for not bothering you was simply that Emma was urged to return to Spain last Fall and spent seven weeks traveling up and down the country between Barcelona, Valencia and Madrid visiting the trenches and all the industrial collectives in the large cities, as well as the collectivized villages in Castille, the Levante, Aragon and Catalonia. She returned to London most enthusiastic and I have a long letter from her this morning dated January 1st.

She is as I told you the accredited representative of the C.N.T-F.A.I. and has been trying these many months to awaken interest and sympathy in the English Labor Movement for the fight against Fascism in Spain and she now writes she will not attempt to come here until next summer or seven or eight months from now.

As you know Roger Baldwin was trying to obtain a visa for her to come here but Frances Perkins while claiming to be sympathetic told him she could do nothing and so he wrote me. However, I asked him if he thought you could do anything and he said it was worth a try so I sincerely hope you will and I will let you know when there is more definite news as to her coming. For a woman who has lived as she has and is now 69 or nearly 70 Emma is a marvel and deserves for her own sake as well as the cause she represents the assistance of every libertarian and liberal minded person.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,



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GREENBAUM, WOLFF & ERNST  
285 MADISON AVENUE  
NEW YORK

TELEPHONE CALIFORNIA 6-1800

January 13, 1938.

Mr. Harry Kelly  
25 Prospect Street  
New Rochelle, N.Y.

Dear Harry:

Roger told me that it was hopeless. He is so  
smart about these things that I hesitated to do any further  
work on it. I thought I had dropped you a line to that  
effect.

Best to you,

Yours  


## The Emma Goldman Papers

870929244

[Letter, 1938 Jan.? 20? London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Shloime [Sutton]. —  
3 p.; 18 × 13 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

TRUTH A WARD<sup>1924</sup>  
St. Georges in East Hospital  
Raine St. S.I.

My dear Emma.

I am ever delighted to hear from you, and I am always thrilled to see you but, earnestly, I must ask you not to drag all the way here to see me lying in bed. If I were alone in a room and we could have a real "honest-to-god" chat it would be a different proposition. Besides, Emma, being a true pupil of yours, it can hardly be expected of me to remain put where I am. If the "spirit" moves me — and it has done so several times — I just pick myself up and take to marching — without orders! At all events, I am, decidedly, going home very soon; and it would be a pity if you were to turn up here and

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17926

find the object of your quest gone.  
I do want to assure you that I  
am far from being terribly ill. True,  
I am confined to bed but that is  
only part of the treatment for  
gastric ulcer. I could easily be at  
home providing I took <sup>it</sup> easy and  
allowed all there was to do and  
all I wanted to do go hang.

As you know we have moved  
to a new home and I worked pretty  
hard getting everything fixed up  
nice and comfortable in double  
quick time. And then... well, I  
just had to go into the hospital to  
take a rest.

My arch enemy, the Mayas of Stepney  
encountered me here on Xmas day -  
so we fell on each others necks and wept (?).



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1177557245

I hope you are now well established  
in your new offices. I fear the journey  
from your flat is going to prove a bit  
of a bother. However, some of the lads  
from my office inform me that you  
are holding a meeting at Conway Hall,  
so obviously you have launched out.  
I wish you, dear Emma, and the Movement  
every success.

As soon as I am able - or shall I  
say as soon as I am allowed - to be  
about again I will call on you; and  
we can then have a nice chat. I  
shall also want you to come down  
to our little sack and you could  
advise me as to laying out of the  
garden.

Be of good cheer, and all the very  
best to you for 1938. Yours as ever  
Shloime

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Postcard, 1938 Jan. 20? London to Emma Goldman, London] / Ethel [Mannin].--  
2 p. ; 7 x 11 cm.

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Thursday

17249

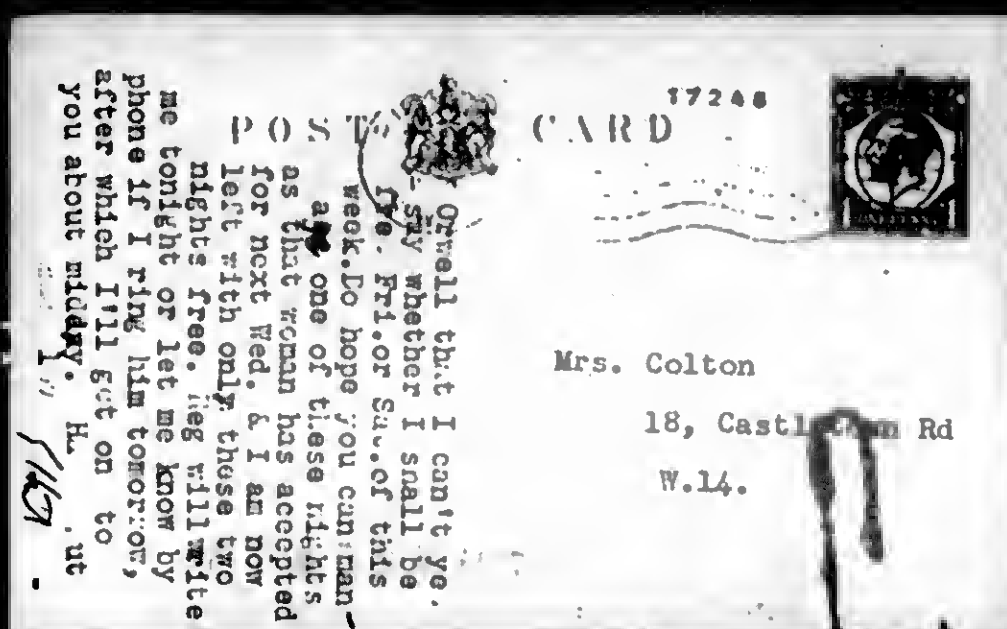
Emma dear, its ten o'clock and Jean is already  
here waitin for me to go out with her, so this  
must be brief - I don't care to risk telephoning  
you as the few occasions I've rung earlyish in  
the morning its wakened you...this is mainly to  
say that hurray hurray hurray Laurence Housman  
will give his name as sponsor, and says he will  
give us a donation a bit later when his next lot  
of money comes in. We have now to hear from  
Epstein & from Storm Jameson; what about asking  
John McQuair - or don't you think he comes enough  
with the general public? Don't think you should  
ask those writers I wrote you about y/day except  
perhaps Gerald Bullett. Orwell I may see tomorrow  
or Sat and can ask personally...its because Reg  
can't yet let me know which night we are seeing

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[Letter, 19]38 Jan. 20, London [to Ethel Mannin, London] / Emma [Goldman].—  
1 p.; 27 × 21 cm.

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and Tilden Foundations. Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Papers, Rare Books and Manuscripts Division.

C.N.T.

A.I.T.

F.A.I.

London Office

18 CASTLETOWN ROAD  
WEST KENSINGTON  
LONDON, W.14

London Jan 20th 38

TELEPHONE : FULHAM 6829

My beloved spendthrift, spendthrift in love and in gifts. Have you been paid for your story, or have you struck a gold mine that you can go on buying up flower stores? I adore your thoughtfulness but being older and of course "wiser" than you I must really ask you not to be so wasteful. I know how you drudge to meet all your obligations you must not add me to that lot. And now that I have read you a curtain speech I want to take you in my arms and tell you whenever I have a chance how wonderful you are and how you help to enrich my life.

Your postcard has not yet arrived, I suppose it will on the late delivery. I got your letter though yesterday. It was ~~stux~~ stupid of me not to have hundred of the draft mimeographed. It is not only that the type looks pale it is also that it costs a hell of a lot to have many copies typed. Well, my temporary ~~sent who is very good~~ but also a bit expensive suggested to me this afternoon to have the rest of the drafts I need mimeographed. I am having fifty more made because I have decided to send one to every contributor to the ~~THE NOTICE~~ questionnaire who have replied more or less strongly about their stand on Fascism. I am sure some of them must be Communists. Well it won't ~~kill~~ kill them to get the draft and all we will lose is the postage and the cost of the typing. The replies are certainly not coming in heavily. But perhaps some are out of town. My old friend John Cowper Powys replied in his usual friendly way that he will feel honored to be on our list of sponsors. He also sent check for 10/. Authors in England except those who have arrived, hence do nothing more worth while seem to be abominably paid. For I am certain that Powys and Golding would contribute very much more if they were not hard pressed.

Dearest any time you can be with me it will be a treat, but don't think you have got to cheer this old triste lady. If you are free Saturday evening that will be ~~great~~ ~~for any time before you go~~ away for six weeks. Gawd London will be dreary during that time. I hope you will have sunshine for both of us ~~everywhere~~ wherever it is you are going to.

I hold you very close to my heart.

Emma

## The Emma Goldman Papers

870930397

[Letter] 1938 Jan. 20, London [to] Ma[r]jiano R. V[á]zquez [and] Pedro Herrera, [Barcelona] / Emma Goldman. — 7 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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J9240

LONDON. January 20th 1938.

To:-

Matiano R Vasquez,  
Secretary of the C.N.T.  
Pedro Herrera,  
Secretary of the Peninsular  
Committee of the P.A.I.

Dear Comrades,

Thank you hearily for your oomradely letter of the 11th of the month, written in French, wherein you take objection to my article in the "Spanish Revoltuion" on political persecution in Anti-Fascist Spain. I appreciate deeply your solidarity that prompted your suggestion that we should "consider together the effects of my criticism of the Negrin - Communist government in the Anti-Fascist struggle". It has always been my opinion that a kindly, warm feeling between comrades would lend to <sup>a</sup> better understanding of so many differences in our ranks.

Dear comrades, this is my third attempt to answer your letter. I wrote the first letter almost immediately on receipt of yours. I was ~~deeply~~ <sup>largely</sup> grieved at the suggestion that my articles might injure your struggle. I destroyed that letter because I feared it would convey the impression that I was hurt, therefore, meant to forsake you in your crucial hour. I waited twenty four hours, read and reread all the points in your letter, then made another attempt; but I was no more successful than the first time - so I stopped the translation when more than half had been done, spent another tortuous day and night, and here I am trying for the third time to find the tone and the words that would help you to see that I have seriously examined your objections.

May I assure you dear comrades that in my work in your

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2

19241

behalf I have considered every step I have taken, although often in total disagreement with your tactics I have pleaded your cause because I knew the sinister force that made these actions imperative.

During my first visit in Spain when Russian arms began to arrive, I knew that Stalin would add other blessings that will prove a curse to the Spanish Revolution and to you. But with Franco at the throat of Madrid I realised that you had no choice, and I trembled for the price you will have to pay for Soviet help and Stalin's comradeship. Knowing that, ~~not~~ I kept silent on the ruthlessness of Russian Communism which I had openly fought since I came out of Russia in 1922. I kept silent hoping that the Spanish people loved ideas too well to become an easy prey to Stalin's designs on them and your Revolution. I kept silent because of my passionate faith in the revolutionary spirit of the CNT-FAI, their dauntless courage, and their unimpeachable integrity. Then came the terrible May events, after which you yourselves dear comrades began to speak out against the villany and perfidity of your communist allies. Your voice was heard not only in Spain - it reached the ears of the workers in every land. It was only then that I felt released from the hateful task of making a falsehood appear as truth.- something I had never done in all my active life. It will probably surprise you to learn that though I began to call attention to the plots and conspiracies of Stalin's vassals and their clandestine and open crimes against your and my comrades I did indeed use "tact" in my writing and speaking about them.

You will probably not guess why I treated them so mildly. Well, it was because I had been out of Spain six months and removed



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3

39242

from the havoc I had read about. I felt therefore I should be careful in my indictment against the perpretat<sup>ion</sup> of the May events..

To learn <sup>Just Ben</sup> at first hand was really the reason that made me strain every nerve to get back to Spain.

Well dear comrades, a few weeks in your heroic country set all my doubts aside about the ruthless gang that had undermined much of your great achievements. Their savage march through some of the collectives - their terror they had let loose - the victims of that terror in prison and dead. And what seemed most tragic to me - the suppression of your freedom of speech, press and assembly. All that and more carried out by the Moscow gang.

Strange how history repeats itself. You will remember my saying at the Congress of the I.W.M.A. that there is no comparison between the Spanish and Russian Revolutions. I should have added no comparison in anything save one - the deadly communist regime that had crused <sup>h</sup> the Russian Revolution was <sup>and Negrin</sup> ~~resting~~ its power again on Spanish soil. I know, I know it was the libertarian spirit of the Spanish people, it was the moral strength of the CNT-FAI that stemmed the tide from the East. But the harm they had succeeded in doing your revolution, your constructive work and the chance of a speedy reckoning with Franco were enough to make further silence a crime.

When I left Spain the second time I had quite decided to make known the facts of the counter-revolutionary atmosphere created by the Communists in power and certainly condoned by the Negrin Government, When I <sup>arrived in</sup> returned to England I discovered that others had preceded me who were publicly pointing out the evil effect of Communist activities on the Anti-Fascist war. Such papers as the Daily Herald, the News Chronicle and Reynolds Weekly News, who had

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89241

always held up the Communists as the paragon of sweetness and light, were telling their readers that perhaps they had gone "too far". The New Leader, once its Party had emancipated itself from its amorous advances to the Communist Party for a United Front, has engaged in a systematic campaign to expose the wretched Stalin gang in Spain. Fenner Brockway, general secretary of the Independent Labour Party, John McGovern, I.L.P. Member of Parliament, have both written scathing indictments of the Stalin plots and their detrimental effect on the Anti-Fascist struggle. I am sending you John McGovern's pamphlet. It fairly burns with indignation <sup>against</sup> the people who dare speak in the name of Socialism and Communism, and are yet in league with all the Imperialists to crush the Spanish Revolution. I cannot believe dear comrades that you would have wanted me to either keep silent altogether, or to smooth over what had happened in Spain since May. I surely not had you been aware of how widespread <sup>about</sup> was the knowledge of the actual part the Communists have played in your country.

You write "one can say things sometimes; but one must use tact". Dear comrades, the most tactful comrade in the entire Anarchist movement is Rudolf Rocker. Yet no one could possibly be more forcible and outspoken in his exposure of Stalin's schemes in Spain and his cowardly acquiescence to France and England in regard to Non-Intervention. I was told you were enthusiastic of the work of our brilliant and grand comrade, and justly so. Why then are you so perturbed with my article, <sup>or</sup> <sup>you</sup> perhaps will be more so, when you read the report of my lecture on the betrayal of the Spanish people at a large and intensely interested audience last Friday. I may not use enough "tact" but the restraint I have used has often violated

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5

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all my sensibilities - and I have done so only for the sake of your struggle in which I believe implicitly and which I want to help.

You write that to speak abroad of the "bad" activities of the Communists and the Negrin Government is bound to do you harm. The workers in every country will ask "why should we help the Anti-Fascist struggle if its Government persecutes our ~~workers~~ <sup>anarchists</sup> even more than capitalist countries". The answer to this, dear comrades, seems to me not to be in the denial of the existence of the persecution - rather is it in the frank admission that it does exist due to intrigue and communist interference since their putsch in May.

In 1922 when my comrade Alexander Berkman and I came out of Russia and began to show up the Bolshevik regime in its true light, we were told that we were injuring the Social Revolution and helping its enemies. Then our voices were crying in the wilderness; But time has proven them clear and sound. Now the whole world knows the effect in and out of Russia of the Soviet regime.

Isn't it strange, dear comrades, that you should make the <sup>same</sup> objections fifteen years later. True, mine is no longer a lone voice. The betrayal of the Anti-Fascist struggle and the Spanish Revolution by Stalin and his emissaries <sup>is common and all the imperialists</sup> is becoming common knowledge; but the danger to the outcome of your struggle is still very acute - not as you think - because of my writing about your government or the communists; but because there are still too many who believe in the <sup>false</sup> lying propaganda of the Communists about you. The continued vilification in their own Press and their influence on the so called Liberal papers. You may, or may not know Stalin's scribe <sup>the</sup> ~~Lola~~ <sup>who</sup> Fisher wrote last year that the "anarchists ran away from the Madrid front on November

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6

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6th and 16th<sup>th</sup> 1936.<sup>6</sup> Or that the correspondent of the "New York Sunday Times" reported that the "anarchists preferred to go off to Valencia <sup>and</sup> for the week/instead of guarding the Front". Or the Special correspondent of the Manchester Guardian in a recent report informing the readers of his paper, that "in point of military morale at the front the Anarchists simply did not count". Added to this insult is the injury to the Anti-Fascist struggle in the bombastic claims of Communist, and Liberal papers, that Stalin has 'saved Spain - that the International Brigade has saved Madrid - that he still sends arms and foodstuff - that the Communists alone are brave and daring - that they have taken Belohite - that the CNT-FAI are a negligible quantity, and a lot more.

Really dear Comrades, it is humanly impossible to keep silent in the face of such monstrous lies and malignity.

Dont you see that the injury you speak of comes from that source and not from my writing or speaking plainly.

You speak of the possibility of alinating the enthusiasm of the International proletariat . You are mistaken my dears. The enthusiasm of the workers that flared up like huge flames in the beginning of your Revolution has been damped <sup>and</sup> by the very people you have been handling with kid gloves, and that you ask me to handle with "tact".

I do not think that I am mistaken when I say that the only way to rekindle the enthusiasm of the workers in every land for your struggle and your aim is to unmask the lying face of Stalin and his followere and to let the world see <sup>it</sup> /in all its hideous nakedness. Whether you agree with it or not , its being done by many people out-

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7

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side of our own ranks.

It is really impossible to escape the growing indignation in revolutionary ranks against the undermining effect of the Soviet rule. One is confronted with it at every meeting. One must face the numerous questions about communist activities in Spain - about political persecutions - about many other things. One must answer them freely and frankly, or make <sup>one</sup> ~~ourselves~~ <sup>for</sup> ridiculous.

The significant side of it is that when the communists try to interfere the whole audience becomes rebellious. That's what happened at our meeting Friday the 14th. With few exceptions the crowd came to our side.

Dear comrades, I would not injure your struggle for anything in the world. How could I ~~wish~~ - who from the first moment of the 19th July decided to dedicate myself to your ~~struggle~~ <sup>great cause</sup>

Dear comrades, can you not trust my judgment of the best way to plead your <sup>interest</sup> ~~cause~~ in this country. You see, I know its people, - its possibilities and the way to reach it. Continued hiding of stark facts is not the way.

I had not intended to write you at such length. But certain things had to be said which I never had a chance to do.

I hope fervently that you will understand that <sup>for the sake of the cause</sup> it is my passionate devotion to your gallant struggle, which made me write as I did.

Yours  
With my abiding faith in my, dear Spanish comrades.

Fraternally,

Emma Goldman

and signed  
for Emma



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Jan. 20, London [to] Mariano R. V[á]zquez [and] Pedro Herrera, [Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman]. — 4 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

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*Emma Goldman*  
to

LONDON. January 20th 1938.

To:— L'  
Mariano R Vazquez,  
Secretary of the C.N.T.  
Pedro Herrera,  
Secretary of the Pensinular  
Committee of the F.A.I.

Dear Comrades,

Thank you heartily for your comradely letter of the 11th of the month, written in French, wherein you take objection to my article in the "Spanish Revolution" on political persecution in Anti-Fascist Spain. I appreciate deeply your solidarity that prompted your suggestion that we should "consider together the effects of my criticism of the Negrin - Communist Government in the Anti-Fascist struggle". It has always been my opinion that a kindly warm feeling between comrades would lend to a better understanding of so many differences in our ranks.

Dear comrades, this is my third attempt to answer your letter. I wrote the first almost immediately on receipt of yours. I was hardly grieved at the suggestion that my articles might injure your struggle. I destroyed that letter because I feared it would convey the impression that I was hurt, therefore, meant to forsake you in your crucial hour. I waited twenty four hours, read and reread all the points in your letter, then made another attempt; but I was no more successful than the first time - so I stopped the translation when more than half had been done, spent another tortuous day and night, and here I am trying for the third time to find the tone and the words that would help you to see that I have seriously examined your objections.

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2.

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Strange how history repeats itself. You will remember my saying at the Congress of the I.W.M.A. that there is no comparison between the Spanish and Russian Revolutions. I should have added no comparison in anything save one - the deadly communist regime that had crushed the Russian Revolution and was using its power again on Spanish soil. I know, I know it was the libertarian spirit of the Spanish people, it was the moral strength of the CNT-FAI that stemmed the tide from the East. But the harm they had succeeded in doing your revolution, your constructive work and the chance of a speedy reconing with Franco was enough to make further silence a crime.

When I left Spain the second time I had quite decided to make known the facts of the counter-revolutionary atmosphere created by the Communists in power, and certainly condoned by the Negrin Government. When I arrived in England I discovered that others had preceded me who were publicly pointing out the evil effect of Communist activities on the Anti-Fascist War. Such papers as the Daily Herald, the New Chronicle and Reynolds Weekly News, who had always held up the Communists as the paragon of sweetness and light, were telling their readers that perhaps they had gone "too far". The New Leader, once its party had emancipated itself from its amorous advances to the Communist Party for a United Front, has engaged in a systematic campaign to expose the wretched Stalin gang in Spain. Fenner Brockway, general secretary of the Independent Labour Party, J. John McGovern, I.L.P. member of Parliament, have both written scathing indictments of the Stalin plots and their detrimental effect on the Anti-Fascist struggle. I am sending you John McGovern's pamphlet. It fairly burns with indignation against the people who dare speak in the name of Socialism and Communism, and are yet in league with

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3

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You write "one can say things sometimes: but one must use tact". Dear comrades, the most tactful comrade in the entire Anarchist movement is Rudolf Rocker. Yet no one could possibly be more forcible and outspoken in his exposure of Stalin's schemes in Spain and his cowardly acquiescence to France and England in respect to Non-Intervention. I was told you were enthusiastic of the work of our brilliant and grand comrade, and justly so. Why then are you perturbed with my article? Perhaps you will be even more so, when you read the report of my lecture on the betrayal of the Spanish people at a large and intensely interested audience last Friday. I may not use enough "tact"; but the restraint I have used has often violated all my sensibilities - and I have done so only for the sake of your struggle in which I believe implicitly and which I want to help.

You write that to speak abroad of the "bad" activities of the Communists and the Negrin Government is bound to do you harm. The workers in every country will ask "why should we help the Anti-Fascist struggle if its government persecutes our comrades even more than capitalist countries". The answer to this, dear comrades, seems to me to be in the denial of the existence of the persecution - rather is it in the frank admission that it does exist due to intrigue and communist interference since their putsch on May.

In 1922 when my comrade Alexander and I came out of Russia and began to show up the Bolshevik regime in its true light, we were told that we were injuring the Social Revolution and helping its enemies. Then our voices were crying in the wilderness; But time has proven them clear and sound. Now the whole world knows the effectian and out of Russia of the Soviet regime.

Isn't it strange, dear comrades, that you should make the same objections fifteen years later? True, mine is no longer a lone voice. The betrayal of the Anti-Fascist struggle and the Spanish Revolution by Stalin and his emissaries, in common with all the Imperialists, is becoming common knowledge: but the danger to the outcome of your struggle is still very acute - not as you think - because of my writing about your government or the communists; but because there are still too many who believe in the lying propaganda of the Communists about you. The continued vilification in their own Press and their influence on the so called Liberal papers. You may or may not know Stalin's scribe Louis Fisher who wrote last year that the "Anarchists ran away from the Madrid front on November 6th and 16th" 1936. Or that the correspondent of the "New York Sunday Times" reported that the "Anarchists preferred to go off to Valencia for the week end instead of guarding the front". Or the Special correspondent of the Manchester Guardian in a recent report informing the readers of his paper, that "in point of military morale at the front the Anarchists

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Really dear comrades, it is humanly impossible to keep silent in the face of such monstrous lies and malignity.

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You speak of the possibility of alin[ati]ng the enthusiasm of the International proletariat. You are mistaken my dears. The enthusiasm of the workers that flared up like huge flames in the beginning of your Revolution has been dampened by the very people you have been handling with kid gloves, and that you ask me to handle with "tact".

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I do not think/I am mistaken when I say that the only way to rekindle the enthusiasm of the workers in ev[er]y land for your struggle and your aims is to unmask the lying face of Stalin and his followers, and to let the world see it in all its hideous nakedness. Whether you agree with it or not, its being done by many people outside of our own ranks.

It is really impossible to escape the growing indignation in revolutionary ranks against the undermining effect of the Soviet rule. One is confronted with it at ev[er]y meeting. One must face the numerous questions about communist activities in Spain - about political persecutions - about many other things. One must answer them freely and frankly, or make oneself ridiculous.

The significant side of it is that when the communists try to interfere the whole audience becomes rebellous. Thats what happened at our meeting Friday the 14th. With few exceptions the crowd came to our side.

Dear comrades, I would nt[ot] injure your struggle for anything in the world. How could I, who from the first moment of the 19th July decided to dedicate myself to your great cause.

Dear comrades, can you not trust my judgment of the best way to plead your interest in this country. You see, I know its people, - its possibilities and the way to reach it. Continued hiding of stark facts is not the way.

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I hope fervently that you will understand that it is my passion -ate devotion to your gallant struggle for the Revolution and against Fascism which made me write as I did.

With my abiding faith in my your dear Spanish comrades.  
Fraternally,



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 Roc

LONDON. January 20th 1938.

To:-  
Mariano R Vazquez,  
Secretary of the C.A.T.  
Pedro Herrera,  
Secretary of the Encinular  
Committee of the F.A.I.

Dear Comrades,

Thank you heartily for your comradely letter of the 11th of the month, written in French, wherein you take objection to my article in the "Spanish Revolution" on political persecution in Anti-Fascist Spain. I appreciate deeply your solidarity that prompted your suggestion that we should "consider together the effect of my criticism of the Agrin - Communist Government in the Anti-Fascist struggle". It has always been my opinion that a kindly warm feeling between comrades would lead to a better understanding of so many differences in our ranks.

Dear comrades, this is my third attempt to answer your letter. I wrote the first almost immediately on receipt of yours. I was hardly grieved at the suggestion that my articles might injure your struggle. I destroyed that letter because I feared it could convey the impression that I was hurt, therefore, meant to forsake you in your crucial hour. I waited twenty four hours, read and reread all the points in your letter, then made another attempt; but I was no more successful than the first time - so I sto, od the translation when more to a half had been done, spent another torturous day and night, and here I am trying for the third time to find the tone and the words that would help you to see that I have seriously examined your objections.

My friends are you do not realize that in my work in your behalf I have considered every step I have taken, although often in total disagreement with your tactics I have followed your course because I knew the sinister force that made these tactics imperative.

During my first visit in Spain when Russian arms began to arrive, I knew that Stalin would add other blessings that will prove a curse to the Spanish revolution and to you. But with my nose at the throat of Madrid I realized that you had no choice. I trembled for the price you would have to pay for Soviet help and Stalin's comradeship. Knowing that, I kept silent on the ruthlessness of Russian Communism which I had openly fought since I came out of Russia in 1921. I kept silent hoping that the Spanish people loved libertarianism too well to become an easy prey to Stalin's designs on them and your Revolution. I kept silent because my passionate faith in the revolutionary spirit of the CNT-FAI, their dauntless courage, and their unimpeachable integrity. Then comes the terrible May events, after which you yourselves began to speak out against the villainy and perfidity of your communist allies. Your voice was heard not

Dear comrades

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2.

Roc

only in Spain - it reached the ears of workers in every land. It was only then that I felt released from the hateful task of making a falsehood appear as truth.- something I had never done in all my active life. It will probably surprise you to learn that though I began to call attention to the plots and conspiracies of Stalin's vassals and their clandestine and open crimes against your and my comrades I did indeed use "t:ot" in my writing and speaking about them.

You will probably not guess why I treated him so mildly. Well, it was because I had been out of Spain six months and removed from the havoc I had read about. I felt therefore I should be careful in my indictment against the perpetrators of the May events. To learn about them at first hand was really the reason that made me restrain every nerve to get back to Spain.

Well dear comrades, a few weeks in your heroic country set all my doubts aside about the ruthless gang that undermined much of your great achievements. Their savage march through some of the collectives - their terror they had let loose - the victims of this terror in prison and dead. And what seemed most tragic to me - the suppression of your freedom of speech, press and assembly. All this was carried out by the Moscow gang.

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8

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BROOM HOUSE SEER GREEN BEACONSFIELD

JORDANS 2194

20.1.38

Dear Miss Goldman,

I am very pleased to hear that you have read my article, and that it has met with your approval. I am not, and do not think I ever shall be, an anarchist in the active political sense. But my more philosophical sympathies have always been in that direction, and I am conscious enough of your own contributions to that movement of thought to take great pride in your approval. When you see the second part of my article, you will find that I have defined my own attitude more precisely than was possible in the first part. I do not withhold myself from any more active participation in the movement from any sense of superiority or exclusiveness, but rather because I believe that one's faith should be expressed in one's work, and that political organisation should correspond strictly with functional organisation. I believe in anarchist groups in every workshop, but my workshop is my study and I can only work as an individualist. I do not believe, that is to say, in political groups organised on a purely political or ideological basis; for that has been the fundamental cause of communist disintegration. Political power becomes an end in itself; the party is transformed into a bureaucracy and the bureaucracy into an oligarchy. The class struggle is re-established.

I do not say all this to excuse myself from any participation in your present appeal and manifesto. If you think my name will



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...any weight, you are welcome to use it. I am sure  
that all sympathisers with the anti-fascist cause are  
a little bewildered by the multiplicity of the arguments  
advanced, but you make out a very good case in justification  
of this new one.

I would give no great pleasure to meet you and  
talk of the present position of the O.N.T. and  
to discuss the obscure of late — and to talk generally  
As you will see, I have moved out of London, but I  
days to my office at the Burlington Magazine, and could  
come to take tea with you one day. Would next Wednesday  
Thursday suit you?

Yours sincerely,

Herbert Read

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19337

C. N. T.

A. I. T.

F. A. I.

**CONFEDERACIÓN NACIONAL DEL TRABAJO  
FEDERACIÓN ANARQUISTA IBÉRICA**

CASA C. N. T. - F. A. I.

VIA DURRUTI, 32

BARCELONA

OFICINA DE PROPAGANDA EXTERIOR

SECRETARIADO - DEPARTAMENTO 84  
TELÉFONO 14731 - 41

Nº 138.

## TELÉFONOS:

CENTRALITA 14731

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BOLETÍN PORTUGUÉS 46

Barcelona, le 21 janvier 1938.

Camarade EMMA GOLDMAN,  
Londres.

Chère Camarade,

Jusqu'ici nous n'avons pas reçu votre lettre du 22 décembre écoulé que vous nous avez fait parvenir par l'intermédiaire de Perpignan. Quelques jours auparavant nous avons eu la visite de Mme. Adams qui nous a porté "Writers and Artist 1938". Il y a dix jours que nous avons reçu aussi le colis que vous nous avez fait parvenir de Paris. De tout cela je vous remercie de tout mon cœur.

Pendant votre séjour à Paris je vous ai remis à votre adresse de Londres tout le matériel d'information que j'avais, car je n'avais pas le temps de vous écrire. En ce qui concerne les rapports sur les collectivités de Madrid et du Levant, que vous avez visité avec le camarade Souchy, je les ai envoyés aussi. En plus de celui que vous m'avez laissé, je vous ai remis une copie que j'ai trouvée dans les Bureaux et j'espère qu'à le moment vous seront déjà parvenus. Souchy, l'éternel voyageur, se trouve absent, car autrement je l'aurais demandé une autre copie. A son retour de Andalucía, où il se trouve ramassant du matériel sur les collectivisations, je lui demanderait cette copie. Il est possible qu'avec tout le matériel qu'il a ramassé dans ces voyages, il fera une œuvre sérieuse sur l'état des collectivisations.

En vue de que nous ne recevons pas "Spain and the World", nous vous serions gré de bien vouloir intervenir près de l'administration de ce journal, afin qu'ils nous fassent parvenir 5 exemplaires. Nous les avons besoin car il est nécessaire avoir à la main tout ce qui s'imprime nous concernant, d'autant plus si c'est d'un journal à nous.

Tous ceux qui nous trouvent en Espagne, nous nous rendons compte de l'énorme œuvre que vous faites en An-  
....

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1933

Angleterre et nous savons aussi que la seule personne qui vous aide, et cela avec désintéressement, c'est le camarade Barr. Vous devez savoir que tous les camarades d'Espagne vous aiment bien et ils savent ce qui signifie votre œuvre pour l'Espagne et pour la Révolution.

J'ai vu à Herrera et je lui ai demandé de me permettre lire la lettre dont vous faites allusion dans la votre. Il m'a promis de me donner à lire cette lettre.

Nous nous rendons compte de ce qui signifie pour l'étranger la collaboration de plusieurs forces contraires. Les communistes, qui auparavant ils ne représentaient pas aucune force, ils sont devenus, grâce à l'aide de l'U.R.S.S., un élément qui par fois détermine, en quelques aspects, la politique de ce pays. Les camarades espagnols connaissent bien cela, mais ils sont enchaînés et actuellement ils ne peuvent pas les repousser tout à fait.

La situation a changé beaucoup. Dans le tracassage du temps, change encore plus favorablement pour nous. Aussi tôt que l'on a pu se séparer de l'armement russe, l'on a pu séparer aux communistes des postes d'administration en Espagne. L'on peut voir cela dans les forces armées, ainsi que dans la vie civile. L'on a destitué assez de Commissaires qui se sont conduits comme des sectaires de Staline et qui ils regardaient plus l'œuvre de son parti que celle de l'antifascisme en général. Quelques d'entre eux ont été, en plus, emprisonnés. Le Commissaire de la Brigade Internationale qui régnait à Albacete jusqu'à présent, a été emprisonné et on lui demande des responsabilités. Je crois qu'il ne va pas sortir très bien de cette affaire.

Une autre nouvelle que je viens de recevoir: Comorera, qui a qualifié aux milieux anarchistes de "tribus" qui attaquaient par les chemins, maintenant désire resserrer les relations avec ces mêmes tribus. Hier, a demandé, personnellement, une entrevue à notre camarade Toryho, afin de le connaître personnellement et lui faire quelques déclarations. Vous pouvez supposer comme ils se trouvent les communistes quand Comorera, qui est celui qui a fait le plus de mal aux anarchistes et pour lesquels il a une haine plus grande que pour les fascistes, il désire avoir des relations plus étroites avec ces mêmes anarchistes. Le camarade Toryho, directeur de "Solidaridad Obrera", lui a répondu qu'il ne désire pas lui connaître personnellement et que ces déclarations ne lui intéressent pas.

Il y a beaucoup plus de détails avec lesquels l'on pourrait remplir quelques pages, mais avec celui-ci vous pouvez voir que l'influence des communistes diminue, tandis que celle des autres s'assure.

Par votre lettre vous me communiquez de m'avoir envoyé les adresses des Trade Unions, mais je ne les ai pas reçues encore. Je n'ai que celles qui m'ont porté Mrs. Adams. Si Stuchy ne serait pas absent je lui demanderais celles de l'année dernière. Je le ferai à son retour et je vous tiendrai au courant.

....

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19339

La camarade Mercedes est assez malade. Je n'ai pas eu l'occasion d'aller la voir, mais l'on m'a communiqué qu'elle ne sort pas de chez elle.

Les camarades l'ont proposé de passer quelque temps dans les montagnes de la province de Lérida, mais elle n'a pas voulu accepter et maintenant elle se trouve encore plus malade.

Je vous ai fait parvenir un numéro de "Mujeres Libres" et je vous prie de mentionner cette revue.

Vous pouvez voir que ma secrétaire est déjà bien, car elle vous écrit en français. ( Je profite de l'occasion pour vous remercier de votre intérêt à mon égard et vous transmette mes salutations les plus cordiales.)

Les lettres qui m'arrivent par l'intermédiaire de Perpignan, arrivent avec quelque retard, mais c'est le plus sûr moyen. Votre dernière lettre m'est parvenue avec un si grand retard, à cause de ce que la personne chargée de me la transmettre l'a retenue quelques jours. L'an m'a promis de Perpignan qu'à l'avenir ils me feront parvenir les lettres par une personne un peu plus soigneuse.

Si vous voulez écri au camarade Herrera, vous pouvez le faire par le même moyen, que je lui transmettrai votre lettre aussi tôt qu'il la recevra.

Adieu, chère Camarade, mes salutations bien fraternelles,

Моя подруга и я еще раз вам благодарны за присланную посылку. Также благодарны все товарищи, которые со мною работают. Новый год встретили не только негально, приезжали фашисты и бросали бомбы. Вчера тоже бомбардировали Барселону. Эта была самая ужасная бомбардировка, центр города. Убили около 150, ранили 300.

Когда Вы были в Испании, уже было трудновато с пищей, но теперь еще хуже. Счастливо, что скоро будем иметь новую картошку, все ее ожидают. Кофе в Барселоне совсем нету, сахар тоже нет. Ваш посылка был очень хорошо подобран, но все потрачено слишком много денег.

Сердечный привет

Ваше Мартин Г

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938] Jan. 21 [London to Emma] Goldman, [London] / P[eter] Chalmers Mitchell.— 1 p. ; 13 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

M

Jan. 21

17757

Dear Ellen Goldman,

I am very sorry but at this particular time it would be unwise of me to come out as an active public supporter of the F.A.I. and C.N.T. You see if by any chance I were to succeed in my candidature for the Scottish Universities parliamentary seat, I could probably do something for Spain in the House of Commons. I am not being cowardly but trying to be prudent.

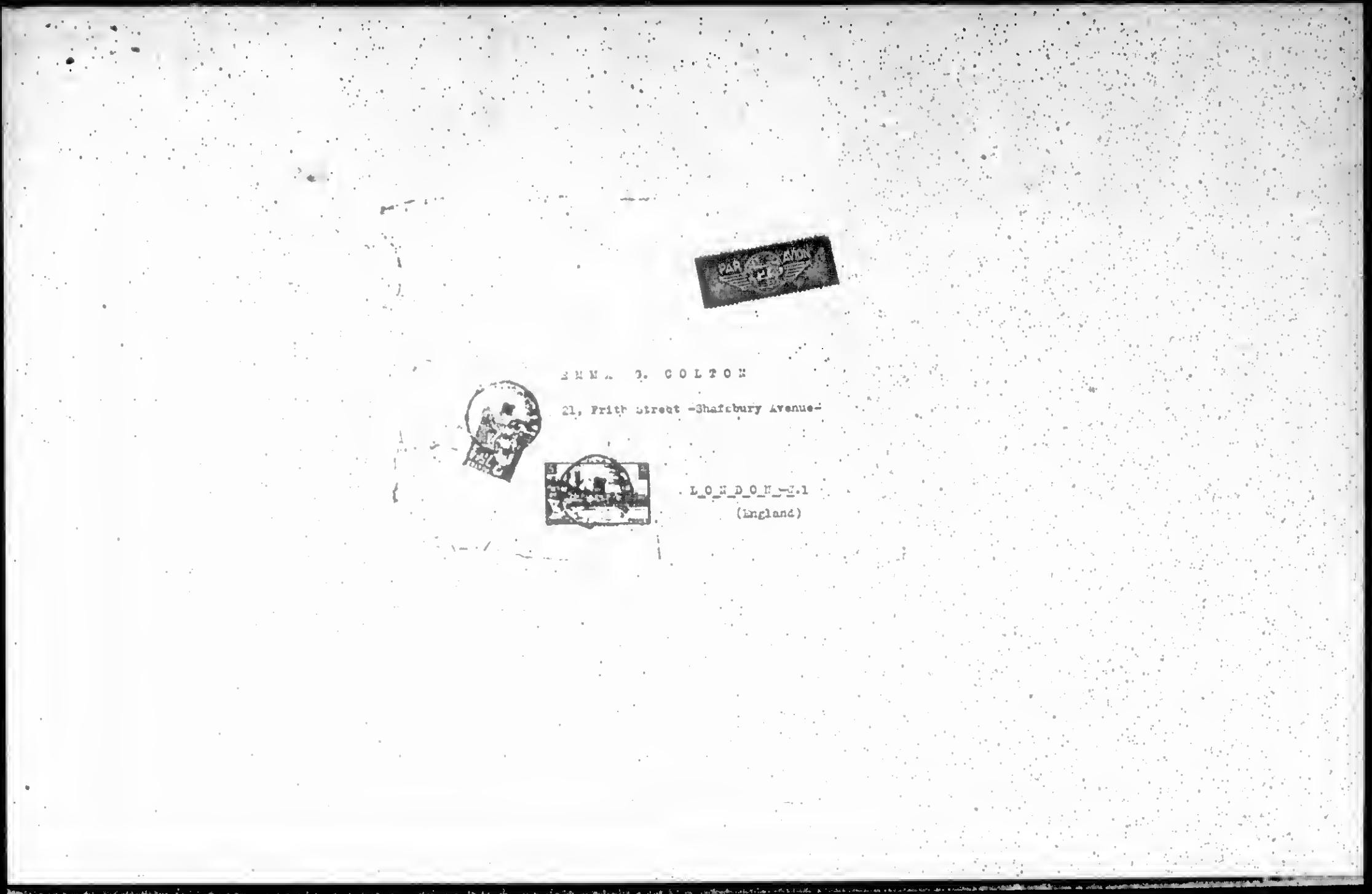
Yours very sincerely

P. Chalmers Mitchell

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Envelope, 1938 Jan.?] 22 [France to] Emma G[oldman], London / [author unknown].— 1 p. ; 9 × 11 cm.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 Jan. 22, London [to Herbert] Read, [Beaconsfield, England] / Emma Goldman. — 2 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.

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C.N.T.

A.I.T.

F.A.I.

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AND REGIONAL COMITE C.N.T.-F.A.I.—BARCELONA  
INTERNATIONAL PRESS SERVICE

London Office

21 FRITH STREET  
SHAFTESBURY AVENUE  
LONDON, W.1

London, Jan 22nd 38

TELEPHONE: GERRARD 2636 •

Dear Mr Read. ~~Thank you very much for your friendly letter.~~ I cannot tell you how encouraged I feel to find some kindred spirit in this country. My field for thirty five years had been the United States. Since I came here in 24. living in England until twentysix and returning to it every year almost I have tried repeatedly to find people not tied by political party machines. I have discovered but very few. You can imagine, therefore, what an inspiration it was to find an Englishman ~~how~~ has the courage to ~~say~~ write about THE NECESSITY OF ANARCHISM. I understand perfectly that this need not mean that you must be allied to any Anarchist group, or sing its praise from public platforms. In point of fact I have become an Anarchist because I saw in it the utmost freedom for the individual and his right to plead his ideas in his own way and by the means best suited to his thought and feeling. Anarchism to me is the only social philosophy that particularly stresses the freedom of the creative spirit ~~whether~~ in the arts and science whether by brush or pen or lyre. We know full well that the artist who turns politician is lost to his art and also does not serve any good in the political confines.

I am so glad you will be free Wed. I wonder whether you would care to attend a private showing of a CNT-FAI Film? It will be shown Kino Films 84 Grays Inn Road Wed. 2,30 P.M. It will only take about 45 minutes. We could then come back to my flat for tea, or go somewhere. I am afraid I could not see you Thursday. I do hope we can meet it Wed. It will be alright if you cannot spare the time to see the film, in that case please come to 18 Castletown Rd. W.14 at 4,30.

I am writing on CNT-FAI stationary. The SIA is a separate and distinct undertaking on purely humanitarian grounds. Since I heard from you I have also heard from Laurence Housman, Havelock Ellis, and John Cowper Powys in answer to my letter asking them to serve as sponsors. And of course we expect quite a few more. So you will be in good company.

Thank you again. Sincerely

Emma Goldman

I am a rather  
typical, and my  
sed. is not making  
but me Saturday.

My private phone  
is 22-29

# The Emma Goldman Papers

840305876

[Letter, 19]38 Jan. 22, London [to Herbert] Read, [Beaconsfield, England] / Emma Goldman. — 2 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.

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you can get to my flat by the  
underground station West Kensington  
Station. Castleknock Rd. is  
few minutes walk. It is N/8  
and I am on the second floor.  
His explanation in case you  
cannot come to see the film  
I hope you can.

cg  
6/5

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 Jan. 22 [London to Herbert] Read, [Beaconsfield, England] / [Emma Goldman].— 1 p. ; 25 × 19 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.  
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17847

Jan 22nd 38

Dear Mr Read. Thank you very much for your friendly letter. I cannot tell you how encouraged I feel to find some kindred spirit in this country. My field for thirty five years had been the United States. Since I came here in 24. living in England until twenty six and returning to it every year almost I have tried repeatedly to find people not tied by political party machines. I have discovered but very few. You can imagine therefore what an inspiration it was to find an Englishman how has the courage to ~~say~~ write about THE NECESSITY OF ANARCHISM. I understand perfectly that this need not mean that you must be allied to any Anarchist group, or sing its praise from public platforms. In point of fact I have become an Anarchist because I saw in it the utmost freedom for the individual and his right to plead his ideas in his own way and by the means best suited to his thought and feeling. Anarchism to me is the only social philosophy that particularly stresses the freedom of the creative spirit ~~whether~~ in the arts and sciences whether by brush or pen or lyre. We know full well that the artists who turns politician is lost to his art and also does not serve any good in the political confines.

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Thank you again. Sincerely

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Jan. 22 [London to] R.P. Hewett, [London?] / Emma Goldman. —  
1 p.; 20 × 16 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17450

From: Miss Emma Goldman,  
S.I.A.,  
21, Frith Street,  
Shaftesbury Avenue,  
W. 1.

22nd January, 1938.

Dear Sir,

I was deeply impressed by your answer to the questionnaire of "Authors Take Sides on the Spanish War" and by your understanding of the actions of the murderous Fascists in Addis Ababa, Guernica and Tientsin. You are among the few who, though far removed geographically, are yet very close to the tragedy which has befallen the victims of Fascism by whatever name or colour it goes.

It is for this reason that I am taking the liberty of writing to you, and I hope that you will find time to read the enclosed draft of an appeal and manifesto which the London Section of International Anti-Fascist Solidarity intends to send out to people interested and able to contribute to the care of the many unfortunates in Spain.

When you have read the statement, you may be good enough to consent to let us use your name on the list of sponsors. So far we have already heard from Louis Golding, John Cowper Powys and Dr. Stella Churchill, and Ethel Mannin is acting as Honorary Treasurer. We have also written to Aldous Huxley, Herbert Read, Storm Jameson, Naomi Mitchison and a great many others who have contributed to "Authors Take Sides on the Spanish War".

One of the first steps we mean to take is to hold an exhibition early next month of drawings by children in some of the Barcelona schools - children under the daily duress of bombardment.

Please let me hear from you soon.

Sincerely,

R.P. Hewett, Esq.

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Jan. 22 [London to] H[yman] Levy, [London] / Emma Goldman. — 1 p. ; 20 × 16 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

18240

From: Miss Emma Goldman,  
S.I.A.,  
21, Frith Street,  
Shaftesbury Avenue,  
W. 1.

22nd January, 1938.

Dear Sir,

Your splendid reply to the questionnaire of "Authors Take Sides on the Spanish War" has induced me to take heart and write to you on behalf of the innocent victims of Fascism in Spain. It is a great comfort to those of us who have struggled to help the heroic Spanish people since the military and Fascist conspiracy was discovered on July 19th, 1936, to find one among the few scientists who has ranged himself with the gallant efforts of Spain.

It is for this reason that I am sending you the enclosed draft of an appeal and manifesto which the London Section of International Anti-Fascist Solidarity intends to send out to people interested and able to contribute to the care of the many unfortunates in Spain.

I hope, when you have read the statement, you may be good enough to consent to let us use your name on the list of sponsors. So far we have already heard from Louis Golding, John Cowper Powys and Dr. Stella Churchill, and Ethel Mannin is acting as Honorary Treasurer. We have also written to Aldous Huxley, Herbert Read, Storm Jameson, Naomi Mitchison and a great many others who have contributed to "Authors Take Sides on the Spanish War".

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Please let me hear from you soon.

Sincerely,

Professor H. Levy.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Jan. 22 [London to] William Forrest, [London?] / Emma Goldman. —  
1 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17801

From: Miss Emma Goldman,  
S.I.A.,  
21, Frith Street,  
Shaftesbury Avenue,  
W. 1.

22nd January, 1938.

Dear William Forrest,

As a daughter of a proletariat I feel at liberty  
to write to the son of a labourer.

I was glad to see in your answer to the question-  
naire of "Authors Take Sides on the Spanish War" that you  
feel deeply with the labourers, trade unionists and writers  
of Spain, and with their struggle.

May I hope that you will take the time to read the  
enclosed draft of an appeal and manifesto which the London  
Section of International Anti-Fascist Solidarity intends to  
send out to people interested and able to contribute to the  
care of the many unfortunates in Spain?

When you have read the statement, you may be good  
enough to consent to let us use your name on the list of  
sponsors. So far we have already heard from Louis Golding,  
John Cowper Powys and Dr. Stella Churchill, and Ethel Mannin  
is acting as Honorary Treasurer. We have also written to  
Aldous Huxley, Herbert Read, Storm Jameson, Naomi Mitchison  
and a great many others who have contributed to "Authors Take  
Sides on the Spanish War".

One of the first steps we mean to take is to hold  
an exhibition early next month of drawings by children in  
some of the Barcelona schools - children under the daily duress  
of bombardment.

Please let me hear from you soon.

Sincerely,

William Forrest, Esq.

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Jan. 22 [London to] Nancy Cunard, [London?] / Emma Goldman.—  
1 p.; 25 × 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17958

From: Miss Emma Goldman,  
S.I.A.,  
21, Frith Street,  
Shaftesbury Avenue,  
W. 1.

22nd January, 1938.

Dear Nancy Cunard,

While we have never met, I seem to know you through "Auntie", our mutual friend in Venice. Only to-day I had a letter from her in which she again mentioned that she had been with you. This and your fine answer to the questionnaire, "Authors Take Sides on the Spanish War", makes me feel that I am not taking too much liberty in addressing you on behalf of an urgent venture.

May I hope that you will take the time to read the enclosed draft of an appeal and manifesto which the London Section of International Anti-Fascist Solidarity intends to send out to people interested and able to contribute to the care of the many unfortunates in Spain?

When you have read the statement, you may be good enough to consent to let us use your name on the list of sponsors. So far we have already heard from Louis Golding, John Cowper Powys and Dr. Stella Churchill, and Ethel Mannin is acting as Honorary Treasurer. We have also written to Aldous Huxley, Herbert Read, Storm Jameson, Naomi Mitchison and a great many others who have contributed to "Authors Take Sides on the Spanish War".

One of the first steps we mean to take is to hold an exhibition early next month of drawings by children in some of the Barcelona schools - children under the daily duress of bombardment.

Please let me hear from you soon, as we want to begin with the printing of the draft.

Sincerely,

Miss Nancy Cunard.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Jan. 22 [London to Ford] Mado[x] Ford, [London?] / Emma Goldman. — 1 p. ; 25 × 17 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17866

From: Miss Emma Goldman,  
S.I.A.,  
21, Frith Street,  
Shaftesbury Avenue,  
W. 1.

22nd January, 1938.

Dear Mr. Ford,

I hope you have not forgotten our meetings in Paris, once at the Christmas party of Peggy Guggenheim and another time at the Select. Apart from that, I know you through your writings, though I am not so sure that you know me through the same channel. I feel, however, that you will not object to my approaching you on behalf of a most worth-while undertaking.

May I hope that you will take the time to read the enclosed draft of an appeal and manifesto which the London Section of International Anti-Fascist Solidarity intends to send out to people interested and able to contribute to the care of the many unfortunates in Spain?

When you have read the statement, you may be good enough to consent to let us use your name on the list of sponsors. So far we have already heard from Louis Golding, John Cowper Powys and Dr. Stella Churchill, and Ethel Mannin is acting as Honorary Treasurer. We have also written to Aldous Huxley, Herbert Read, Storm Jameson, Naomi Mitchison and a great many others who have contributed to "Authors Take Sides on the Spanish War".

One of the first steps we mean to take is to hold an exhibition early next month of drawings by children in some of the Barcelona schools - children under the daily duress of bombardment.

Please let me hear from you soon.

Sincerely,

Maddock Ford, Esq.

# The Emma Goldman Papers

910628002

[Letter] 1938 Jan. 22, London [to] Charles Henry Mitchell, Oak Park, Ill. / Emma Goldman.— 3 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.  
Obtained from The University of Chicago. Institutional Location: Special Collections, The Joseph Regenstein Library.

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A.I.T.

F.A.I.

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INTERNATIONAL PRESS SERVICE

London Office:

21 FRITH STREET  
SHAFTESBURY AVENUE  
LONDON, W.1

London, 22nd January, 1938.

TELEPHONE: GERRARD 2636

Dear Mr. Mitchell,

Thank you for your letter of the 4th instant. I am afraid I cannot give you any more vivid impressions of the Czolgosz family than you already have. It is so long ago and so many things have happened between that my visit to the parents of the unfortunate boy has become blurred. However, you will find my description of the visit in "Living My Life".

I was not aware that so many of the members of Leo's family went to see him. I thought it was only his sister. I had a few letters from her shortly after his end. They were lost together with many other things in the raid on our office in 1917. One thing, though, I remember very clearly: namely one of his brothers found it necessary to change his name. I do not know which one it was - perhaps the stepbrother. Another thing - I know definitely that the life of Leo under the guidance of his stepmother must have been a perfect hell. The wonder to me was that he didn't escape sooner than he did. I am inclined to think that the early impressions of the woman with all the power of her darkness were the beginning of his revolutionary awakening and his hatred of all injustice and all authority.

About Schilling: he was of course a working man and, like so many whose life is one round of drudgery, he saw in Anarchism the salvation from all ills. He became obsessed by it, and had no understanding of or patience with anyone who did not accept it as he did, as the one and only gospel truth. He was extremely fanatical and therefore distrusted everybody who in the least diverted from his conception of what a true comrade should be. In addition he was extremely suspicious. It was this which led him to the perfectly absurd idea that Leo was a spy. One had but to take a look at the boy's face to see how ridiculous that suspicion was.

About the Isaaks: they were a remarkable family. The father and mother had been Menonites in Russia - a German religious sect. They came to America and almost immediately found their way into anarchist ranks. They began a paper called "Firebrand" in Portland, Oregon, many years ago, which was stopped by Antony Comstock. They later moved to San Francisco where they began the publication of

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Obtained from The University of Chicago. Institutional Location: Special Collections, The Joseph Regenstein Library.

2

"Free Society", subsequently coming to Chicago. Not only the parents, but their two sons, were completely dedicated to the ideal of Anarchism and the work which they carried on by means of the paper and the printing of pamphlets. Actually the Isaaks and their boys wrote, set up and printed the paper by hand themselves.

Their house in Chicago was a sort of headquarters to which not only their own comrades but all sorts of people, including Jane Adams and Clarence Darrow and many others, used to flock. My first meeting with the Isaaks was in 1897 in San Francisco. We became fast friends. The Czolgosz act somewhat blurred that friendship, but never completely destroyed it. The Isaaks then left for some colony - Lincoln, Nebraska. I have not heard anything from them since.

I may say that their daughter, who in 1901 was 14 years of age, was my travelling companion from Chicago to Rochester, New York, and she was one of the group supposed to have conspired against President McKinley. The whole story of this episode you will also find in "Living My Life".

Your suggestion that Leo had any "romantic inclinations" seems to me far-fetched. I do not see how he could, since we met only twice, each time for a brief moment: on the 5th of May in Cleveland and on the 12th of July on my way from the Isaaks' house to the station when I departed for Rochester. Of course he had read some of my writings, and he had heard me speak. What these circumstances created in his mind, no one can know; certainly it could not be a romantic inclination. Youth needs some ideal, and if I became that to Czolgosz I was certainly unaware of it, nor did he by look or word make me conscious of it.

I do not think the motivation for his act suggests mysterious forces. I believe it was conditioned in him just as it was conditioned in a number of other heroic men, to commit an act against the crushing influence of wealth and power. I have known a few of them much better than I knew Leo, and I know that they were men too sensitive to endure injustice and wrong, and in some form had to cry out against both. I would like to suggest that you read my book called "Anarchism and Other Essays". It is out of print now, but you will surely find it in the library. One of the essays deals with the psychology of political violence. My analysis of the various people who have committed such violence also applies to Leo Czolgosz. I have made a study of these acts, and my only explanation for them is that while the majority of

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81



## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Jan. 22, London [to] Charles Henry Mitchell, Oak Park, Ill. / Emma Goldman. — 3 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

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3

people can pass by a burning house with children in danger of losing their lives, or see somebody drown without jumping to the rescue, the few exceptional ones must react, and they will suddenly jump into the fray even at the expense of their own lives. Of course the economic factors are a terrific driving force, but not enough to explain acts of political violence. Something deeper, more profound, conditions them.

That is all I can tell you for the present.

I wish you success in your grand and laudable undertaking.

Sincerely,

*Emma Goldman*

Mr. Charles Henry Mitchell,  
819, Lake Street,  
Oak Park,  
Ill., U.S.A.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Jan. 22 [London to] Charles Henry Mitchell, Oak Park, Ill. / [Emma Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 24 × 18 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

179

22nd January, 1938.

Dear Mr. Mitchell,

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Jan. 22 [London to] Edward Dahlberg, New York / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

19670

22nd January, 1938.

Dear Edward Dahlberg,

Thank you for your nice letter. I wish I could help you, but really it is impossible for the present - even if I had the time, which I have not. The Spanish situation has taken hold of me to such an extent that I cannot think of anything else or write anything that has no bearing on the heartbreakin' tragedy being enacted in Spain; and you know yourself that one cannot do one's best in writing unless one's mind is on the subject, so you have to forgive me for the present. Later on I may think of some important happening in the days before the war that I might do for you.

If only I had access to my eighteen boxes of documents, correspondence, books and other things that connect me with my life and my work in America, I might find something suitable for your magazine, but they are all packed away and are resting peacefully, I hope, with some of my good neighbours in St. Tropes. I could not possibly get at them.

But really the very material you are looking for, you will find in "Living My Life". It has now appeared in a cheap edition. If I were not so poor I should be happy to send you a copy or order the Garden City Press to send you one. You will find there my essay on Voltairine de Cleyre, and if you will read through the book you will get a very vivid picture of Alexander Berkman; and in fact everything about the life and events in New York and in the United States from 1880 until we were politely ushered out of the States.

I am glad you know Henry Elsberg. I see that he has been very active, which means that he has lost his usual lethargy and inertia. He knew Berkman very well indeed, and he knows me. But he knows us both in an alien setting, not in the country where we had our roots, and that may make a very great difference.



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[Letter] 1938 Jan. 22 [London to] Edward Dahlberg, New York / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

19671

2

Havel lived through everything with us. He surely ought to be able to give you something worth while.

I, too, was very much impressed with Randolph Burne. I met him only once in the Brevoort, not long enough to get acquainted. I reprinted his article, "The War and the Intellectuals", because it was the only worth while thing the pseudo-intellectuals had written, the one point and the one voice that they had to show up the fake of all the protestations of "democracy and the war to end war". If I am not mistaken, Saxo Commine, my nephew, knew Randolph Burne. Why not get in touch with him? He works terribly hard at the Random House during the day and does special work at night, but I am sure he will want to give you his impression of that great soul in the poor and crippled body.

I am sorry to be so disappointing. Keep in touch with me and, as I said, later on, when the work here will not be so intensive, I might have the thought and the leisure to write something for you.

Cordially,

Mr. Edward Dahlberg,  
237, West 16th Street,  
New York.

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Jan. 23, Manchester [England to] Emma Goldman, [London] / The Manchester Guardian. — 1 p. ; 25 x 17 cm.

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## The Manchester Guardian

PROPRIETORS: THE MANCHESTER GUARDIAN AND EVENING NEWS LTD.

GUARDIAN BUILDING  
MANCHESTER

EJP/HW

23 January 1938

Dear Madam,

In reply to your further letter we can only say that we are sure our special correspondent was not "guilty of deliberate misrepresentation of the Spanish Anarchists". Had you sent us a short letter expressing your point of view we should have been ready to consider it, but we could not give space to a long attack on our correspondent which accused him of "gross misstatements", "ignorance", "Communist bias", and so on.

Yours very truly,  
for the Editor,

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Miss Emma Goldman.

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 Jan. 24, London [to] Helmut [Rüdiger, Paris] / [Emma Goldman].—  
6 p. ; 23 x 18 cm.

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Jan. 24/38

*Nat* Lieber Helmut. Verzeihe bitte dass ich Deinen Brief nicht früher beantwortet habe. Es ist die alte Geschichte massenhaft zu tun ~~und~~ fasst keine Hilfe. Genosse Barr der der einzige indischer wustent Stadt ist der mit Leib und Leben an unsere Bewegung hängt und Spanien blindlings ergeben ist, ist leider Engländer, so langsam und phlegmatisch er ~~wäre~~ mich schon längst zur Trunksucht getrieben haben wenn er ich ausser ihm noch jemanden hatte in der weitgehenden Tätigkeit die ich hier entfalten habe. Mehr, viel mehr könnte ~~erreicht~~ erreicht werden hätten wir so etwas wie eine Bewegung. Leider ist keine Spur davon vorhanden. Aber Genes erkläre warum ich nicht geschrieben habe.

Du hast recht lieber Freund "in unserer Stellung zu Spanien ist ein inner Zwiespalt." Ich fürchte nur, dass derselbe sich immer mehr erweitern wird. Denn unsere Spanische Kameraden machen solche graueharte Schnitzer die zu erkälären und verteidigen es immer schwerer wird. Da ist zum Beispiel der Steckbrief den Vazquez an uns alle gesandt hat, der Protest gegen die Sammlungen von Gelder im Ausland für die Opfer von der Negrin Bande und der Kommunisten. So was hat es doch noch nicht in unsere Bewegung gegeben, dass Genossen sich gegen die Pflichterfüllung den Inhaftierten gegenüber ablehnen. So gar die Soviet Regierung die doch gewiss unsere Kameraden in ihre Gefangnisse nicht wohlwollend gegenüber steht hat ~~mit~~ die Sammlung von Gelder ~~xxx~~ verdammt, oder abgelehnt unsere Stütze den Kameraden zukommen zu lassen. Ich ~~wir~~ war einfach entsetzt darüber. Ich hatte schon die Absicht Vazquez zu schreiben dass es doch direkt unverzeilich ist einen solchen Protest an uns zu schicken. Den schliesslich haben ja die CNT-FAI genug zu tun und riesige Ausgaben, warum also nicht die Stütze von ausserhalb Spaniens anzunehmen. Es ist eben ihr Minderwertigkeits Gefühl wenn V sagt die Sammlung von Gelder ausserhalb Spaniens stellt sie als "impotent" hin. Gerade dänlich nenn ich so etwas. Nun, ich habe den Brief nicht abgeschickt weil etwas anderes vorgekommen ist dass für mich noch viel mehr bedrückender war, und "omöglich den Bruch meinerseits mit der CNT-FAI zur Folge haben wird. Ich lege Dir den Brief von Vazquez und Herreras bei, zwar in Französischer Fassung und meine Antwort Spanisch übersetzt da Dir Englisch etwas schwer fällt. Du wirst also sehr um was es sich handelt.

Du kannst mir glauben wenn ich Dir sage dass ich schon lange nicht einen so schweren und schmerzhaften inner Kampf durchgemacht habe wie die ganze vorige Woche. Meine erste Antwort ~~xxx~~ bestand in meine Erklärung, dass ich zwar die Ursachen verstehe die die CNT-FAI veranlasst mir den Mund zu stopfen und meine Feder zu paralisieren ~~ich~~ damit nicht einverstanden sein kann, und mich daher zurrückziehen mochte, von der Vertretung der CNT-FAI

# The Emma Goldman Papers

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Roc

*Handwritten:* Aber nachdem ich das Schreiben durch das schickte mir zu schroff und ich habe ihn zerissen. Der zweite Brief den ich dann verfasste bezieht sich mit der Situation here und die große Ausgaben in Verbindung mit dem Bureau der CNT-FAI und SIA und meine Verpflichtung der Miete für ein Jahr. Es ist eben kein Mensch hier, buchstäblich keine einzige Persönlichkeit in unsere Bewegung die meine Arbeit vortsetzen könnte. Mein Zurücktritt hiesse also alles abbrechen was ich begonnen habe, ausserdem ein Jahr Miete für unsere Räume. Auch diesen Eindruck bekommen ~~internationale~~ ich betrachte die materielle Seite wichtiger als ihre Forderung man solle ja nicht die Kommunistin zu schroff behandeln. Der beiliegende Brief ist mein dritter Versuch. Die wirst sehen er ist mild genug, ekelhaft ~~aber~~ ~~sicherlich~~ weichherzig sogar. Nie im Leben hatte ich geglaubt dass ich es soweit bringen werde auf Kompromisse einzugehen die mir in der Seele zuwider sind. Aber die Spanische Situation veranlasst mich sehr viel zu übersehen. Jedoch gibt es auch für mich eine Grenze. Und die Zumutung V's und H's die Verbrechen und Gemeinheiten der Stalin Bande nicht anzunehmen! Das ist also über Helmut, dass es eventuell zu einem Bruch zwischen der CNT und mir kommen dürfte. Es kommt natürlich auf die Antwort der Spanier an. Man kann sich schliesslich nicht ins eigene Gesicht spucken. Es wird aber doch bitter schwer weil meine Tätigkeit hier abbrechen. Dieses nicht nur wegen des materiellen Verlustes für the CNT, sondern auch weil hier der Anfang der Anarcho Syndikalisten Union zu Grunde gehen wird, schon gar nicht von dem Skandal zu sprechen der meine Abtritt von ~~allen~~ hervorruft wird.

*Handwritten:* Es ist rein zum Verzweifeln wie unwissend und unverständlich die Spanier in Bezug auf Europa sind. So haben sie nicht die blasseste Ahnung wie tief die Soviet Regierung seit Stalins Antritt gesunken ist, und wie discreditiert. Jetzt über Russland zu schweigen, alle Welt ihre Schmach und Schande, von alle Bacher verkündet ist, was auch wenn man es wollte einfach unmöglich, hauptsächlich für mich wo ich seit Jahr und Tag gegen die Bande war und sie bei jeder Gelegenheit mit Wort und Schrift angegriffen habe. Bei jeder Versammlung sagen Leute sie waren durch meine Schriften zu Überzeugung gelangt, dass wir recht hatten, als wir die Mosheviki die wahren Koen ~~Revolutionäre~~ nannten. ~~Wie~~ socher Gelegenheit zu schweigen hiesse einfach alles was ich ~~und~~ Genosse Berkman voraussagten zu verneinen und still zu schweigen. Wie soll ich das machen? Und was noch entsetzlicher ist, ich würde den Spanischen Genossen und ihren Kampf nur schaden. Nein, es geht einfach nicht. Sollten die Spanier wie immer hartnäckig darauf bestehen dass ich die Kommunistische Sippe nicht mehr erwähne dann werde ich einfach abgehen müssen. Gewiss werde ich nichts gegen die Genossen tun. Aber auch nicht für.



# The Emma Goldman Papers

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 Roc

Die Ironie ist, dass ich in einemfort gezwungen bin die Spanischen Genossen und ihre Handlungen zu erklären und zu entschuldigen. Du hast ja Abe Bluestein gesehn und gesprochen. Du weisst also vier enttäuscht und ~~unmutig~~ <sup>unmutig</sup> ermutigt er aus Spanien heraus kam. Vor seine Abreise schrieb er mir einen langen Brief, eine ganze Masse Tatsachen enthaltend die sicherlich alles was unsere Kamaraden je vertraten hab haben in Spanien, dirrekt auf den Kopf stellen und dahin bringen werden, dass die CNT immer reformistischen werden muss. Es ist zwar wahr dass Abe alles zu schwarz sieht. Aber schon die Tatsache dass es <sup>ine</sup> grosse geheim arbeitende Opposition giebt, bewisst, dass ~~Aben~~ es sehr viele giebt, die die Gefahr für die Revolution sehen und für ihre Zukunft fürchten. Ich lege Dir auch ein exemplare meines Briefes an Abe bei. Du wirst daraus freuen, dass ich noch immer mit jedem Athemzug an unsere Spanier hange, und an sie glaube. Dass ich gerade durch den Kongress in Valencia wieder Mut gefasst habe und ~~zum~~ neue Begeisterung für die Schaffungskraft der CNT. Gerade dieser Glaube und diese Begeisterung ~~wird~~ machen es viel schwerer für mich auch nur an eine Spaltung zwischen der CNT-FAI und mir zu denken. Du wirst aber zugeben dass fals V. darauf besteht Zensur zu üben, über jedes Wort der Kritik ~~der~~ Kommunisten — Unwesens ich unmöglich weiter machen kann. <sup>Ma</sup> wir werden ja schon. Vorleufig ist es mir schwer und traurig ums Herz, aber die Arbeit geht weiter.

Wie ich schon erwähnte haben wir uns hier für ein Jahr Miete verpflichtet für vier Räume von denen ein grosses Zimmer für die geplante Ausstellungen bestimmt ist, Ausstellung von Kinder Zeichnungen die ich in Schulen in Barcelona bekommen habe, später für eine Ausstellung von Photographie der Kollektive die ich besucht habe. Auch soll dieses Zimmer als Leseraum für unsere Internationale Presse dienen. Dann zwei Räume für die SIA und CNT-FAI, und ein Raum für SPAIN AND THE WORLD. Du kannst Dir nicht vorstellen was dieses Unternehmen für Arbeit macht und machen wird. Tatsächlich bin ungefähr 16 Stunden täglich beschäftigt. Ausserdem bin ich in der Provinz verpflichtet den 10ten und 13ten Feb, und den grossten Teil des März. Mir wird schwindlich bei dem Gedanken dass alleas dieses abgebrochen werden soll.

Was Du mir über die Wahl der Kandidaten für the I.A.A. schreibst ist auf dem selben Styl wie alles was unsere teure Genossen in Spanien nach. Ich benseide wahrhaftig niemanden der mit Prietto zusammen arbeiten soll. Schön eher mit Mascarell. Er weiss nicht viel, aber er scheint mir ein lieber Kerl zu sein mit dem sich reden lässt. Aber zum General Sekretar eignet sich Mascarell natürlich nicht. Ja, Roca waere sehr gut. Er ist der weitsehende Mensch unter allen Spanier die ich getroffen habe, ernst, absolut rein von personlichem Egoiz und sehr kamaradaschaftlich. Ich bin neugierig wie die Wahl aus gefallen ist. Vergess nicht mir zu schreiben bitte.

Lieber Helmut ich kenne keinen Menschen der sich zu dem Zweck eigenen wurde die illegalen Deutsche Genossen zu besuchen. Ja ich habe von dem Hollandischen Genossen gehört der ziemlich viel in Deutschland getan hat. Ich kenne seine Namen nicht, Mollie und



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 Roc

und Sonia kennen ihn, <sup>da</sup> <sup>at</sup> <sup>viel</sup> <sup>für</sup> <sup>sie</sup> <sup>gutan</sup> <sup>un</sup> <sup>sie</sup> <sup>aus</sup> <sup>Deutschlan</sup>  
land h-raus zu bekommen. Ich habe soeben Dein Schreiben noch einmal  
gelesen. Ich sehe dass der Mann der die Genossen besuchte Schwede  
nicht Holländer war.

<sup>Ich</sup> <sup>war</sup> <sup>nur</sup> <sup>einen</sup> <sup>Menschen</sup> <sup>der</sup> <sup>sich</sup> <sup>für</sup> <sup>ein</sup> <sup>solchen</sup> <sup>Unter</sup>  
nehmen passen würde, eine Englische Genossen, <sup>die</sup> <sup>Malerin</sup> <sup>ist</sup>. Aber  
erstlich spricht sie nicht Deutsch, zweitens ist sie gerade in einer  
solchen Angelegenheit für unsere Spanische Genossen auf Reisen. Sollte  
sie bald zurückkommen dann werde ich mit ihr sprechen. Ich bin  
übrigens nicht ganz sicher ob sie Deutsch ~~noch~~ kennt. Sie wäre  
die richtige Person, ist lange in der Bewegung, und absolut zu  
verlässig. Ich kenne noch jemanden, der aber ein sehr prächtiger Jude  
sicher Typus ist. ~~Ich~~ <sup>Ich</sup> <sup>weiss</sup> <sup>etwas</sup> <sup>gefährlich</sup> <sup>ihn</sup> <sup>zu</sup> <sup>senden</sup>. Ich werde  
natürlich die Sache im Auge behalten, vielleicht findet sich jemand.  
So eine Reise dürfte aber mit ziemlich grossen Unkosten verbunden sein  
werdet ihr die Mittel dazu haben?

Du hast in bezug des Militarismus so weit recht  
indem es überhaupt ~~keinen~~ <sup>keinen</sup> <sup>Anarchistischen</sup> <sup>Krieg</sup> <sup>gibt</sup> <sup>oder</sup> <sup>geben</sup>  
kann. Sobald man gezwungen ist Krieg zu führen, auch wenn es zur  
Verteidigung der Revolution ist, dann hört der Anarchismus über  
haupt auf. <sup>Man</sup> <sup>die</sup> <sup>zwei</sup> <sup>sind</sup> <sup>wie</sup> <sup>Feuer</sup> <sup>und</sup> <sup>Wasser</sup>, sie vertagen  
sich nicht. Die Spanische Revolution hat mich übrigens überzeugt,  
dass es auch keine Anarchistische Revolution ~~geben~~ <sup>geben</sup> <sup>kann</sup>  
indem jede Revolution Vorgezwungen bedingt was das entgegengesetzte  
von Anarchismus ist. Nicht dass ich deswegen Pazifistin geworden  
bin. Gar nicht. Ich weiss dass die herrschende Mächte, der Staat  
und der ~~Kapitalismus~~ <sup>Kapitalismus</sup> <sup>una</sup> <sup>Gewalt</sup> <sup>aufoktruiert</sup> <sup>und</sup> <sup>dass</sup> <sup>die</sup>  
Revolution mit schönen Worte nicht vertheidigt werden kann. Aber ich  
kann unmöglich meine Augen schliessen der Tatsache gegenüber  
dass der Anarchismus durch die Revolution eher auf lange Zeit  
zurückgesetzt wird als näher gebracht. Und falls es immer unabänderlich  
sein wird, die Revolution zu verteidigen ~~man~~ <sup>man</sup> <sup>durch</sup> <sup>einen</sup> <sup>Krieg</sup> <sup>so</sup> <sup>best</sup>  
Du ebenfalls nicht wenn Du von besserem Drill und Vorbereitung für  
das Militär sprichst. Ein Trost ist das natürlich nicht. Ich meine,  
dass wir doch zu optimistisch waren als wir dachten den Anarchismus  
so leicht zu verwirklichen. Ich komme immer mehr zur Überzeugung  
dass die Massen sehr weit von unsere Ideen sind, vielleicht ein  
Jahrhundert sogar. Und ohne das Anarchistische Selbstbewusstsein der  
Massen ist keine Hoffnung für unsere Ideen. Auch im Bezug auf den Ge  
neral Strike haben wir viel ~~zu~~ <sup>zu</sup> <sup>gut</sup> <sup>zu</sup> <sup>ma</sup> <sup>chen</sup>. Was hatten die  
Spanischen Arbeiter mit dem General Strike erreicht in ihrem Teile  
Spaniens wenn ~~manco~~ <sup>manco</sup> <sup>Teil</sup> <sup>unter</sup> <sup>seiner</sup> <sup>Fuchtel</sup> <sup>und</sup> <sup>der</sup> <sup>Macht</sup> <sup>von</sup> <sup>Deut</sup>  
schland und Italien ~~steht~~ <sup>steht</sup>. Ja, ein Welt General Strike aller  
Arbeiter dass wäre eine andere Sache, aber dass wäre nicht mehr  
ein General Strike, sonder the die soziale Welt Revolution. Davon sind  
wir natürlich sehr weit, mein guter Helmut.

Von wegen die Gefangenen. Wie jetzt unsere Genossen  
von ihnen reden so taten es Lenin und seine Trabanten. Sie sagten

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 Roc

uns nicht Idealisten sonder Banditen sind in ihre Gefangnisse.  
Dass es auch unsere Kameraden sagen ist für mich sehr traurig.  
Du sagst es mögen wohl welche geben deren Taten nicht leicht  
verteidigt werden können. Haben wir nicht immer sogar gemeine Ver-  
brechen verteidigt als soziale Produkte. Wie kann man da  
Kameraden verleugnen oder sie Verfolgungen preis geben in einer  
solchen schrecklichen Zeit, wie Krieg und Revolution? Du weißt li-  
lieber Helmut dass auch ich allerhand Gründe anarbe für die Hand-  
lungen unserer Spanischen Kameraden allen gegenüber, die sie an-  
greifen oder verdammten, aber es geben Dinge die meiner Ansicht nach  
sich nicht erklären lassen. Eines davon ist die Gleichgültigkeit den  
Inhaftierten gegenüber. Es kann uns nur schaden wenn eine grosse  
Organisation wie the CNT-FAI es zu giebt dass die Gefangnisse  
gefüllt sind. Und verleugnen wie es Vazque verlangt kann man auch  
nicht auf lange Zeit. Es ist ein Skandal dass der arme Auriol Fernand  
so lange sitzt und dass man es nicht zugeben will dass sein Fall  
im Ausland bekannt gemacht wird. Ich finde alle diese Dinge als  
Zeichen der Schwäche von unsere tönangebende Führer in Spanien.  
Aber wie gesagt ich kann nur so weit mitmachen als ich die Geschehnisse  
mit meiner Gewissen verteidigen kann. Die letzte Forderung von V. und  
Herrera kan ich nicht erfüllen, sie ist auch nicht im Ausland zu  
erfüllen weil von allen Seiten die Stalipistische Handlungen in  
Russland und Spanien verdammt wird. Man kann sich dirrekt als Trottel  
vor die einzige zu sein die stumm bleiben. Bezug auf den Mord  
von vieler Menschen in Russland und die Verurteilung andauernde  
Verfolgungen in Spanien. Da wir werden ja sehen was der wilde  
V. zu sagen hat als Antwort auf meinem Schreiben dass ich gestern  
and das Bureau in Paris zur weiteren Beförderung absente.

Dein Ausdruck "Illusion" für unsere Genossen ist sehr mil-  
Ich würde sagen die Leute sind vermagelt und beschwindeln sich und  
die Spanische Massen mit ihre überschwenklich Fantasie.  
"Verbindungen mit Trade Unions in England" ist Schwindel.  
Nicht nur haben die Spanier keine Verbindung sonder man will überhau-  
nichts von Ihnen wissen. Ja, die I.L.P macht Propaganda für die  
CNT. Aber es ist meine feste Überzeugung dass sie die CNT gebraucht  
zu Nutzen der POUM und in keiner andern Weise. So hat Fenner Brockway  
ein Buch geschrieben in dem er ganz offen und erlich behauptet,  
dass seine Partei zwar sympathisch der CNT gegenüber steht, dass sie  
aber nur für Arbeiter Diktatur ist. Kurz und gut die CNT hat auch  
nicht einen einzigen Gewerkschaftler der sich offen für sie  
erklären würde, von einer Verbindung hat gar keine Rede. Eben  
deswegen habe ich den Plan gefasst die Struktur der CNT den  
Sektionen der Trade Union und British Labor Party beizubringen. Den  
die Zentrale wurde unsere Drucksachen und Briefe einfach in den  
Papier Korb werfen. Und wie es hier aussieht so tut es auch in  
America. Gelve schwindelt wenn er von grosse Erfolge der SIA  
und weiss gott was schwatzt. Ich kenne Amerika gewiss besser wie  
compagnero Gelve und ich sage Dir es wird unserseits verdammt  
wenig erreicht. Ja, unter den Juden, Spanier und Italienger, aber nicht  
unter die eingeborene. Die Sp Delegation kann sie unmöglich

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Rec

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*erreichen*  
So erfahre ich, dass das Bulletin dass sie in Amerika herausgeben sprachlich so miserable ist dass man sich vor Amerikaner nur blamiert. Und wies sieht die Zeitung aus die die Delegation in Paris herausgibt? Einfach grauenhaft. Kurz und gut unsere Spanier tauschen sich (und die Welt wenn sie schreiben sie hatten Verbindung mit ~~Englisch~~ Englische, und Amerikanische Gewerkschaften oder mit der Intelligenz dieser Länder. Letztere ist leider noch unter der Fuchtel von Moscow. Und zwar viel mehr als die Arbeiter. Du kannst Dir nicht vorstellen wie stark der Einfluss Moscow hier unter die Intelligenzia ist. So haben sie es fertig gebracht DIE LEFT BOOK CLUB zu gründen die so ungefähr sechzig tausend Mitglieder hat. Ihre Feier vor einer Woche in Albert Hall dass ungefähr ~~achtzig~~ *neben* zehn tausend Plätze hat war so gesteckt voll dass man in andere Gänge habe musste um den Überstrom von Menschen gerecht zu werden. Diese Masse mag ja nicht aus rein Kommunisten bestehen, aber sie wird trotzdem von der Moscovier Hand beherrscht. Das ist ja unser Unglück und unsere Schwierigkeit in diesem Lande viele Menschen heran zu ziehen. Das verstehen unsere gute Spanier einfach nicht.

Nun muss ich aber aufhören. Ich habe so schon eine zu lange ~~Extrakt~~ Litanei geschrieben. Jetzt muss ich unsern lieben Rudolf schreiben den morgen geht ein Schnell Schiff nach A.

Lieber Helmut ich ~~für~~ bin froh dass wir beide nach langen Jahren zur Freundschaft gelangt sind. Ich fühle mich in Europa/hauptsächlich seit Sashas Tod so sehr vereinsamt. Früher konnte man hier und da mit Maria Gedanken austauschen, oder mit Mollie und Senia. Das ist jetzt auch vorbei. Du kannst Dir also vorstellen welchen Wert Deine Kameradschaft und Verstandis für mich darstellt. Also schreibe oft und teile mir oft mit was in der I.A.A. vorgeht.

*über* Ich send Dir ein Exemplar meiner Rede, eine Kopie meiner Korrespondenz mit V. und Her. und eine meines Briefes an Abe Bluestein. Unter keiner Bedingung möchte ich dass der Briefaustausch mit V. und Her weiter geht. Er ist nur für Dich und Rudolf bestimmt. Glaubst Du die Ansprache konnte veröffentlicht werden, oder wäre es besser sie nur für unsere eignen Augen zu lassen. Ich muss sie den Genossen in A. zugänglich machen weil ich doch in der L'Adunate stark ~~aktiviert~~ *aktiviert* wurde wegen meine Stellung mit der CNT-FAI. Und ich kann unmöglich jeden separat schreiben.

Gruesse Deine Gefährtin recht herzlich  
Mit freundschaftliche Gruesse an Dich lieber Helmut

# The Emma Goldman Papers

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Jan. 24/38

Lieber Helmut. Verzeihe bitte dass ich Deinen Brief nicht früher beantwortet habe. Es ist die alte Geschichte massenhaft zu tun fasst keine Hilfe. Genosse Barr der der einzige indischer wustes Stad ist der mit Leib und Leben an unsere Bewegung hängt und Spanien blindlings ergeben ist ist lodier Engländer, so langsam und phlegmatisch er wurde mich schon längst zur Trunksucht getrieben haben wenn er ich ausser ihm noch jemanden hatte in der weitgehenden Tätigkeit die ich hier entfalten habe. Mehr, viel mehr konnte ~~ganz~~ erreicht werden hatten wir so etwas wie eine Bewegung. Leider ist keine Spur davon vorhanden. Aber ganz Erklärungen warum ich nicht geschrieben habe.

Du hast recht lieber Freund "in unserer Stellung zu Spanien ist ein inner Zwiespalt. Ich fürchte nur dass derselbe sich immer mehr erweitern wird. Denn unsere Spanische Kameraden machen solche grauehafte Schnitzer die zu erkalten und verteidigen es immer schwerer wird. Da ist zum Beispiel der Steckbrief den Vazquez an uns alle gesandt hat, der protest gegen die Sammlungen von Gelder im Ausland für die Opfer von der Negrin Bande und der Kommunisten. So was hat es doch noch nicht in unsere Bewegung gegeben dass Genossen sich gegen die Pflichterfüllung den Inhaftierten gegenüber ablehnen. So gar die Soviet Regierung die doch gewiss unsere Kameraden in ihre Gefangnisse nicht wohlwollend gegenüber steht hat NIE die Sammlung von Gelder ~~xxx~~ verdammt, oder abgelehnt unsere Stütze den Kameraden zukommen zu lassen. Ich ~~wir~~ war einfach entsetzt darüber. Ich hatte schon die Absicht Vazquez zu schreiben dass es doch direkt unverzeilich ist einen solchen Protest an uns zu schicken. Den schliesslich haben ja die CNT-FAI genug zu tun und riesige Ausgaben warum also nicht die Stütze von ausserhalb Spaniens anzunehmen. Es ist eben ihr Minderwertigkeits Gefühl wenn V sagt die Sammlung von Gelder ausserhalb Spaniens stellt sie als "impotent" hin. Gerade damlich nenn ich so etwas. Nun, ich habe den Brief nicht abgeschickt weil etwas anderes vorgekommen ist dass für mich noch viel mehr bedrückender war und womöglich den Bruch meinerseits mit der CNT-FAI zur Folge haben wird. Ich lege Dir den Brief von Vazquez und Herreras bei, zwar in Französischer Fassung und meine Antwort Spanisch übersetzt da Dir Englisch etwas schwer fällt. Du wirst also sehn um was es sich handelt.

Du kannst mir glauben wenn ich Dir sage dass ich schon lange nicht einen so schweren und schmerzhaften inner Kampf durchgemacht habe wie die ganze vorige Woche. Meine erste Antwort ~~xxx~~ bestand in meine Erklärung dass ich zwar die Ursachen verstehe die die CNT-FAI veranlasst mir den Mund zu stopfen und meine Feder zu paralisieren ich damit nicht einverstanden sein kann und mich daher zurrückziehen mochte von der Vertretung der CNT-FAI



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 Jan. 24 [London to] Helmut [Rüdiger, Paris] / [Emma Goldman].—  
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18855

Aber nachdem ich das Schreiben durch las schiene er mir zu schroff  
ich habe ihn zerissen. Der Zweite Brief den ich dann verfasste be-  
tonte sich mit der Situation here und die grosse Ausgaben in Verbin-  
dung mit dem Bureau der CNT-FAI und SIA und meine Verpflichtung der Miete  
für ein Jahr. Es ist eben kein Mensch hier, buchstäblich keine einzi-  
ge Persönlichkeit in unsere Bewegung die meine Arbeit vortsetzen  
konnte. Mein Zurücktritt hiesse also alles abbrechen was ich be-  
gonnen habe ausserdem ein Jahr Miete für unsere Räume. Auch diesen Brief  
habe ich vernichtet weil ich befürchtete V. und Herrera rufen den  
Eindruck bekommen ~~ich würde zurücktreten~~ ich betrachte die materielle Seite  
wichtiger als ihre Forderung man solle ja nicht die Kommunistin  
zu schroff behandeln. Der beiliegende Brief ist mein dritter Ver-  
such. Die wirst sehen er ist milde genug, ekelhaft ~~noch stärker~~  
weichherzig sogar. Nie im Leben hatte ich geglaubt dass ich es  
soweit bringen werde auf Kompromisse einzugehen die mir in der Seele  
zuwider sind. Aber die Spanische Situation veranlasst mich sehr  
viele zu übersehen. Jedoch giebt es auch für mich eine Grenze. Und  
die Zumutung V's und H's die Verbrechen und Gemeinheiten der Stalin  
Bande nicht anzunehmen. Die siest also lieber Helmut dass es eventual  
zu einem Bruch zwischen der CNT und mir kommen dürfte. Es kommt natu-  
rlich auf die Antwort der Spanier an. Man kann sich schliesslich  
nicht ins eigene Gesicht spucken. Es wird aber doch bitter schwer we-  
gen meine Tätigkeit hier abbrechen. Dieses nicht nur wegen des mater-  
iellen Verlustes für the CNT ~~sondern~~ sondern auch weil hier der Anfang  
der Anarcho Syndikalistischer Union zu Grunde gehen wird schon gar  
nicht von dem Skandal zu sprechen der meine Abtritt von allem hervor-  
gerufen wird.

Es ist rein zum verzweifeln wie unwissend und unver-  
ständlich die Spanier im Bezug auf Europa sind. So haben sie nicht die  
geringste Ahnung wie tief die Soviet Regierung seit Stalins Antritt  
gesunken ist und wie discreditiert. Jetzt über Russland zu schweigen  
alle Welt ihre Schmach und Schande von alle Mächer verkündet ist  
auch wenn man es wolte einfach unmöglich hauptsächlich für mich  
wo ich seit Jahr und Tag gegen die Bande war und sie bei jeder Gelegen-  
heit mit Wort und Schrift angegriffen habe. Bei jeder Versammlung  
sagen Leute sie waeren durch meine Schriften zu Überzeugung gelangt  
dass wie recht hatten als wir die Bolsheviki die wahren koner  
revolutionäre nannten. Bei solcher Gelegenheit zu schweigen hiesse  
einfach alles was ich ~~sagte~~ und Genosse Berkman voraussagten zu ver-  
neinen und still zu schweigen. Wie soll ich das machen? Und was  
noch entsetzlicher ist ich wurde den Spanischen Genossen und ihrem  
Kampf nur schaden. Nein es geht einfach nicht. Solten die Spanier wie  
immer hartnäckig darauf bestehen dass ich die Kommunistische Sippe  
nicht mehr erwähne dann werde ich einfach abgehen müssen. Gewiss  
werde ich nichts gegen die Genossen tun. Aber auch nicht für.



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Die Ironie ist dass ich in einestort gezwungen bin die spanischen Genossen und ihre Handlungen zu erklären und zu entschuldigen. Du hasst ja Abe Bluestein gesehen und gesprochen. Du weist also viel enttäuscht und ~~emutigt~~ emutigt er aus Spanien herrens kam. Vor seiner Abreise schrieb er mir einen langen Brief eine ganze Masse Tatsachen enthaltend die sicherlich alles was unsere Kameraden je vertraten haben haben in Spanien dirrekt auf den Kopf stellen und dahin bringen werden dass die CNT immer reformistischen werden muss. Es ist zwar wahr dass Abe alles zu schwarz sieht. Aber schon die Tatsache dass es eine grosse geheim arbeitende Opposition giebt bewisst dass ~~man~~ es sehr viele giebt die die Gefahr für die Revolution sehen und für ihr Zukunft fürchten. Ich lege Dir auch ein exemplare meines Briefes an Abe bei. Du wirst daraus sehen dass ich noch immer mit jedem Athemzug an unsere Spanier hange und an sie glaube. Dass ich gerade durch den Kongress in Valencia wieder Mut gefasst habe und ~~man~~ neue Begeisterung für die Schaffungskraft der CNT. Gerade dieser Glauben und diese Begeisterung ~~man~~ machen es viel schwerer für mich auch nur an eine Spaltung zwischen der CNT-FAI und mir zu denken. Du wirst aber zugeben dass fals V. darauf besteht Zensur zu üben über jedes Wort der Kritik ~~man~~ Kommunisten. Unwesens ich unmöglich weiter machen kann. Na wir werden ja sehen. Vorleufig ist es mir schwer und traurig ums Herz aber die Arbeit geht weiter.

Wie ich schon erwähnte haben wir uns hier für ein Jahr Miete verpflichtet für vier Räume von denen ein grosses Zimmer für die geplante Ausstellungen bestimmt ist. Ausstellung von Kinder Zeichnungen die ich in Schulen in Barcelona bekommen habe, später für eine Ausstellung von Photographie der Kollektive die ich besucht habe. Auch soll dieses Zimmer als Leseraum für unsere Internationale Presse dienen. Dann zwei Räume für die SIA und CNT-FAI, und ein Raum für SPAIN AND THE WORLD. Du kannst Dir nicht vorstellen was dieses Unternehmen für Arbeit macht und machen wird. Tatsächlich bin ungefähr 16 Stunden täglich beschäftigt. Ausserdem bin ich in der Provinz verpflichtet den 10ten und 13ten Feb und den grossten Teil des März. Mir wird schwindlich bei dem Gedanken dass alles dieses abgebrochen werden soll.

Was Du mir über die Wahl der Kandidaten für the I.A.A. schreibst ist auf dem selben Styl wie alles was unsere teure ~~Genossen~~ Genossen in Spanien mach. Ich beneide wahrhaftig niemanden der mit Prietto zusammen arbeiten soll. Schön eher mit Mascarell. Er weiss nicht viel aber er scheint mir ein lieber Kerl zu sein mit dem sich reden lässt. Aber zum General Sekretar eignet sich Mascarell natürlich nicht. Ja Roca wäre sehr gut. Er ist der weitsehende "Mensch unter allen Spanier die ich getroffen habe, ernst, absolut rein von persönlichen Egoiz und sehr kameradschaftlich. Ich bin neugierig wie die Wahl ausgefallen ist. Vergess nicht mir zu schreiben bitte.

Lieber Helmut ich kenne keinen Menschen der sich zu dem Zweck eigenen würde die illegalen Deutsche Genossen zu besuchen. Ja ich habe von dem Holländischen Genossen gehört der ziemlich viel in Deutschland getan hat. Ich kenne seine Namen nicht Mollie und

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18887

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und Senia kennen ihn, hat vile für sie getan um sie aus Deutschland heraus zu bekommen. Ich habe soeben dein Schreiben noch einmal gelesen. Ich sehe dass der Mann der die Genossen besuchte Schwede nicht Holländer war.

Ich wusste nur einen Menschen der sich für ein solches Unternehmen fassen würde, eine Englische Genossen die Mahlerin ist. Aber erstlich spricht sie nicht Deutsch, zweiten ist sie gerade in einer solchen Angelenheit für unsere Spanische Genossen auf Reisen. Sollte sie bald zurückkommen dann werde ich mit ihr sprechen. Ich bin übrigens nicht ganz sicher ob sie Deutsch doch kennt. Sie wäre die richtige Person, ist lange in der Bewegung, und absolut zu verlässig. Ich kenne noch jemanden der aber ein sehr prägnanter Judischer Typus ist. Das wäre etwas gefährlich ihn zu senden. Ich werde natürlich die Sache im Auge behalten vielleicht findet sich jemand. So eine Reise dürfte aber mit ziemlich grossen Umkosten verbunden sein werdet ihr die Mittel dazu haben?

Du hast im bezug des Militarismus so weit recht indem es überhaupt keinen Anarchistischen Krieg giebt oder geben kann. Sobald man gezwungen ist Krieg zu führen auch wenn es zur Verteidigung der Revolution ist dann habt der Anarchismus überhaupt auf. Den die zwei sind wie Feuer und Wasser, sie vertagen sich nicht. Die Spanische Revolution hat mich übrigens überzeugt dass es auch keine Anarchistische Revolution geben kann indem jede Revolution Vergewaltigung bedeutet was das entgegengesetzte vom Anarchismus ist. Nicht dass ich deswegen Pascifistin geworden bin. Gar nicht. Ich weiss dass die herrschende Mächte der Staat und der ~~Kapitalismus~~ Kapitalismus uns Gewalt aufoktruiert und dass die Revolution mit solchen Worte nicht verteidigt werden kann. Aber ich kann unmöglich meine Augen schliessen der Tatsache gegenüber dass der Anarchismus durch die Revolution eher auf lange Zeit zurückgesetzt wird als näher gebracht. Und falls es immer unabänderlich sein wird die Revolution zu verteidigen ~~man~~ durch einen Krieg so hast Du ebenfals Recht wenn Du von besserem Drill und Vorberietung für das Militär sprichst. Ein Trost ist das natürlich nicht. Ich meine dass wir doch zu optimistisch waren als wir dachten den Anarchismus so leicht zu verwirklichen. Ich komme immer mehr zur Überzeugung dass die Massen sehr weit von unsere Ideen sind, vielleicht ein Jahrhundert sogar. Und ohne das Anarchistische Selbstbewusstsein der Massen ist keine Hoffnung für unsere Ideen. Auch im Bezug auf den General Strike haben wir viel zu gut zu machen. Was hatten die Spanischen Arbeiter mit dem General Strike erreicht in ihrem Teile Spaniens wenn Franco Teil unter seiner Fuchtel und der Macht von Deutschland und Italien steht. Ja ein Welt General Strike aller Arbeiter dass wäre eine andere Sache, aber dass wäre nicht mehr ein General Strike sonder the die soziale Welt Revolution. Davon sind wir natürlich sehr weit mein guter Helmut.

Von wegen die Gefangene. Wie jetzt unsere Genossen von ihnen reden so taten es Lenin und seine Trabanten. Sie sagten

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uns nicht Idealisten sonder Banditen sind in ihre Gefangnisse. Dass es auch unsere Kameraden sagen ist für mich sehr traurig. Du sagst es mögen wohl welche geben deren Taten nicht leicht verteidigt werden können. Haben wir nicht immer sogar gemeine Verbrechen verteidigt als soziale Produkte. Wie kann man da Kameraden verleugnen oder sie Verfolgungen preis geben in einer solchen schrecklichen Zeit wie Krieg und Revolution? Du weist li lieber Helmut dass auch ich allerhand Gründe angabe für die Handlungen unserer Spanischen Kameraden allen gegenüber die sie an greifen oder verdammen, aber es geben Dinge die meiner Ansicht nach sich nicht erklären lassen. Eines davon ist die Gleichgültigkeit den Inhaftierten gegenüber. Es kann uns nur schaden wenn eine grosse Organisation wie the CNT-FAI es zu giebt dass die Gefangnisse gefüllt sind. Und verleugnen wie es Unzue verlangt kann man auch nur nicht auf lange Zeit. Es ist ein Skandal dass der arme Auriol Fernand so lange sitzt und dass man es nicht zugeben will dass sein Fall im Ausland bekannt gemacht wird. Ich finde alle diese Dinge als Zeichen der Schwäche von unsere tihangebende Furer in Spanien. Aber wie gesagt ich kann nur so weit mitmachen als ich die Geschehnisse mit meinem Gewissen verteidigen kann. Die letzte Forderung von V. und Herrera kan ich nicht erfüllen, sie ist auch nicht im Ausland zu erfüllen weil von allen Seiten die Stalinistische Handlungen in Russland und Spanien verdammt wird. Man kann sich dirrekt als Trottel vor die einzige zu sein die stumm bleiben im Bezug auf den Mord so vieler Menschen in Russland und die Verhaftungen andauernde Verfolgungen in Spanien. Da wir werden ja sehen was der wilde V. zu sagen hat als Antwort auf meinen Schreiben dass ich gestern and das Bureau in Paris zur weiteren Beförderung absante.

Dein Ausdruck "Illusion" für unsere Genossen ist sehr mil. Ich würde sagen die Leute sind vernagelt und beschwindeln sich und die Spanische Massen wirken mit ihre überschwenklich Fantasie. "Verbindungen mit Trade Unions in England" ist Schwindel. Nicht nur haben die Spanier keine Verbindung sonder man will überhaupt nichts von ihnen wissen. Ja, die I.L.P macht Propaganda für die CNT. Aber es ist meine feste Überzeugung dass sie die CNT misbraucht zu Nutzen der POUM und in keiner andern Weise. So hat Fenner Brockway ein Buch geschrieben in dem er ganz offen und erlich behauptet dass seine Partei zwar sympathisch der CNT gegenüber steht, dass sie aber nur für Arbeiter Diktatur ist. Kurz und gut die CNT hat auch nicht einen einzigen Gewerkschaftler der sich offen für sie erklären würde von einer Verbindung her gar keine Rede. Eben deswegen habe ich den Plan gefasst die Struktur der CNT den Sektionen der Trade Union und Britisch Labor Party beizubringen. Den die Zentrale würde unsere Drucksachen und Briefe einfach in den Papier Korb werfen. Und wie es hier aussieht so tut es auch in America. Glave schwindelt wenn er von grosse Erfolge der SIA und was gott was schwatzt. Ich kenne Amerika gewiss besser wie compagno Gelve und ich sage Dir es wird unserseits verdammt wenig erreicht. Ja unter den Juden, Spanier und Italiener, aber nicht unter die eingeborene. Die Sp Delegation kann sie unmöglich



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so erfahre ich dass das Bulletin dass sie in Amerika herausgeben  
sowohl so miserable ist dass man sich vor Amerikaner nur  
blamiert. Und wies sieht die Zeitung aus die die "legation in Paris  
herausgibt. Einfach grauenhaft. Kurz und gut unsere Spanier  
tauschen sich und die Welt wenn sie schreiben sie hatten Verbind  
ung mit Englanx Englische und Amerikanische Gewerkschaften oder mit  
der Intelligenzdisser Lander. Letzere ist leider noch unter der  
Fuchtel von Moscov. Und zwar viel mehr als die Arbeiter. Du kannst  
Dir nicht vorstellen wie stark der Einfluss Moscov hier unter die  
Intelligentsia ist. So haben sie es fertig gebracht DIE LEFT BOOK  
CLUB zu gründen die so ungefähr 80000 Mitglieder hat  
Ihre hier vor einer Woche in Albert Hall dass ungefähr 80000  
man tausend Plätze hat war so gesteckt voll dass man in andere Saale  
habe musste um den Überstrom von Menschen gerecht zu werden. Diese  
Masse mag ja nicht aus rein Kommunisten bestehen, aber sie wird  
trotzdem von der Moscovier ande beherrscht. Das ist ja unser  
Unglück und unsere Schwierigkeit in diesem Lande viele Menschen  
heran zu ziehen. Das verstehen unsere gute Spanier einfach nicht.

Nun muss ich aber aufhören. Ich habe so schon  
eine zu lange ~~Exkurs~~ Litanei geschrieben. Jetzt muss ich unsern lieben  
Rudolf schreiben den morgen geht ein schnell Schiff nach A.

Lieber Helmut ich ~~franz~~ bin froh dass wir beide nach lan  
ge Jahren zur Freundschaft gelangt sind. Ich fühle mich in  
Europa hauptsächlich seit Sashas Tod so sehr vereinsamt. Früher  
konnte man hier und da mit "ania Gedanken austauschen, oder mit  
Mollie und Senia. Das ist jetzt auch vorbei. Du kannst Dir also vor  
stellen welchen Wert Deine Kameradschaft und Verstandes für mich  
darstellt. Also schreibe oft und teile mir oft mit was in der  
I. A. A. vorgeht.

Ich send Dir ein Exemplar meiner Rede, eine Kopie  
meiner Korrespondenz mit V. und Her. und eine meines Briefes an Abe  
Bluestein. Unter keiner Bedingung möchte ich dass der Briefaustausch  
mit V. und Her weiter geht. Er ist nur für Dich und Rudolf bestimmt.  
Glaubst Du die Ansprache konnte veröffentlicht werden, oder wäre es  
besser sie nur für unsere eigenen "eilien zu lassen. Ich muss sie den  
Genossen in A. zugänglich machen weil ich doch in der L'Adunate stark  
kritisiert werde wegen meine Stellung mit der CNT-FAI. Und ich kann  
unmöglich jeden separat schreiben.

Gruesse Deine Gefartin noch herzlich  
Mit freundschaftliche Gruesse an Dich lieber Helmu

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[Letter, 19]38 Jan. 24 [London to] Miles M[a]ll[e]son, [London] / [Emma Goldman].— 1 p. ; 24 × 19 cm.

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17795  
London Jan 24th 38.

Mr Miles Mellison.

As you see by the inclosed I am again busy to help the thousands of victims of Fascism. The inclosed draft for a folder which will go out to quite a number of people explains itself. In connection with the SIA activity we are preparing an exhibition of drawings of the children in some of the Catalonian schools. In view of the ever present danger of bombardment and death from it the work of the children is truly remarkable. That and many other undertakings we have in mind that would aid the children. At my meeting last Friday when I talked of the Betrayal of the Spanish people Ethel Mannin spoke of the purpose of the SIA. Her appeal brought £75 which is rather good for an audience in so small a Hall as Conway.

As sponsors we have already, Havelock Ellis, Lawrence Houseman, Herbert Read, Giergie Orwell, John Cowper Powys, Louis Golding, Stella Churchhill. And I have written to others including Aldous Huxley. Of course we want your name to go on our list. Please say yes. And help in whatever way you can. And would you please reply as soon as possible

Cordially.

Miles Mellison Esq.  
27, Walsize Square  
N.W.3

P.S. We have opened offices at 21 Frith Street Shatsbury Avenue  
You can write me there. The telephone is Gerard 26 36.



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Jan. 24 [London to Ethel Mannin, London] / [Emma Goldman].—  
2 p. ; 20 x 16 cm.

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Jan. 24th 38

Dearest Mine. Grand evening you gave me Saturday even "slumming" to an anarchist "hang out". It looked more like a hang out of crooks except the comrade proprietor. Damn his coffee just the same. It added to my struggle for sleep. I kept awake until 7 in the morning yet erday. But not being Stalin I can not blame him for my deviation, can I.?

Dearest Friday being your last day in this part of the world I want you and Peg if he likes to have lunch with me at my flat. You won't find me in it when you return so I want very much to have you before you leave. We can have an early lunch, say 12.30. Then go over to that wonderful artist of mine. He is not only great as an artist but as one who has proven what man can do regardless of physical and material impediments. Crippled from early childhood he has yet created work few artists can boast of. He is quite excited about having you see his work and arrange with you when on your return he might make a drawing of you. I told him we would be along between 2.30 and 3.0/6. We will go from West Kensington by underground to Colde's Green and take a taxi from there which will only cost 1/6. But first I want you both or alone to try my cooking. Please say yes.

Here are a few things for translation if that good man you spoke about will do them. page 3. the part I marked and the top title. on same page UTILADOS DE GUERRA. Then page 4. also marked. If he consents perhaps he will be good enough to let me have it soon. I should like to meet him. Perhaps he can call me up so we can arrange. It would be such help to have someone translate from the Spanish.

You must be having a lot to do before your departure. But if you could find time to write something for next issue of Spain and the World it would be grand. We plan to make the next issue more or less a SIA number. Could you write something about that? I am inclosing two articles from the Spanish. Perhaps they will suggest something to you. We must keep the SIA constantly before the British public and anything you will write will be of tremendous help. But if

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17233

I called up Warburg. He had seen George Orwell and he asked him about adding his name to our list of sponsors. He agreed. Wouldn't you think Warburg would have called me up to tell me? The callousness of such types as Warburg simply freeze my blood. So far we have outside of yourself Stella Curchill, Havelock Ellis, Laurence Hausman, Louis Golding, George Orwell, John Cowper Powys and Herbert Read. If only we could get a few women outstanding in some line in this country. But they seem to be even more cowardly than the men. Well, I will wait until the end of the week perhaps some worth while people may yet reply. Darling you have not forgotten the short letter which is to go with our folder. I think you will get some pointers from the inclosed SIA stuff. It is essential to stress what we mean to do here for it, the exhibition a musicale for the opening, the film we are expecting and how people might help. First by their own contribution, and by interesting their friends to contribute, by their attendance of the exhibition, later the film. In other words by as much solidarity and publicity they can gain for the SIA. I do not think it would be out of the way to point out two things. First our determination to spend as little as possible for the work we have undertaken ~~xxxx~~ so that ALL the money can really go for the SIA. Secondly that we have to depend ~~our~~ publicity on those we can reach by mail because the Labor and Liberal Press maintain a conspiracy of silence to our appeal for notices even refusing to bring letters written to them on the dire needs of Franco's victims. I would not mention the names of the rotten papers. But just refer to them. This is only a suggestion darling. I know you will know what and how to say the right work.

Please let me know if you will break bread with me at my table Friday between 12.30 and 1.0/c.

With love.

Give ~~me~~ my best. Tell him I thought he was in much better spirit Saturday evening than New Years Eve. I hope he will come back with his faith revived and ~~xxxx~~ with renewed interest in work. For that would be the best indication of his improved physical condition.

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938 Jan. 24 London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / E[thel Mannin].—  
2 p. ; 10 × 16 cm.

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Monday

17216

Emma dearest, I am hoping you will get this tonight.

First. Herewith draft of proposed covering letter to send out with the SIA letter. You may want to add something more about the Exhibition - indicating its nature - 'a moving little Exhibition showing amongst other things the work of Spanish children', or something of the kind. I have tried to keep the letter short.

Second. Working it out in detail, I don't see how I can see the artist-comrade on Fri. afternoon if it means going all the way out to Golders Green - I've got three people coming to dinner at 7.30. and I'd not get back in time, apart from being so tired (and it would mean coming back in the rush-hour to get back by 6.30 which is the latest I could be back to get the meal ready in time) I could just manage it if he came to you but it's not fair if he is a cripple, and actually ~~I would really rather not go out at all Fri. because it's my last day with Jean ... I hadn't thought it all out in detail when we talked about it before . I would really rather leave it till I got back, dear; after all there's no real urgency about it, is there ?~~

Third. Tickets for Victoria Regina for Thurs. evening will come to you direct. Please accept them as a farewell gift from me, dear. I couldn't ask Laurence as he has done so much for me, and gets, I know, so many requests for free tickets; also he has gone back to the country & by

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938 Jan. 24 London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / E[thel Mannin].—  
2 p. ; 10 × 16 cm.

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17217

the time he had got my letter and had arranged with the theatre, and they had got in touch with you it would be cutting the time too fine.

Fourth. Don't forget to send me the Spanish material for Peter Addison. I feel sure I can do something with him about it and put him in touch with you.

I want to get this in the midday post, dear, so will keep it strictly business like... except to add that Reg said he was amazed to see you looking so much younger on Sat. night. He really didn't recognise you for a moment, it seems! Which all shows that a little relaxation is good for the gallant little Emma....

Must fly. My love, dear. I'll ring you before I go if we don't manage to meet again.



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 Jan. 24, Vence [France to] Emma [Goldman, London] / [Martha Gordon Crotch].— 2 p. ; 26 x 20 cm.

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Post  
enclosed to  
me. *long*  
English stamp

Vence

24/1/38

Dearest Emma,

Before starting to tackle my letters I thought I would clear up my desk a bit and I seem to have done it so effectually I can't find your last letter to me. I wanted it before me to answer it completely, now I shall have to trust to my memory. The principal thing is you have decided to leave the flat. This I can quite understand under the circumstances. Naturally I am very sorry, now two will be unlet which is disastrous. But what's to do about things like that? Just grin and bear them.

I want to tell the agent about it as soon as possible, now people are looking for new places and I can't afford to miss any chance. I think if the agent took people round there would be no fear of another incident like Nellie's watch. Will you tell the agent yours<sup>self</sup> the best time to come in case he has clients who want to see the flat. That way, there will be no mistake. I am wondering what will be needed in the way of decoration, that is the agony with short term lets, each time it takes a hell of a lot of do up the place. Still again one must grin and bear it.

I think your going with Mrs Koldofsky is a good idea. You know and are used to each other and as you say you will be relieved with the food fag. I can understand living alone is depressing, a little human contact helps a good deal - or should do.



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I hope the Frith street venture is going to be a success, it will take a time to get going, but I should think it should attract people. I shall be interested to hear how it worke out. You did not say what kind of a meeting you had in Conway hall.

Here things are more or less the same. I still limp around and soon get tired. That is the worst thing that could have happened to me. I was always nippy on my pins as you know, now I feel aged and awful. Damn it. Nellie came to see me the other day, she looks well and prosperous. I dont know how her affairs go, but she must have enough to live on.

About the things you have of mine. There is that Algerian carpet that was a bed cover in "my" room, some pots (Quimper) and odds and ends bath towels and bits. If you do not need them put them in that old box in the kitchen and I can let my sister have them. She is thinking about taking a room and they would be a help to her. The blankets were mine, but you let me have a steamer rug. Anyhow, chateve you do will be allright for me.

I am expecting Stella here soon. She is coming with a friend.

Hoep you are feeling better and are getting over the incommnia - that is damnable - In every way I am sur it is well you shoud have a change.

Best love and the best of luck

affectionately,

*Emma*

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Postcard] 1938 Jan. [25? London to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Ethel [Mannin]. —  
2 p. ; 7 × 11 cm.

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Tuesday night.

16986

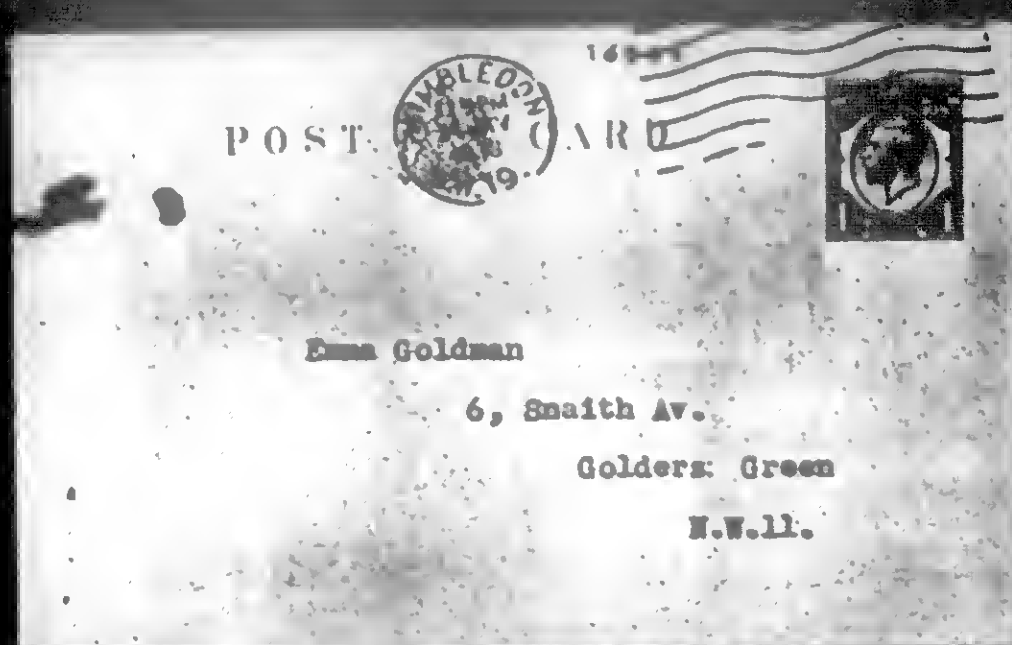
Dear Emma, I have been looking up trains & I am not sure about the bus-connections; what looks like the best afternoon train would get me to Waterloo on Sat. at 6.23. and I should then be in by 7. I will get the earlier train if I find I can get a bus connection to get me to it in time. I think I had better write you a card from the country to let you know. In case you want me my address from Thurs. till Sat. morning will be Banks Arms Hotel, Studlands, Nr. Swanage, Dorset. If you like to be on the safe side & arrive at 7.30. on Sat. evening, short of the train being late I am sure to be in by then and would eat at 8. From Waterloo you come from platforms 1, 2, 3, or 4, direct to Wimbledon; trains every few minutes; then a taxi at the other end cost 1/6 with tip.

Handwritten: 1/6

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

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6 p. ; 20 × 16 cm.  
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COPY

17414

25th January 1938.

Dear Abe,

While I was surprised not to hear from you when you came out of Spain I understood your difficulty in writing me. You probably feared that I would fail to understand your complete reversal from the position which you definitely took up in your letter of June, and in your pamphlet in September.

I was naturally surprised and grieved over your blanket charge against the National Committee. Not that I do not agree with a great deal of your criticism. You remember I told you as much even before you went to Spain, and when I came there in September of last year, I expressed my views to you on more than one occasion. I was therefore not blind, nor am I now to the compromises our comrades have made and probably will make; but what was a staggering blow to me in your letter was that Madrid gave you so little, in fact nothing at all.

"Something seems to have happened within the short time of your visit there". I cannot imagine that the change for the worse was so complete that you could not find anything left of what so inspired me. You speak only of "a man like Zugadi" (is that the one with the lame leg whom I found working in the Italian Section in the house of the CNT?). Do you mean to say that you saw no one else - that you did not try to go to the collective, especially to the agricultural department with its laborites and its scientific sections, and that you did not try to go to the front to see our men in the trenches? Surely my dear, you cannot judge a whole movement by what a few people tell you, no matter how honest and sincere those people are. For instance, you were told that Frente Libertario had been confiscated. Well it appears again for I am getting it regularly. You see the interesting thing about Spain is that whatever arbitrary measures were used under the Monarchy, the Dictatorship, the Republic, and since by the new government of Negrin and the communists, nothing lasts for long. Today a paper is stopped - tomorrow it comes out full fledged and with flying colours. That is what happened to Frente Libertario and Castille Libre and many other papers. I feel therefore your indictment of our comrades, while in the main correct and based upon a number of things our people have done, that cannot be reconciled with our ideas, is as extreme as your enthusiasm was when you left for Spain, and then as late as on my arrival in September.

That you may not think that I approve of the compromises, or that I am in harmony with them, I am sending you a copy of my talk at the extraordinary Congress of the I.A.T. You will see my dear that I have not hesitated on that occasion, nor before, to point

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out to the Spanish comrades that the concessions they were making, and why I considered them "useless and futile". I am therefore as much in agreement with you in your objections as I am with Shapiro. I nevertheless insist that it would be the most cruel thing we could do, and a betrayal besides, to start a public campaign against the CNT-FAI. It would do them no end of harm and would be lapped up by the Communist and Franco Fascist Press.

True I am telling you now what some of our comrades hurled at me and Sasha when we began our campaign against Soviet Russia. We would hurt the revolution they said. It was precisely Shapiro who told us that, and who waited four years before he raised his voice or used his pen to expose the crimes against the revolution and against our comrades by the Bolsheviks. Not only that. I learned only the other day that when Sania came to London secretly, I believe that it must have been in 1918 or 1919, he cautioned the comrades in London — that to make anything public against the Bolshevik regime would be counter-revolutionary. He now maintains that his Russian experience has made him see his error. I am glad of course that he has changed: but at the same time I cannot reconcile myself to a public attack on the CNT-FAI. We were willing to give our enemies time to liquidate the their fronts before we began to cry from the house tops — should we not also be willing to give our comrades with a revolutionary tradition and anarchist background far surpassing anything the Bolsheviks ever had, as much time to liquidate their Anti-Fascist war? For myself I quite frankly admit I have to do it. With Spain representing the arena where Fascism and Imperialism are testing their strength, it seems nothing short of the greatest injustice to stab our comrades in the back. My dear I cannot do it.

No doubt the moment will arrive when I will have to discontinue my work for the CNT-FAI. For instance, if the comrades should attempt to stop my freedom of expression regarding the communists or some other point that I will be unable to stomach. In that case I will retire: BUT NEVER WILL I RAISE MY VOICE OR USE MY PEN TO INJURE MY COMRADES.

I am reading the Spanish Press, dear Abe, and I see the many ridiculous things our people do and say, which of course contradict our whole philosophy and our claims; but also I see magnificent expressions of our ideas and determination of revolutionary fight and anarchist aims disclosed in the Spanish publications.

Just think of it, dear Abe, here we are finding all kinds of fault with the stand taken by the CNT-FAI, discussing some article somebody wrote about the State, and all kinds of such things, and yet, our comrades in Spain can hold a conference attended by 800 delegates, discussing not the State, or the government, or any political alignment; but economic reconstruction — the need of Spain's new economy — of getting rid of industrial undertakings that have failed and starting new industrial factories which hold out promise of success. Eight hundred people sitting in conference and coolly discussing the economic



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reconstruction of Spain at a time when the cities are being bombarded, leaving in their wake hundreds of dead and mutilated, and when the war is raging at every front. Give me any other similar instance in history and I might not feel so determined to stand by the CNT-FAI. I cannot imagine anything more inspiring than the courage and the fortitude and the unimpeachable integrity of the comrades of the CNT-FAI and the youth in spite of all the concessions and compromises they are making. It seems to me that in face of such showing all opposition ought to stop until Fascism, which is the greatest menace today, will be liquidated.

Do not think for a moment, that because I am opposed to any public attack or criticism of our comrades I am also against the underground activities of the opposition. I rather think it a healthy sign that such a thing exists. At the same time I urge that it could have waited until the hands of our people were untied - until the moment will come when they will no longer be harassed by the whole world. Their work will then be effective and would not hurt the struggle of the CNT-FAI less.

Having remained an old time Anarchist, still believing in the right of the comrades to oppose what they consider wrong, even if they have to do so in a clandestine way. (I dare say if I were in Spain taking their part in the front rank of the CNT-FAI, facing all their dangers and all their hardships I should not be so magnanimous with the secret opposition). I don't mean to say that I would wish them to be arrested or punished - indeed not; but I should use all my persuasive powers and all my reasoning to dissuade them from undermining the efforts of the CNT-FAI.

I do not agree with you when you say "to go on with the official CNT-FAI means to abandon the Spanish Revolution - to abandon the revolutionists in Russia and Spain, victims of the bolsheviks, and to abandon all those principles for which you have fought all your life and which still have to play their role in the Social Revolution throughout the world."

I believe that it was yourself who explained in your letter of June 37 and in your pamphlet that it is nonsense to speak of an "Official CNT-FAI". Granted that the National Committee and the Regional Committee in Catalonia have acted arbitrarily, surely the 800 delegates from all parts of Spain are now in a position to settle with the National Committee, dissolve it and send it about its business. Or do you mean to say that the National Committee consists of 800 representatives? ~~That also would also be nonsense.~~ Of course would also be nonsense. Evidently the National Committee has to account to somebody for its decisions; but in any event it is not a question of standing by the National Committee. If it were only that, I should not hesitate a moment to drop the work I am doing. To me it means standing by the millions of members of the CNT-FAI and by the revolutionary Spanish workers and peasants. That is the thing which you and Sania seem to forget.

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4.

17417

Thank you for giving me credit for having been an outstanding person in our movement who was "never tied by limits of organizations". Though you may not believe it: I want you to know that if I did not feel with all my passion and intensity the dire need of standing by our Spanish comrades, by their battle, no discipline they might want to impose upon me would have any value. Whatever discipline I am following is the one I have imposed upon myself. I grant you that in my younger days I might have been as-you- impatient as you and the comrades on the underground activities in Spain. You see the Spanish anarchist traditions are the first to come in my long active life, that gave me faith in the triumphant outcome of the struggle regardless of the mistakes our people are making. Also I have learned through experience that ideas are one thing and life another. Whether we want it or not life imposes certain changes in our outlook or simply pass us by.

I am only sorry that you did not give yourself time to digest some of the impressions that you had formed - that you permitted Sania to add fuel to your smouldering fire, and that you added fuel to his. It seems to me that you owed it to yourself and to the comrades in Spain to wait until you had adjusted all that you were told and that you had seen.

Perhaps the trip across to America and the first weeks there will make you see how wrong it would be to launch out with a campaign of denunciation. It is difficult enough for our comrades in America and here to do something in aid of the Anti-Fascist struggle: An open campaign against the CNT-FAI would knock the bottom out of everything.

You have been away some time from America and Europe, so you don't know the horrible lies and calumnies that appear in every paper in the United States and England. The Manchester Guardian which is supposed to be liberal, and sympathetic to the Anti-Fascist struggle printed a most scandalous charge against the Anarchists by its Special Correspondence. The Daily and Sunday New York Times have had similar lies only a month ago. The New York "Nation" never stops lying. The London "Times" charged the Anarchists with running away from the front. Frankly I don't see how any of us can assume the responsibility of public criticism knowing as we do that our people are surrounded by hungry wolves in and outside of Spain - a hungry pack just ready to devour them.

What are the mistakes and even compromise the CNT-FAI are making compared with the bulk of the animosity against them - the hope and dreams of all the Fascists in the world that Franco will conquer and will wipe out the CNT-FAI and all that magnificent effort dating 70 years back.

I do not think its any use going on with arguments. I am afraid I will not convince you, and I might as well tell you frankly, you will not swerve me from my position to do what I can to help our Spanish people, actively as I have so far, or if the

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8.

17410

You speak of three or four articles which you sent to Spain & The World and to Freie Arbeiter Stimme that had not been published. I don't know whether they reached their destination. I am seeing our comrade Reochioni tonight. I will ask him and add a letter line to this letter and by this time you are able to make sure about the Freie Arbeiter Stimme.

No doubt Schapiro, Volin and the others are getting these papers. I suppose because the comrades think that they are safer than I.

I am sending back the carbon copy of your brochure. You will see that I have marked some parts which seem very striking to me. I suppose you no longer want it published. It would be a pity because its a splendid analysis of imperialist designs in Spain and Russia.

One more thing. I hope you have seen Rudolf Hooker and had a talk with him. He has the clearest mind in our movement today. The man has inexhaustible knowledge of every department of human thought. His pamphlet "The Tragedy of Spain" is brilliant and penetrating. I have only just begun to read the great book; but then I have read and seen the argument several years ago.

Let me hear from you soon.

Fraternally & affectionately

Anna Golman.

P.S. your article could not be published because Spain & The

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6.  
World would be stopped for obscene language. It would be for  
libel which is very rigid in England. You are unknown in  
country. Your material has no documentary evidence. I obtained  
copies of the photos you say are the documents it might be  
possible to do something about it. As it is your statement it would be  
ruled out of court by the British Government. We cannot chance that.  
Combat may bring it; because your charges are not against the French  
Government. I am sorry and so is Spain and The World. I forgot to ask  
Rechioni about your articles. Next time.

E.G.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

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17888

25th January 1938.

Dear Abe,

While I was surprised not to hear from you when you came out of Spain I understood your difficulty in writing me. You probably feared that I would fail to understand your complete somersault from the position which you definitely took up in your letter of June, and in your pamphlet in September.

I was naturally surprised and grieved over your blanket charge against the National Committee. Not that I do not agree with a great deal of your criticism. You remember I told you as much even before you went to Spain, and when I came there in September of last year, I expressed my views to you on more than one occasion. I was therefore not blind, nor am I now, to the compromises our comrades have made and probably will make; but what was a staggering blow to me in your letter was that Madrid gave you so little, in fact nothing at all.

Something seems to have happened within the short time of your visit there. I cannot imagine that the change for the worst was so complete that you could not find anything left of what so inspired me. You speak only of "a man like Zugadi" (is that the one with the lame leg whom I found working in the Italian Section in the house of the CNT?). Do you mean to say that you saw no one else — that you did not try to go to the collectives, especially to the agricultural department with its laboritories and its scientific sections, and that you did not try to go to the front to see our men in the trenches? Surely my dear, you cannot judge a whole movement by what a few people tell you, no matter how honest and sincere those people are. For instance, you were told that Frente Libertario had been confiscated. Well it appears again for I am getting it regularly. You see the interesting thing about Spain is that whatever arbitrary measures were used on the Monarchy, the Dictatorship, the Republic, and since by the new Government of Negrin and the communists, nothing lasts for long. Today a paper is stopped — tomorrow it comes out full fledged and with flying colours. That is what happened to Frente Libertario and Castilla Libre and many other papers. I feel therefore your indictment of our comrades, while in the main correct and based upon a number of things our people have done, that cannot be reconciled with our ideas, is as extreme as your enthusiasm was when you left for Spain, and then as late as on my arrival in September.

That you may not think that I approve of the compromises, or that I am in harmony with them, I am sending you a copy of my talk at the Extraordinary Congress of the A.I.T. You will see my dear that I have not hesitated on that occasion, nor before, to point out to the Spanish comrades the concessions they were making, and why I considered them "useless and futile". I am therefore as much in agreement with you in your objections as I am with Schapiro. I nevertheless insist that it would be the most cruel thing we could do, and a betrayal besides, to start a public campaign against the CNT-P.I. It could do

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2

17886

them no end of harm and would be lapped up by the communist and Franco Fascist Press.

True I am telling you now what some of our comrades hurled at me and Sam when we began our campaign against Soviet Russia. He would hurt the revolution they said. It was precisely Shapiro who told us that, and who waited four years before he raised his voice or used his pen to expose the crimes against the revolution and against our comrades by the Bolsheviks. Not only that, I learned only the other day that when Sam came to London secretly, I believe that it must have been in 1918 or 1919, he cautioned the comrades in London that to make anything public against the Bolshevik regime would be counter-revolutionary. He now maintains that his Russian experience has made him see his error. I am glad of course that he has changed; but at the same time I cannot reconcile myself to a public attack on the CNT-FAI. We were willing to give our enemies time to liquidate their fronts before we began to cry out from the house tops — should we not also be willing to give our comrades with a revolutionary tradition and anarchist background far surpassing anything the Bolshevik ever had, as much time to liquidate their anti-Semitic error. For myself I quite frankly admit I have to do it. With Spain re-enacting the arena where Judaism and Imperialism are testing their strength, it seems nothing short of the greatest injustice to stab our comrades in the back. My dear I cannot do it.

No doubt the moment will arrive when I will have to discontinue my work for the CNT-FAI. For instance, if the comrades should attempt to stop my freedom of expression regarding the communists or some other point that I will be unable to stomach. In that case I will retire: BUT NEVER WILL I RAISE MY VOICE OR USE MY PEN TO INJURE MY COMRADES.

I am reading the Spanish Press, dear Abe, and I see the many ridiculous things our people do and say, which of course contradict our whole philosophy and our claims; but also I see magnificent expressions of our ideas and determination of revolutionary fight and anarchist aims disclosed in the Spanish publications.

Dear

Just think of it/ be, here we are finding all kinds of fault with the stand taken by the CNT-FAI, discussing some article somebody wrote about the State, and all kinds of such things, and yet, our comrades in Spain can hold a conference attended by 800 delegates, discussing not the State, or the government, or any political alignment; but economic reconstruction — the need of Spain's new economy — of getting rid of industrial undertakings that have failed and starting new industrial factories which hold out promise of success. Eight hundred sit tight in conference and coolly discussing the economic reconstruction of Spain at a time when the cities are being bombed, leaving in their wake hundreds of dead and mutilated, and when the war is raging at every front. Give me any other similar instance in history and I might not feel so determined to stand by the CNT-FAI. I cannot imagine anything more inspiring than the courage and the fortitude and the unimpeachable integrity of the comrades of the

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CNT-FAI and the youth, in spite of all the concessions and compromises they are making, it seems to me that in face of such showing, all opposition ought to stop until Fascism, which is the greatest menace today, will be liquidated.

Do not think for a moment, that because I am opposed to any public attack or criticism of our comrades I am also against the underground activities of the opposition. I rather think it a healthy sign that such a thing exists. At the same time I urge that it could have waited until the hands of our people were untied - until the moment will come when they will no longer be harassed by the whole world. Their work will then be effective and would hurt the struggle of the CNT-FAI less.

Having remained an old time anarchist, still believing in the right of the comrades to oppose what they consider wrong, even if they have to do so in a clandestine way. (I dare say if I were in Spain taking their part in the front rank of the CNT-FAI, facing all their dangers and all their hardships I should not be so magnanimous with the secret opposition). I don't mean to say that I would wish them to be arrested - indeed not; but I should use all my persuasive powers and all my reasoning to dissuade them from undermining the efforts of the CNT-FAI.

I do not agree with you when you say "to go on with the official CNT-FAI means to abandon the Spanish Revolution - to abandon the revolutionists in Russia and Spain, victims of the bolsheviks, and to abandon all those principles for which you have fought all your life and which still have to play their role in the social revolution throughout the world..

I believe that it was yourself who explained in your letter of June 37 and in your pamphlet that it is nonsense to speak of an "official CNT-FAI". Grants that the National Committee and the Regional Committee in Catalonia have acted arbitrarily, surely the 800 delegates from all parts of Spain are now in a position to settle with the National Committee, dissolve it and send it about its business. Or do you mean to say that the National Committee consists of 800 representatives? That of course would also be nonsense. Evidently the National Committee has to account to someone for its decisions; but in any event it is not a question of standing by the National Committee. If it were only that, I should not hesitate a moment to drop the work I am doing. To me it means standing by the millions of members of the CNT-FAI and by the revolutionary Spanish workers and peasants. That is the thing which you and I seem to forget.

Thank you for giving me credit for having been an outstanding person in our movement who was "never tied by limits of organizations". Though you may not believe it I want you to know that if I did not deal with all my passion and intensity the dire need of standing by our Spanish comrades, by their battle, no discipline they might want to impose on me would have any value. Whatever discipline I am following is the one I have imposed upon myself. I grant you that in my younger

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perhaps the trip across to America and the first weeks there will make you see how wrong it would be to launch out with a campaign of denunciation. It is difficult enough for our comrades in America and here to do something in aid of the anti-fascist struggle. An open campaign against the CNT-FAI would knock the bottom out of everything.

You have been away some time from America and Europe, so you don't know the horrible lies and calumnies that appear in every paper in the United States and England. The Manchester Guardian which is supposed to be Liberal, and sympathetic to the Anti-Fascist struggle printed a most scandalous charge against the anarchists by its Special Correspondent. The Daily and Sunday New York Times have had similar lies only a month ago. The New York "Nation" never stops lying. The London "Times" charged the anarchists with running away from the front. Frankly I don't see how any of us can assume the responsibility of public criticism knowing as we do that our people are surrounded by hungry wolves in and outside of Spain. - a hungry pack just ready to devour them.

What are the mistakes and even the compromises the CNT-FAI are making compared with the bulk of the enmity against them - the hoards and reams of all the fascists in the world that Franco will conquer and will wipe out the CNT-FAI and all that magnificent effort dating back 70 years.

I do not think its any use going on with arguments. I am afraid I will not convince you, and I might as well tell you frankly, you will not swerve me from my position to do what I can to help our Spanish people, actively as I have so far, or if the sad moment should arrive when I shall no longer be able to speak on their behalf, to keep silent until the struggle will be over.

You speak of three or four articles which you sent to Spain & The World and to Freie Arbeiter Stimme that had not been published. I don't know whether they reached their destination. I am seeing our comrade Pecchioni tonight. I will ask him and add a line to this letter and by this time you are able to make sure about the Freie Arbeiter Stimme.

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17000

5

Yes I heard about the Santillan book; but as I have not read it I am not in a position to know why it was stopped. In any event I do not think that Santillan's life was threatened by the CNT-FAI. On the day of my departure from Valencia I saw Santillan, and he told me his life was threatened by the communists and that's why he kept under cover. Could you not have sent out a copy of Santillan's book and copies of the underground papers. I tried my utmost to get the latter when I was still in Spain but failed.

No doubt Shapiro, Volin and the others are getting these papers. I suppose because the comrades think that they are safer than I.

I should like to hear from you as to what you intend to do now that you have had a long time to consider the advisability of an open campaign. It seems that Brent has definitely changed his mind about an open criticism of what you call the "Official anarchists" whom you consider Bolsheviks. His criticism of the real enemies of the Revolution, the communists and the Legerin government is very valuable. I am waiting anxiously to see what your stand will be. Of course you must do what you can reconcile with your integrity.

I am sending back the carbon copy of your brochure. You will see that I have marked some parts which are very striking to me. I suppose you no longer want it published. It could be a pity because it's a splendid analysis of imperialist designs in Spain and Russia.

One more thing. I hope you have seen Rudolf Kocker and had a talk with him. He has the clearest mind in our movement today. The man has inexhaustible knowledge of every department of human thought. His pamphlet "The tragedy of Spain" is brilliant and penetrating. I have only just begun to read the great book; but then I have read and seen the argument several years ago.

Let me hear from you soon.

Fraternally & affectionately  
Ed Emma Goldman.

PS Your article could not be published because Spain & The World would be stopped for obscene language. It would be held for libel which is very rigid in England. You are unknown in this country. Your material has no documentary evidence. Had you obtained copies of the photos you say are the documents it might have been possible to do something about it. As it is your statements would be ruled out of Court by the British Government. To a great chance that, Combat may bring it out; because your charges are not against the French Government. I am sorry and so is Spain & The World. I forgot to ask Reccioni about your articles. Next time.

E.G.

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120



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 Jan. 25 [London to] Rudolf [Rocker, Crompond, N.Y.] / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p. ; 20 x 16 cm.

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18479

Jan. 25th 38.

My dear Rudolf, I admit frankly your silence in reply to my desperate cry and the anxiety about the probable cause of it were very great. But I feel relieved that it was due only to your baseness from Crompond and the piling of my poor quest for your opinion in re our people in Spain.

I see that you suggest I should not take it so seriously that our people ~~xx~~ plan to go berrins to the II. and III International. I confess I was flabbergasted it this attitude. The fact that the I.A. had already approached these organizations on other occasions not only does not lessen the outrage of any new approach but it only prove to me that the I.A.A was most inconsistent then. I therefore welcome the change in the I.A.A that it refused to commit the same error and inconsistency before. Frankly when Souhey told me that it had been done before and with your approval I could not believe it. However, even if one might have reconciled oneself with such a step of the I.A. I.A.A. ten or more years ago, one cannot possibly do so now when the III International has collapsed so completely has become discredited in the eyes of many Communists even and is in point of fact a dead letter. I must say it would not only be a denial of our position to have any truck with that Moscow murderous gang, it would make us absolutely ridiculous in the estimation of the International proletariat. It is not enough to wait until Moscow will give us the kick in our soft spots, to give it that ~~chance~~ opportunity. I can only hope that the I.A.A for the G.T.-F and the latter itself will not lower itself to that extent.

Since I wrote you last something else occurred which has added to my inner struggle regarding my ~~affair~~ position as delegate of the G.T.-F.A.I. I am sending you copy of Vazquez letter and my reply. You will see that it has come to what I most dreaded the desire of the G.T. to suggest as far as my criticism of the murderous Communist gang is concerned. Fortunately you are not the legal representative of our comrades in Spain or they might have sent you such a request. Well, I have overlooked a great many actions of our people contrary to all my life, feeling and judgment. But I frankly admit I will NOT be able to consent to censorship on what I am to say or write against Stalins doings in Spain. I am now waiting for Vazquez reply. My dear old friend you need now words to tell me about the difficulties and dangers of the G.T.-F.A.I.



## The Emma Goldman Papers

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When one also sees that every allowance to them, but  
wards ones aims and when the compromises become every more dan-  
gerous one can not compromise. I am afraid Vazquez demand will break th-  
back. Well, we will see.

Your long explanation about Gouchy makes me think I  
gave you the wrong impression of his share in the Congress. I must  
therefore tell you that Gouchy was present as the interpreter for the  
Sedish Delegation. He did not utter a single word although he was  
charged with all kinds of crimes in Helmut's report. Besides what you  
say of Therese's influence on him in Berlin or the first few years  
in Paris no longer holds good. Augustine does not see her more than  
a few times a year and also not for long. Her hold I am sure is  
broken. But it is true that S. has ambitions and likes to play his  
part, also that he is the type which can neither forget or forgive  
a wrong done him. And it is certain that the method used to get him  
out of the I.A.A. was very much more than extremely and decent.  
That should not have induced him to use methods of retaliation equ-  
ally reprehensible. But S. is small in his human approach and his  
vanity, or rather his ambition to shine is very great, hence the whole  
trouble. You say yourself my fear that once an antagonism arises  
between two people it is impossible to bring them to reason or some  
thing of the sort. And there was antagonism between S. and Helmut  
long ago wasn't there? I fully agree with you that Helmut is irre-  
proachable in character and integrity. But his antagonism to S. makes  
it impossible for him to see a good hair on poor S. head. Well  
they will have to fight out their difference between them then  
so yes. I find S. most earnest in his devotion to the Spanish cause a  
and struggle. I find that in his own way he is doing a tremendous  
amount of good work, that he is untiring and very brave. Moreover he  
seems to be bureaucratic the moment he gets away from his desk and he  
is then kindness and devotion itself. I spent several weeks in daily  
company with him when we traveled to Valencia, Madrid, Alicante and  
many villages between and I must say he was touchingly devoted to my  
needs and most helpful. On the other hand I also have grown fond of  
Helmut and I think him most sincere.

I did not answer your letter which crossed mine  
because I was too distressed and I waited for your reply. I also did  
not acknowledge your book for the same reason. I could not settle my  
mind on anything. I am sorry. I have begun to read your front work  
but can only keep at it occasionally because the Spanish Press absorbs  
my nights because I still read Spanish very haltingly. Thank you my  
dear for the inscription and the book.

This will have to do for today as I must rush off  
to our new quarters. There is so much to do. I suppose you have already  
seen Abe Ilanstein and his complete reversal of his attitude to the  
CIT-PAI. I can understand the boy. We in our youth were also not so  
willing to back every compromise. But I consider it would be dis-  
astrous if he came out in condemnation of the CIT-PAI I have written  
him to this effect.

With love to Willy Fernin and yourself.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938 Jan. 25 London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / E[thel Mannin].—  
2 p.; 10 x 16 cm.

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Tuesday

Dearest Emma,

PS. a further consideration in favour of 17218  
going on Sat. is that the divorce comes on 15  
Feb. & my husband wants that I should not be  
here & ~~the~~ better I shouldn't be.

I feel so terribly torn about when to go - we have  
ordered tickets for Sat. and are all set to go, my work is cleared  
up to date, and all arrangements are made - what tempts me to stay  
on a bit longer is that I am half committed to a political meeting  
on the 9th; its true I didn't definitely commit myself, telling  
them I wasn't certain if I'd be here, but they have billed me on the  
off-chance and I hate disappointing, as its ~~an~~ insurance workers  
trade union rally.

My feeling about not leaving Jean also tempts  
me to stay; I hate leaving her, as we are very 'close'. On the  
otherhand, apart from the fact that all arrangements are made to go  
(and arrangements with comrades in Vienna - ILP ~~xxx~~ contacts) London  
is no good to Reg; it exhausts him, and he is still supposed to be  
taking things easily - only somehow its not possible in London; he  
gets that ashy grey look, and so drawn, and h. has that new strange  
disinterest in things - he who used to be such a firebrand! I suppose  
that's the broode, though, as much as anything. I could go back to  
Someset again, but he's had two weeks there and its natural he should  
want to be with me, apart from the fact that its not congenial to  
work there (its a very small cramped little house) and abroad he can  
get some writing done... He's willing to wait over the 9th, but it  
means another fortnight of town for him, and I can't feel that its  
fair.... and on the other hand I don't feel its fair that my name  
should be used as a 'draw' for this meeting and people turn up and  
see me on the platform! Oh dear! In decision its the very devil - when  
its the indecision of conflicting loyalties, my dear! Dearest Emma.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938 Jan. 25 London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / E[thel Mannin].—  
2 p. ; 10 × 16 cm.

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*Emma darling, the whole letter is really me indulging in a little thinking about trying to resolve my (inner) conflict.*

*We can't have the lunch with us, they - was, as she only has an hour for herself.*

to lunch with you Friday means my poor little Jean going home and lunching alone - which she's got to do for the next two months in any case, so I don't ask her to before she must, poor kid. When I come back we could lunch together in town (if you've no place in which to entertain) and then go out to yr artist friend, on a Sat. - I don't see Jean on Saturdays, you see. But even cutting the lunch out this Friday it would be too much of a rush for me to get to Golders Green and back in time to play the horriass in the evening, as I wrote you y/day and as I'm sure you understand. I'd overlooked this when I told you on Sat. night that I could do it.

I don't want to go away at all - its a wrench leaving Jean again so soon, and I get so tired of living in European hotels, working between the wash-basin and the bed I've had so much of it. Had we been able to afford to keep to our original plan of going to the West Indies I could feel some enthusiasm for that would have been new territory and I might have got a good book on some aspect of the colour question from it...

But I won't be so completely gone from you by being in Dubrovnik (we go via Vienna to avoid Fascist countries) Emma dear, for I shall write regularly and work for you as much as I can just as though I were still in Wimbledon... I mean its not as though I were just going off into the blue and forgetting everything!

I will try to do a good general article for Spain and the World and hope to write often for it, for I admire the little paper very much and only the feeling that I didn't know enough of its sort of material kept me from offering my services long ago! I won't start another sheet

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Jan. 25 [New York? to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Rose [Pesotta].—  
2 p.; 21 × 15 cm.

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Jan 25, 1938<sup>140</sup>  
Dearest Emma

do not think that I  
forget you - I've been on  
the go since I arrived.

Still as was to see me  
and we both agreed that  
someone will have to intro-  
duce us to Mrs Roosevelt  
who is the only person with  
to Perkins who may do some-  
thing.

Last week while in  
Boston, I had lunch with  
your friend  
William Nagood  
who promised  
to see Skirwood  
Eddy in Washington. But



the present set up while I must  
must cooperate with other young  
but if anything would indicate  
what's new - they will commit suicide  
all around around call to the  
and another meeting to continue  
the discussion is scheduled to take  
place sometime soon.  
I am going to work in Boston  
but shall come with my very two  
weeks or three more - Boston is my  
home now. Let me know how you  
are.  
Love  
Rose

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[Letter] 1938 Jan. 25 [New York? to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Rose [Pesotta]. — 2 p.; 21 × 15 cm.

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✓  
Everyone I speak to admits that they<sup>10141</sup>  
will use this influence, if it will  
change Madame Perkins mind again  
to be seen.

On Jan 21 Abe reported his stand  
on Spain to a "select group" of  
comrades. Neither Mark nor Rudolph  
were present. Both were ill with  
the grippe. After Abe finished  
his close to 1 1/2 hour speech, Bond  
took the floor. I do not know  
how he spoke to our friends in  
Paris after his release from Spain.  
Abe he expressed an opinion simi-  
lar to those expressed by the Spanish  
delegates to the Congress, namely, while  
Fascism threatens Spain Anarchists  
must cooperate with other groups  
to crush the enemy etc etc.  
He was of the opinion that there  
is much to be desired in Spain to  
bring about a perfect order under



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]3[8] Jan. 26, London [to Nemesio] Galve [and Manuel] Mascarell, [Paris] / [Emma Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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18906

London Jan. 26th 27

Galve or Mascarell  
Dear Comrades.

I wrote you a bit because I want to be sure that one of you who is less busy than the other will attend to my requests without delay. Last week I wrote you a letter informing you that I will be preparing an important letter for comrade Vazquez which I will mail to you that it may be transmitted to the C.N. by a reliable comrade who goes to Barcelona. I have sent you that letter a day before yesterday and also a package containing a book of trade union addresses of the Vazquez and for as well as some other matters that is sure to be held up by the censor in Spain. I hope dear comrades you have attended to both matters as they are both important and urgent. You must have been amused at my few lines in French which I sent along with the letter intended for the C.N.

I also wrote you about another important matter, namely the poster of the SIA which represents the SEMANA del NIÑO. Herrera sent me only one. As we are preparing an exhibition of children's drawings in Barcelona schools we need the poster to help us with our publicity. I urge you to impress this on Herreras mind or whom ever else you talk to over the telephone to tell them to send me these posters right away. Or if you have them to send them to me. It is so difficult and such a delay to get anything direct from Spain that I must ask you dear comrades to help me. I am sure you have photographs of all sorts of events in Spain collectives, schools the work of the SIA. Please send me some of them. When you send cuts or notes you must state its value and notify the customs, else they will do as they did with the last ones you sent, they will confiscate them.

We are working hard for our exhibition which is going to be in behalf of the SIA and we are also planning a large meeting perhaps in connection with a concert for the same purpose. I have quite a number of sponsors of men and women famous in the world of letters, science and music. Anyhow we are working frightfully hard.

Please notice our new offices. We are having special station for the SIA so as not to mix it up with the bureau of the CNT-FAI

Fraternal greetings to comrade Hoca. I never hear from him any more. Affectionate greeting to Emilienne

Fraternally

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1 p. ; 10 × 16 cm.

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Wed

17214

Dearest Emma,

No time to ring today or even to write a proper letter. Had people here all afternoon and they've only just gone and now I must go out. Choque returned herewith. Peter Addison says he will do the stuff but wants to ring you or come and see you - will ring you and arrange to come and see you; wants to know how often he will have to do it and how much it will be, so that he can arrange accordingly. I told him I thought it would be fortnightly as its wanted for Spain - the World that comes out fortnightly. He seemed to think this would be alright. I think we should pay him a little, as though he has a tiny income he supplements it in the summer with Cook's (tours) courier work, and these months he is out of work. But he can settle all this. He is the ideal man for the job so I hope we come to an arrangement with him.

Well I am going Sat. So many things point to going then - or not at all. I will somehow get the Spain and the World article done Friday - can't touch it tomorrow as I shall be out all day with Jean.

Must fly now dear. Typing this against time.

Very much love

# The Emma Goldman Papers

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1 p.; 20 × 16 cm.

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17218

Jan. 27th 33

Darling. This will be the last letter until you give me your address en route. I got yours this morning. Thank you for attending to every thing. I am glad Peter Addison wants to do some translation. I cannot make a definite arrangement with him because I am never sure how much material I will get from our people. I have suggested to them a sort of press service at least twice a month. If they agree and let me have material without delay I would have some translations regularly. But I will talk to him when he calls me up, or comes to see me.

Dearest as I do not sleep much I have ample time to think up schemes for the SIA. A new one is a large meeting I have already mentioned to you. We could not risk the expense of Queens Hall even if we could get it. But we might take the SCALA Theatre where the Medical Aid outfit always have concerts. The idea is not only a meeting but a mixed affair, some music, appropriate reading, perhaps ~~then~~ some dances by the children in Street, and a few speakers. I would ask Rebecca, and perhaps you could ask Housman, I see he spoke at one affair in The Friends HOUSE, perhaps also Louis Golding would read some thing and you of course. One will need time to work this up but it might prove a big and profitable undertaking for the SIA and give us a chance to place the ideas and ideal of the SIA ~~before~~ before a large audience. I do not have this in mind before the end of March because I want you to participate on your return. I only want to know what you think of this new venture? Do not bother about answering until you get settled some place on your trip and are rested. I have exploited you enough to give you a chance to rest from me.

With all my heart I wish you a restful, interesting and happy journey. If I hear from you about the hour of departure Saturday and it is not too early I want to come to the ~~station~~ station.

With a world of love

Affectionate greetings to Agie may he return strong and glowing with renewed faith and enthusiasm.

## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 Jan. 27 [London to Martha Gordon Crotch, Vence, France] / [Emma Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 25 x 19 cm.

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Jan 27th 38

Dearest Auntie.

Thanks for your letter. Too bad you did not have mine at hand because you failed to answer about the electric stoves. Please, darling of my heart let me know at once have your bought them or do they belong to the electric company? Also have you paid a deposit ~~for it~~ on the electricity? If so and you have done it by check could you write the company to return the amount to me after they deduct the amount for the three months ending Dec. I cannot think where I put all the bills you gave me in the beginning of our arrangements. And Burr insists a deposit must have been given because I had to pay a deposit at Frith Street on our electricity there and it is always done, he tells me. So be a dear and let me know by return mail.

Darling I am myself sorry to give up the flat. I had sort of attache myself to it. I suppose owing to your gay spirit. But I really have to do it. Yes, I love Liza in spite of her gloom which is worse since his death. And yet there is a change in her. She no longer frets so much. She tells me she does not care what will happen to her or how she will manage. Anyhow she has stopped fretting and therefore is not altogether as gloomy. So I think it will not be depressing as it used to. Then too I have a much larger room so I will be able to see people without driving Liza out from hers as used to be the case. Besides I shall be in the office a great deal. You would love the place on Frith Street now that it is getting to look like something. The large room can hold fifty people easily. It will be useful for small socials, or meetings. Then of course for our exhibitions that I intend to run way into the summer. And the reading room. Oh, I am not fool enough to expect great results. But if I can attract a few earnest young people and make known the truly heroic work of my friends in Spain I shall be content, and so will they.

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18007

I don't remember whether I have already sent you the in closed draft for our new venture. Ethel has been invaluable not only to the new undertaking but to me personally. We have become very close and Ethel is generosity itself. I have some outstanding names as sponsors. Laurence Housman, Louis Golding, Herbert Read, the two brothers Powys, John Cowper and Laavelyn, Havelock Ellis, Rebecca West. Stella called me up I could add her name. I have not seen her since my return. She was ill, and afterwards busy moving. Of course there is blessed Ethel. I have written Aldous Huxley but as he is in New Mexico it will take a long time to get his answer. I have to proceed with the printing of a folder of the inclosed. I will add his name when I hear from him. I think the SIA ought to appeal to people and I am concentrating on that. Hannes Hammermith is working on the material for my small but I hope effective exhibition of childrens drawing from some schools in Barcelona which I hope to open the 15th or 16th of next month. In connection with that we may have a sort of musicale at Frith Street with refreshments before the exhibition is open to the public. All this means a frightful lot to do and so few to help. You know how faithful and devoted Barr is. But he surely want set the house on fire. And there is no one else.

Our meeting the 14th was a great success. The Communists helped to make it so. None of our former meetings were so exciting because the Communists tried their damndest to break up the meeting. They only succeeded in turning the whole audience towards us. Ethel spoke about the SIA and made an appeal, the response was £75. Splendid showing isn't it? By the way did I tell you that the tax collectors for amusements returned £35 we paid for the concert. I got the receipt for the amount we made when I was in Spain and we sent that on together with our complete certified statement. It will mean so much to the starving children. Now that the SIA is in full charge of the care of the refugees in Catalonia they have made arrangements to send food stuffs from Marseille and I will be sending whatever money realised from here to Marseille. That will be much more satisfactory than last year when I had to wait ages for receipts and was never certain whether the money reached my friends safely.

Charles has been working for me at the office since Monday doing odds and ends. I wish to Christ I had not forgotten how handy he is I would have saved a lot of money on papering and painting the place. The job cost £23 and was not perfectly done. Charles could have done it just as well for half the amount. I guess my poor old tired head can no longer retain the thousand and one things I am doing. Well, ~~xxxx~~ Charles is attending to a lot of jobs that were necessary. About the flat, darling there is very little to do. If Charles will wipe the walls they will look as new for there is not a speck on them. The kitchen needs doing although I had it done shortly after you left. For some reason it gets filthy quickly. But outside of that I do not think you will need to spend much on the rooms. Alright about notifying the agent about bringing people. Of course I will leave that carpet you wrote me about and the bits of dishes, I will also leave one blanket and your bath towels which are in a pretty raggy state I sent you the ~~xx~~ two good one with the sheets from St Tropez. What about the trunk in the kitchen? Winnie told me



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10000  
You said she could have it. Better let me know please. And about the  
electric stoves in our rooms. I take it the kitchen range remains.

Ethel leaves for a trip Saturday, she will be gone six weeks, I shall certainly miss her.

I feel guilty about Nellie I have not written her in ages. Simply haven't a moment. But I must write her soon. I am so glad she gets along whatever her sources are. Had a letter from her yesterday she evidently picked up a new quack. She is to have something done to herself she writes very mysteriously. I don't know what it is and I have worried all I could about her. She gets \$100 francs a month from the sale of Bon Esprit as I had long decided she should. But the fortune will not last forever. What she will do when it is gone I don't know. I rather think she will manage somehow better than you and I.

Goodby my dear and please, please answer right away about the stoves and the deposit.

With love

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[Letter, 19]38 Jan. 27 [London to Pedro] Herrera, [Barcelona (fragment)] / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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1938

Jan 27th 38

Dear comrade Herrera.

I have written you twice last week direct to Barcelona and I have also sent my reply to the French letter signed by you and comrade Vazquez to Paris asking comrades Galve and Mascarell to see that it reaches you without delay. In one of my letters I begged you to let me have the poster SEVANA del NINO in as large a quantity you can spare. I also wrote comrade Mascarell to tell you about the posters if Galve speak to Barcelona on the phone. They are most urgent because we want to announce the opening of our exhibition of drawings of children in Barcelona schools which is to be for the SIA. I wrote you that to have them reproduced would cost £25 pounds which is impossible to spend. I hope you received the message through the Paris Office and that you will send me some of the poster as quickly as possible. While I am on this subject I want to ask you dear comrade to send me photographs and posters for the purpose of the SIA propaganda. I do not mean ONE. I want them in quantity, posters by the hundred lot, photographs of children of your homes for the refugees of whatever you are doing so we can reproduce them. Please do not forget. We need such material even more than the written material you have been sending though we need that as well. But posters and photos are sadly needed.

You will be glad dear comrade to learn that we are getting out a special SIA number of SPAIN and the WORLD containing our manifesto, articles you sent me and an appeal for the SIA. We will also announce the opening of our exhibition which is to be about the 15th of next month. We hope to have in connection with this a Musicales in our new quarters we have a large room that can seat 75 people. These will only be invited to come by card, after that the exhibition will be open all the time. We are also planning a big affair for March, a combination of meeting and concert and literary affair. You will also be glad that we succeeded in getting some sponsors of high standing in letters, music and art, and we are expecting more. In short the SIA has been launched and will be pushed to the limit.

Now to an important matter. You may not know that the comrades of SPAIN AND THE WORLD by their appeal for twenty orphaned children in the Ascasio Durruti Colony have actually raised over five hundred

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19051

each time he has spoken with Barcelona. After all it is important  
to keep your struggle before the English masses and to keep their  
interest alive by direct and authentic news and information. So will  
you talk this over with comrade VAZQUEZ and the other of the C.N.  
and write me. True this may be a larger expense than I had in mind  
when I gave V. the budget for the propaganda here. I mean a regular  
Press Service would. But I should think it would prove worth while.  
By the way I have discovered a member of the I.L.P who knows Spanish  
to perfection and he would be willing to help with the Press Service  
by means of quick translation. Of course he would have to be paid a  
regular salary. I am writing you all this because I fear comrade  
V. may still be in Valencia and I must have a quick answer, at  
least about the SIA posters and photos, and the suggestion for  
of Spain and the World.

Salud.

# The Emma Goldman Papers

880726277

[Letter] 1938 Jan. 27, London [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Fenner Brockway. —  
2 p. ; 29 x 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

## INDEPENDENT LABOUR PARTY NATIONAL ADMINISTRATIVE COUNCIL

23925

Chairman : J. MAXTON, M.P.

Hon. Treasurer : F. W. JOWETT

Telephone : Central 3196  
Telegrams : Iper, Ltd, London



Secretary : A. FENNER BROCKWAY  
35 St. Bride Street  
London, E.C.A.

27th January, 1938.

Emma Goldman,  
18, Castletown Road,  
West Kensington, W.14.

Dear Emma,

I think the statement about the International Anti-Fascist Solidarity Fund is done excellently. I am sorry if I gave you the impression that I was not interested. I am tremendously interested and wholly sympathetic. We have a rule in our Party that national officials must have the consent of our National Council before signing public documents, but I am immediately writing to our Council members for permission. I think you can take it for granted, but please don't add my name until you hear from me. If it is necessary for you to have the appeal printed off before Monday I am afraid in the first imprint you had better withhold my name. I will 'phone you on Monday.

My only doubt about personal association with the Fund is not related to the problem of refugees in Catalonia, but to prisoners. When I was in Barcelona I discussed with the C.N.F. people whether their Judicial Committee would take responsibility for assisting our prisoners and with their usual generosity and breadth of spirit they replied in the affirmative. There is also, however, the problem of refugees in Paris and elsewhere. I understood that the International Anti-Fascist Solidarity Fund was to cover such purposes. Our own International Bureau is considering at its next meeting on February 16th the raising of a fund for similar purposes, but I think it bad to have two funds making a separate appeal. I want our people to come to an arrangement with yours, but this must, of course, await the Bureau discussion.

In the appeal which you are sending out there is no mention of prisoners and political refugees outside Spain and it may be that this particular fund is not going to cover them. In any case my sympathy is so much with it that I am asking permission to associate myself with your document.



## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Jan. 27, London [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Fenner Brockway. —  
2 p. ; 29 x 21 cm.

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-2-

I do not know why you did not get my previous  
letter. I dictated it to my secretary on January 14th.  
It was posted to you on the 14th. I enclose the copy.  
You will see that there are some points in the letter  
which require to be dealt with.

Yours truly,

Fenner Brockway.  
Secretary.



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938 Jan. 28, London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Ethel Mannin.—  
2 p. ; 10 × 16 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Ethel Mannin

17157

Oak Cottage.  
Burgley Road.  
Wimbledon Common, S.W.19.

Friday

Dearest Emma,

any  
time /  
Herewith the article for Spain and the World. Not knowing how much of the facts would be covered by the other articles in the same issue made it a little difficult to write, but I have not dealt with facts and figures, but stressed the importance of solidarity as the importance of the SIA. I hope it will serve. The accompanying press picture is not vanity, not a suggestion that it should be used, for space is valuable, but if they do feel they'd like to use it, then have a half-tone made and send me the bill. Otherwise put the pictures on the office's files for future reference'.

I have your letter (did you have mine setting forth the 'conflict' over going? Not important; only one like to know letters have arrived) and I think the idea of taking the Scala Theatre an excellent one, on the lines you suggest. Your musical friends could supply a little music, and your author friends would

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938 Jan. 28, London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Ethel Mannin. — 2 p. ; 10 x 16 cm.

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one else to sign one's name - my own.  
someone else's signature pass as one's own.  
Must get this off now. Till tomorrow.  
Much love

read from their works - Housman might read an amusing scene from  
one of his plays for example; I could read them a story - or make  
an appeal, or introduce the items - or all the lot I Whatever seems  
most ~~fitting~~ fitting and useful. Rebecca West is a good speaker  
and might be useful. I am sure something of interest could be organ-  
ised and I'd be glad to help all I could, as you must know. I want  
to be back before the end of March anyhow...I go with such a heavy  
heart. Foolish, when there are so many good reasons for going, but  
there it is.

You could write me Poste Restante Dubrovnik, Yugo-Slavia. This would  
save a few days, as we may not settle into a place immediately, but  
try first one and then another.

I wrote you y/day that the Ostend train by which we go leaves Victoria  
at 2 on Sat. and that I will love to have you come and see us off, but  
will ring Sat.morning in case you find yourself too busy or the time too  
difficult.

I wish, really, any cheques could be sent to me abroad - I have a queer  
outraged-ego feeling about anyone else signin; my name. It really wouldn't  
mean much delay to send any that come, and if a record is kept of the  
cheques sent no harm is done if they were lost - only letters don't get  
lost in my experience. I feel, too, that some people giving will know  
my signature and think it odd to find it different on the back of the  
cheque, and then there's that egotistical feeling of not wantin; any

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 Jan. 28, Rhinebeck, N.Y. [to Emma] Goldman, [London] / Aldous Huxley. — 2 p. ; 30 x 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

23422

Rhinebeck  
N.Y.

28. 1. 38

Dear Miss Goldman.

Your letter of Jan 11<sup>th</sup>  
has reached me here in  
America after some delay.  
The events of the last  
few years have made  
it clear, so far as I  
am concerned, that the  
libertarian ideal for which  
we have fought so long is  
the only satisfactory and  
even the only realistic political  
ideal for anyone who is  
not a conservative reactionary.

With regard to the SIA,

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 Jan. 28, Rhinebeck, N.Y. [to Emma] Goldman, [London] / Aldous Huxley. — 2 p. ; 30 × 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

1/2 Huxley

I am enclosing a small  
contribution to its funds.  
Being absent from England  
I think it best not to  
become a sponsor of the  
organization, in as much as I  
shall be unable to do  
anything to help and I  
don't think it's satisfactory  
to be just a sleeping partner.

Yours sincerely

A. W. Huxley.

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 Jan. 28, Rhinebeck, N.Y. [to Emma] Goldman, [London] / Aldous Huxley. — 1 p. ; 21 × 17 cm.  
 Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe College.

[enclosure]

COPY.

Rhinebeck,  
 N.Y.

28.1.38.

Dear Miss Goldman,

Your letter of January 11th has reached me here in America after some delay. The events of the last few years have made it clear, so far as I am concerned, that the libertarian ideal for which you have fought so long is the only satisfactory and even the only realistic political creed for anyone who is not a conservative reactionary.

With regard to the S.I.A., I am enclosing a small contribution to its funds. Being absent from England I think it best not to become a sponsor of the organisation, in as much as I shall be unable to do anything to help and I don't think it's satisfactory to be just a sleeping partner.

Yours sincerely,

(Sgd.) ALDOUS HUXLEY.

*Great writer  
 champion of the  
 great scientific  
 Huxley. E*



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 Jan. 28, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / Martin [Gudell].—  
1 p. ; 22 × 17 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

19375

I. C. N. T.

A. I. T.

F. A. I.

## CONFEDERACIÓN NACIONAL DEL TRABAJO FEDERACIÓN ANARQUISTA IBÉRICA

CASA C. N. T. - F. A. I.

VIA CURRUTI, 32

BARCELONA

OFICINA DE PROPAGANDA EXTERIOR

SECRETARIADO - DEPARTAMENTO 84  
TELÉFONO 14731 - 41.

TELÉFONOS:  
CENTRALITA 14781  
SECRETARIADO 41  
EDICIONES 44-45  
GUERRA DE CLASE 46  
BOLETÍN ESPERANTO 46  
BOLETÍN FRANCÉS 46  
BOLETÍN ALEMÁN 47  
BOLETÍN INGLÉS 46  
BOLETÍN SUECO 46  
BOLETÍN BULGARO 46  
BOLETÍN PORTUGUÉS 46

Barcelona ls 28 janvier 1938.

Camarade EMMA GOLDMAN,  
Londres.

Chère Camarade,

Nous avons reçu une lettre de TOMAS ALFORTH-  
42 Hillside Terrace, Beddew, Mon.- par laquelle il nous prie  
de lui indiquer quelque librairie où il pourrait acquérir de  
la littérature concernant le mouvement ~~anarchiste~~. C'est un ou-  
vrier qui, selon ses manifestations, s'intéresse beaucoup par  
le mouvement anarchiste et qui désire étudier les problèmes  
concernant ce mouvement.

Nous vous prions de lui écrire une lettre en lui  
indiquant quelque librairie d'Angleterre ou d'Amérique où il  
pourrait acheter des livres sur le mouvement anarchiste. En même  
temps, vous pourriez lui donner les titres des livres et le  
nom de l'auteur.

De notre part, nous l'avons écrit une lettre en  
lui indiquant qu'il doit s'adresser à vous et que vous le four-  
nirez tous les renseignements nécessaires.

Salutations bien fraternelles,

*Gestern und vorgestern ich habe  
Ihnen verschiedenes Material geschickt.  
Morgen werden Sie bekommen eine sehr  
wichtige Zeitschrift - Hoy - ist gemacht  
von Alai 2. Ich schicke Ihnen 3 Exemplare.  
Herzliche Grüsse Martin*

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Jan. 28 [Paris to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Helmut [Rüdiger]. —  
3 p.; 27 x 20 cm.  
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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

18876

28. Januar 1938

Liebe Emma, ich bestätigte <sup>2</sup>Dir schon Deinen lieben Brief, nun verschie-  
dene Dinge zur Antwort. Ich bin sehr froh, dass Du mir so ausführlich  
schreibst, was Dich besonntigt, denn ich stehe ja in einem ganz ähnli-  
chen Konflikt und ein Austausch tut mir sehr wohl. Deinen Brief an die  
CNT finde ich sehr sanftmütig - mehr Wohlwollen kann "der wilde Vasquez"  
nicht verlangen!

Hier nun erst mal eine kleine Notiz über die IAA-Geschichten; ich sende  
Dir den Durchschlag des für RR bestimmten Originals. Das war für mich  
einmal eine kleine Freude. Benard ist übrigens hinsichtlich der Mög-  
lichkeit einer fruchtbaren Zusammenarbeit mit Prieto zuversichtlicher  
als Du - und ich. Mit Benard habe ich mich in der Zwischenzeit gut ver-  
ständigt, und zwar nachdem ich klar erkannt habe, welchen Anteil an sei-  
nem Verhalten zu Lasten Galves geht. Wir haben uns viel unterhalten und  
sind in wesentlichen sachlichen Punkten der Auffassung unserer Bewegung  
wie schon die letzte Zeit immer verschiedener Meinung, aber der gleichen  
Überzeugung, dass man zusammenarbeiten kann und muss, wenn nur gewisse  
persönliche Voraussetzungen erfüllt sind. "Was für Dich Martin-Bouche  
waren beim Kampf um das Recht der Delegacion Permanente, war für mich in  
Paris Galve", sagt Benard. Wir sind beide überzeugt, dass mit einem  
Roca z.B. alles andere gehen muss. Hier also die Notiz:

Die Bildung des neuen Sekretariats ist jetzt - Ende Januar! - noch  
immer nichts geworden, doch steht sie unmittelbar bevor. Es steht nur  
noch die Antwort der Schweden auf das Referendum aus, während z.B. Chile  
schon geantwortet hat. Die schon sicheren Resultate sind: Generalsekre-  
tär, Prieto. Für Kusoarell waren ausser der deutschen Stimme nur noch ei-  
ne Sektion. Von den anderen beiden Spaniern ist Roca gewählt - die Galve  
kennt, haben nicht für ihn gestimmt. Ausserdem sind gewählt Benard, der  
Portugiese Neves und ich. Gegen mich, für meinen Freund Michaelis, nur  
die Holländer, wohl auf Rat Schapiros, wie mir die französischen Genos-  
sen sagen. Für Benard alle, auch die CNT. Man darf das mit Recht als  
eine erfreuliche Demonstration guten Willens auffassen, auch Benard  
selbst tut das so. Obwohl es an neuen Konfliktstoffen nicht fehlen wird,  
hat der Kongress doch die Atmosphäre etwas gereinigt.

Aus dem Combat Syndicaliste ist der polemische Ton völlig verschwunden,  
ich arbeite jetzt auch daran mit, über spanische Fragen. Schapiro ist  
aus der Redaktionskommission des Blattes und der Administrativkommission  
der CGTSR "gesundheitshalber" ausgeschieden. Ich habe nur immer Angst,  
dass die CNT irgendeine neue Dummheit macht, um die natürlich noch wackli-  
ge neue Haltung der CGTSR wieder umzustossen. Der delikateste Punkt ist  
die Verständigung über die Spanien-Flüchtlingsfrage. Des weiteren wird  
die Frage der Kompetenzen und Tätigkeitsbereiche der CNT-Delegationen in  
Auslande wieder aufgeworfen werden müssen - das ist ein heisses Eisen, zu-  
mal Galve seinen Bereich zwar ziel- und richtungslos, aber schnell und  
quantitativ bedeutsam ausbaut. Es ist die falsche Idee, die mit der Po-  
litik gegen die Delegacion Permanente in Barcelona begann - eine wirkli-  
che Gründung der IAA ist erst möglich, wenn die CNT hier zu 100% rekti-  
fiziert. Möge inzwischen nicht zuviel Wirrwarr angerichtet werden!

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Jan. 28 [Paris to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Helmut [Rüdiger].—

3 p.; 27 x 20 cm.

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18877

Ich lege noch eine kleine Notiz über den Kongress bei, die natürlich auch nicht für die Öffentlichkeit geeignet ist... (Zur Kriegsfrage.)

Das tolle Zirkular über die Frage der aus Spanien geflüchteten Kameraden haben wir auch erhalten, aber beigefallen. Galve war verreist, und in gemeinsamer Sitzung Delegation CNT-IAA wurde ein Abkommen getroffen, die Sache nicht zu veröffentlichen und dies dem CN mitzuteilen, und die Bildung eines IAA-Komitees zu versuchen, in dem unter Zusammenarbeit mit der CNT die Unterstützung für deren würdige Genossen geregelt wird. Es scheint heil nahe, dass das CN einschlagen wird. ~ L (Marshall-Russ)

Von einem unserer Gefangenen von Segorbe, meinem Freund Michel, der übrigens auch ein guter Freund von Rudolf und Milly ist, habe ich dieser Tage einen Brief bekommen, vom 11. datiert. Der Junge ist trotz allem noch in guter Stimmung, schreibt mir aber, dass er gegen die Verzweiflung seiner Leidensgefährten viel ankämpfen muss. Sie fühlen sich von der Organisation und von der SIA völlig verlassen, schreibt er, und, sehr originell!!!, gerade diese Zeilen waren von der Zensur überstrichen, aber entzifferbar. Nur diese Zeilen! Nationale Solidarität gegen Ausländer...

Mit Abe sprach ich. Was den Kurs der Bewegung in Spanien betrifft, so habe ich mehr Vertrauen zur CNT als er. Er operiert mit einer Sammlung idiotischer Zitate, die man allerdings aus der CNT-PAI-Presse gut zusammensetzen kann, denn die Genossen leisten sich allerhand. Man kann aber auch etwas anderes sehen. Ich habe in diesen Wochen CNT-Fragen-Soll-Kollektionen aus ca. 9 Monaten durchgearbeitet und einen reichen Zitatenschatz zusammengestellt (für künftige Arbeiten), nach dem Gesichtspunkt, zu wählen, was dafür spricht, dass die Bewegung durchaus noch ihre Ideen kennt und bekannt und nur nach einer praktischen politischen Janis sucht. Obwohl die Presse nicht besonders gut und oft das Gegenteil davon ist, habe ich doch auch sehr positives Material gefunden. Das Katastrophen beginnt meines Erachtens bei der Aussenpolitik der CNT. Es begann damit, dass man in Barcelona die IAA und ihre Sektionen rechtlos machte, und der letzte Brief an Dich ist ein Gipfel des Erreichten... Ich meine den Brief des Genossen Vazquez. Die inner-spanischen Wirklichkeiten haben natürlich auch eine grosse Gefahr, und zwar, etwas Ähnliches schrieb Du einmal, eben deshalb, weil auch sie von aussen beobachtet werden heute, und die oft sehr kritischen Beobachter, vor allem der dialektisch geschulte oppositionelle Marxismus, haben leichtes Spiel, die CNT „durch den Akte zu sehen“, wie man so sagt. Und sie tun es. Es kann sich schliesslich auch nicht jeder Aussenstehende eine solche Menge psychologischer Entschuldigungen zusammensuchen, wie wir sie immer wieder finden... Das ist wahr.

Deine Mitteilung über die eventuelle Deutschland-Besucherin interessiert mich. Schreibe bitte wieder, wenn Du sie getroffen hast. Natürlich geht vorläufig noch unter den deutschen Genossen im Auslande selbst die Diskussion über das Ob und Wie der Reise, aber ich möchte auf jeden Fall praktische Vorschläge machen, falls nach genauem Studium die Sache ratsam erscheinen sollte.

Deine kritischen Gedanken über verschiedene unserer früheren Propagandaphjekte wie Generalstreik veretehe ich gut. Nun, wir können versuchen, Neues zu lernen, trotzdem werden auf jeden Fall die revolutionäre Massenbewegung, der Drang der Masse zur Macht und die reine anarchistische Lehre gewisse Gegenstände bleiben. Man kann unaufhörlich an der Durchdringung von Revolution und Anarchie arbeiten, aber das bleiben immer nur Versuche, wie der Anarchosyndikalismus einer ist, die CNT einer,



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10870

Also liebe Eva, nochmals, ich freue mich sehr, dass wir uns so austauschen können. Selbstverständlich verstehe auch ich die Sache so, dass solche Übermittlung von Eindrücken und auch Material wie die spanischen Dokumente in Deinem letzten Brief, einen rein vertraulichen Charakter tragen und für niemand weiter bestimmt sind. Diese Art von Austausch pflege ich ausserdem auch nur noch, ausser mit Michel, mit Rudolf und Mark, die Du ja auch schätzt.

Noch etwas. Ich fragte Dich nach Rudolf Buch, unter anderem seinem Un-  
fang. Ich würde es gern einmal sehen und wäre Dir auch dankbar, wenn Du  
bei passender Gelegenheit die Sache mit dem Buch für mich weiterverfol-  
gen würdest, ich meine mit einem Verleger Fühlung nehmen, der in einigen  
Monaten vielleicht an Abnahme des erwähnten Ms. denken würde. Bei Ge-  
legenheit, sage ich, denn die Sache eilt nicht so und Du hast bedeutend  
Wichtigeres zu tun.

Nun viele herzliche Grüsse!

H. Hunt

Niederschrift

Dank für ~~Verständnis~~ <sup>Unterstützung</sup> meiner Kongress-Intervention; man wird sich sicher einmal noch vergenügen können. Darüber später.

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938 Jan. 28, Paris to Emma Goldman, London (enclosure)] / [Helmut Rüdiger].— 1 p. ; 14 x 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

18879

Nachtrag zu meinen Notizen zum letzten Kongress der IAA

In meinen Aufzeichnungen vom 20. Dezember vergesse ich eine wichtige Einzelheit des Kongresses zu beleuchten, die wert ist noch nachträglich aufgewiesen zu werden.

In einer Resolution, die von der deutschen und chilenischen Delegation ausgearbeitet wurde als Gegenprojekt zu der spanischen über die Antifaschistische Einheitsfront, wurde Zusammenfassung aller ant imperialistischen Kräfte der Arbeiterbewegung zum Kampfe gegen den drohenden Krieg gefordert.

Für die spanische Delegation antwortete Vasquez speziell auf diesen Punkt. Er bemerkte, da es die Resolution vollkommen klarheit sei, wir könnten es uns nicht zum Ziele setzen, gegen den kommenden Krieg zu kämpfen. In Spanien sei hingegen das revolutionäre Proletariat für den Krieg, und es gebe nur eine einzige Tendenz, die heute den Krieg zu verhindern bestrebt sei, die Freimaurer. Mit denen hätten wir aber doch wohl nichts zu tun.

Diese eigensinnigen interessanten Erklärungen wurden in der Diskussion leider nicht näher kommentiert, vielleicht hatte sie sogar der große Teil der Delegierten überhaupt nicht verstanden.

Paris, 4. Januar 1938 HR.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Jan. 29, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / P[edro] Herrera. —  
1 p.; 27 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.  
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

**Solidaridad Internacional  
Antifascista**

*Consejo General*

English Section of S.I.A.  
Emma Goldman  
21 Frith street  
Shaftsbury Avenue  
LONDON W.1.

**Dear Comrades:**

enclosed we are sending you a brief report on the  
activities of various National Sections of S.I.A.

At the same time we like to impress on you the  
necessity of sending us regularly reports on the work accomplished  
and projected by your own section.

With fraternal greetings,

Yours for Antifascist Solidarity

For the General Council of S.I.A.  
P. Herrera, Secretary.



# The Emma Goldman Papers

870930372

[Letter] 1938 Jan. 29, Paris [to] Emma Goldman, London / N[emesio] Galve.—  
1 p.; 27 x 21 cm.

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19192

## BUREAU D'INFORMATION ET DE PRESSE

SOCIÉTÉ À RESPONSABILITÉ LIMITÉE AU CAPITAL DE 25.000 FRANCS

BUREAUX: BOULEVARD SAINT-DENIS, 28 — PARIS

TÉLÉPHONE: PROVENCE 88-48 — ADRESSE TÉLÉGRAPHIQUE: PRESSINFOR, PARIS

Publication:

LA NOUVELLE ESPAGNE  
ANTIFASCISTE

Paris le 29 Janvier 1938.

Règlements: chèque postal:

Bureau d'information et

de Presse: Paris - C 2177 - 32

Emma Goldman

21 frith Street

R. C. Seine: 274.040

N.G. 266 G.C.

Shaftesbury Avenue

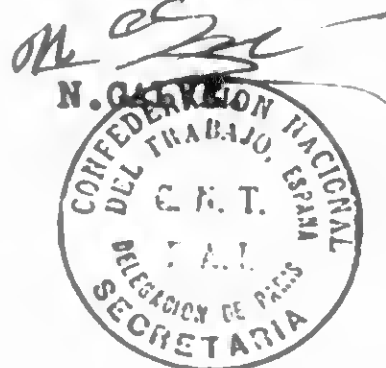
London W-I

Chère camarade,

Nous t'acousons reception de ta lettre antérieure, ainsi que de celle du 28-I-38. Dans la première nous avons bien reçu la lettre et le livre du "Labor Party" destinés à Vazquez, que nous avons envoyés en Espagne dès leur arrivée.

Sois tranquille nous ne dévoileront pas tes affaires. En ce qui concerne la traduction du livre tu recevras les derniers chapitres traduits. Ce que nous ne comprenons pas c'est que l'éditeur ne puisse pas te donner une réponse étant donné que tu as les 3/4 du livre traduit. Enfin tu dois savoir mieux que nous les inconvénients qui se présenteront. La propagande de la SIA fût sollicitée en temps dû. Au sujet de ce que tu nous demandes nous n'avons rien reçu même pas la photographis sur les collectivités.

Nous te saluons fraternellement, pour la délégation permanente.



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Jan. 31 [London to] Jeanne [Levey, Chicago] / E[mma] G[oldman]. —  
2 p.; 28 x 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Dearest Jeanne,

What a long wait for your letter! I was beginning to think that you were ill again or that J. was in trouble. I do not like to press you, my dear, but you should know that in my struggle here I need to feel that my American friends are close, and I need to hear from them often. There are so many things I would like to write to you about, but I simply cannot spare the time.

I am busy getting a place in order which we have taken in a centrally located spot in London. It consists of four rooms, one to serve as an office for the C.N.T.-F.A.I. and for my new venture - International Anti-Fascist Solidarity; and one large room for exhibitions of children's drawings and needlework of Spanish refugee women, and for all other kinds of purposes. All this keeps me on the job.

In addition there is the terrible difficulty of launching anything new here, but you will see by the enclosed draft that a beginning has been made. I succeeded in obtaining some very outstanding people as sponsors for the effort. We have already made a good start at my lecture on the Betrayal of the Spanish People on January 14th, which was attended by a large crowd and where 275 were subscribed for the S.I.A.; but there is still an awful lot to do to make the venture worth-while, and of course there is the work for the C.N.T.-F.A.I. You see, my dear, that I am busy. I wish I had such a splendid worker as you are near me. Life would be easy then and the work much more satisfactory.

I am enclosing two things which will tell you my position. One is the address at the Congress of the International Working Men's Association, and the other is a letter to Abe Bluestein, a very sincere and able young comrade who was in Spain since last April, and who just came out very much discouraged. My letter to him will explain his and my positions.

It is great of you, my dear, to have collected 200 dollars. Please keep the money until further notice. It was nice of the Halperines to contribute fifty dollars. From what Julia gave me to

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

900117051

[Letter] 1938 Jan. 31 [London to] Jeanne [Levey, Chicago] / E[mma] G[oldman].—  
2 p.; 28 x 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

understand, both she and Aaron would be willing to extend a loan of some part of the \$500 dollars necessary to work at the border. There is no need to bother them about it now. I will probably write them myself when the time comes, unless you wish to talk to them about it. In any event I would not start for Canada before August or September. I cannot drop the work here until it is thoroughly organized.

Unfortunately the outlook in America is not bright. Roger Baldwin, who saw Perkins, reported that she was adamant about my re-entry into the States, and a letter from Harry Kelly had the same report to make, which he got from Mr. Ernst, the lawyer of the Civil Liberty League.

I heard from my Stolla yesterday. She has some scheme up her sleeve which may help her to get to the "First Lady in the Land". That may be the most direct and favourable way. I do not know. Besides that, Rose Posotta, who was here on a visit and returned to New York, has undertaken to organize a Committee of women if possible, or mixed, that would begin systematic work for a visa. I am not very optimistic, but I intend to go to Canada any way, if only to be closer to my loved ones, among whom you have a very large and abiding place.

Please, dearest, do not wait so long in writing. I am moving from my apartment to a very dear friend of mine - Liza Koldofsky. You probably have heard of her husband, Simion Koldofsky. He died six months ago. She remained very desolate and feels her loneliness deeply. I might be able to help her by my presence. Besides, I am quite selfish in moving to her. I have lived with her before, and I have received such loving care, attention and thoughtfulness that I shall feel much better than I do now in my lonely apartment. My personal address will be:

Mrs. F. I. Colton,  
c/o Mrs. L. Koldofsky,  
6, Sneath Avenue,  
N.W. 11.

Give my loving greetings to J., the Halperines and other friends who still remember me, and take a large chunk of love from me for yourself,

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938 Jan. 31, London to Jeanne Levey, Chicago (enclosure)] / [Emma Goldman]. — 5 p. ; 21 x 17 cm.

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[enclosure]

COPY.

25th January 1938.

Dear Abe,

While I was surprised not to hear from you when you came out of Spain I understood your difficulty in writing me. You probably feared that I would fail to understand your complete somersault from the position which you definitely took up in your letter of June, and in your pamphlet in September.

I was naturally surprised and grieved over your blanket charge against the National Committee, not that I do not agree with a great deal of your criticism. You remember I told you as much even before you went to Spain, and when I came there in September of last year, I expressed my views to you on more than one occasion. I was therefore not blind, nor am I now, to the compromises our comrades have made and probably will make; but what was a staggering blow to me in your letter was that Madrid gave you so little, in fact nothing at all.

Something seemed to have happened within the short time of your visit there, I cannot imagine that the change for the worst was so complete that you could not find anything left of what so inspired me. You speak only of "a man like Lugoli" (is that the one with the lame leg whom I found working in the Italian section in the house of the CNT?). Do you mean to say that you saw no one else — that you did not try to go to the collectivized, especially to the agricultural department with its laborites and its scientific sections and that you did not try to go to the front to see our men in the trenches? Barely by door, you can at least judge a whole movement by what a few people tell you, no matter how honest and sincere these people are. For instance, you were told that Fronte Libertario had been confiscated. Well it is a serious firm in getting it regularly. You see the interesting thing about Spain is that whatever arbitrary measures were used on the country, the dictatorship, the Republic, and since by the new Government of Ferrin and the communists, nothing lasts for long. Today a paper is stopped — tomorrow it comes out full fledged and with flying colours. That is what has come to Fronte Libertario and Castile Libre and many other papers. I feel therefore your indictment of our comrades, while in the main correct and based upon a number of things our people have done, that cannot be reconciled with our ideas, is an extreme as your enthusiasm was when you left for Spain and therefore to a very arrival in September.

That you may not think that I approve of the compromises, or that I am in harmony with them, I am sending you a copy of my talk at the Extraordinary Congress of the N.C.T. You will see my dear that I have not hesitated on that occasion, nor before, to point out to the Spanish comrades the concessions they were making, and why I considered the "unpleasant and futile". I am there one as much in agreement with you in your objections as I am with Schapiro. I nevertheless insist that it could be the most cruel thing we could do, and a betrayal besides, to start a public campaign against the CNT. It could do

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them no end of harm and would be lapped up by the communist and French Fascist Bross.

True I am telling you now what some of our comrades hurled at me and Sasha when we began our campaign against Soviet Russia. He would hurt the revolution they said. It was precisely Shubin who told us that, and who waited four years before he raised his voice or used his pen to expose the crimes against the revolution and against our comrades by the Bolsheviks. Not only that, I learned only the other day that when Jania came to London secretly, I believe that it must have been in 1918 or 1919, he cautioned the comrades in London that to make anything public against the Bolshevik regime would be counter-revolutionary. He now maintains that his Russian experience has made him see his error. I am glad of course that he has changed; but at the same time I cannot reconcile myself to a public attack on the CPT-PAL. We were willing to give our enemies time to liquidate their fronts before we began to cry out from the house tops - should we not also be willing to give our comrades with a revolutionary tradition and anarchist background for surpassing anything the Bolshevik ever had, as much time to liquidate their anti-Fascist work. For myself I quite frankly admit I have to do it. With Spain representing the arena where Fascism and Imperialism are testing their strength, it seems nothing short of the greatest injustice to stab our comrades in the back. My dear I cannot do it.

No doubt the moment will arrive when I will have to discontinue my work for the CPT-PAL. For instance, if the comrades should attempt to stop my freedom of expression regarding the communists or some other point that I will be unable to stomach. In that case I will retire: BUT NEVER WILL I FORGIVE THE CPT-PAL FOR ITS INJUSTICE

I am reading the Spanish Press, dear Bob, and I see too many ridiculous things our people do and say, which of course contradicts our whole philosophy and our claims; but also I see significant expressions of our ideas and determination of revolutionary fight and anarchist aims disclosed in the Spanish collections.

dear

Just think of it/ Bob, here we are finding all kinds of fault with the stand taken by the CPT-PAL, discussing some article somebody wrote about the State, and all kinds of such things, and yet, our comrades in Spain can hold a conference attended by 800 delegates, discussing not the State, or the government, or any political alignment; but economic reconstruction - the need of Spain's new economy - of getting rid of industrial unemployment that have piled up striking new industrial factories which hold out promises of success. Eight hundred sitting in conference and coolly discussing the economic reconstruction of Spain at a time when the cities are being bombed, the vine in their wake hundreds of dead and mutilated, and when the war is raging at every front. Give me any other similar instance in history and I might not feel so determined to stand by the CPT-PAL. I cannot imagine anything more inspiring than the courage and the fortitude and the unimpeachable integrity of the comrades of the

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938 Jan. 31, London to Jeanne Levey, Chicago (enclosure)] / [Emma Goldman]. — 5 p. ; 21 x 17 cm.

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3.

CNT-P.I and the youth, in spite of all the concessions and compromises they are making, it seems to me that in face of such showing, all opposition ought to stop until fascism, which in the greatest measure today, will be liquidated.

Do not think for a moment, that because I am opposed to any public attack or criticism of our comrades I am also against the underground activities of the opposition. I rather think it a healthy sign that such a thing exists. At the same time I urge that it could have waited until the hands of our people were untied - until the moment will come when they will no longer be harassed by the whole world. Their work will then be effective and would hurt the struggle of the CNT-P.I less.

Having remained an old time anarchist, still believing in the right of the comrades to oppose what they consider wrong, even if they have to do so in a clandestine way. (I dare say if I were in Spain taking their part in the front rank of the CNT-P.I, facing all their dangers and all their hardships I should not be so magnanimous with the secret opposition). I don't mean to say that I would join them to be arrested - indeed not; but I should use all my persuasive powers and all my remaining to dissuade them from undermining the efforts of the CNT-P.I.

I do not agree with you when you say "to go on with the official CNT-P.I means to abandon the Spanish Revolution - to abandon the revolutionists in Russia and Spain, victims of the bolsheviks, and to abandon all those principles for which you have fought all your life and which still have to play their role in the social revolution throughout the world."

I believe that it was yourself who explained in your letter of June 37 and in your pamphlet that it is nonsense to speak of an "official CNT-P.I". Granting that the National Committee and the Regional Committee in Catalonia have acted arbitrarily, surely the 80 delegates from all parts of Spain are now in a position to settle with the National Committee, dissolve it and send it about its business. Or do you mean to say that the National Committee consists of 800 representatives. That of course would also be nonsense. Evidently the National Committee has to account to someone for its decisions; but in any event it is not a question of standing by the National Committee. If it were only that, I should not hesitate a moment to drop the work I am doing. To me it would be standing by the millions of members of the CNT-P.I and by the revolutionary Spanish workers and peasants. That is the thing which you and I have seem to forget.

Thank you for giving me credit for having been an outstanding person in our movement who was never tied by limits of organizations. Though you may not believe it I want you to know that if I did not feel with all my passion and intensity the dire need of standing by our Spanish comrades, by their battle, no discipline they might want to impose on me would have any value. Whatever discipline I am following is the one I have imposed upon myself. I grant you that in my younger

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938 Jan. 31, London to Jeanne Levey, Chicago (enclosure)] / [Emma Goldman]. — 5 p. ; 21 x 17 cm.

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days I might have been as impatient as you and the comrades on the underground activities in Spain. You see the Spanish anarchist traditions are the first to come in my long active life, that gave me faith in the triumphant outcome of the struggle regardless of the mistakes our people are making. Also I have learned through experience that ideas are one thing and life another. Whether we want it or not life imposes certain changes in our outlook or simply runs us by.

I am only sorry that you did not give yourself time to digest some of the impressions that you had formed - that you permitted Spain to add fuel to your smouldering fire, and that you added fuel to him. It seems to me that you owed it to yourself and to the comrades in Spain to wait until you had digested all that you were told and that you had seen.

Perhaps the trip across to America and the first weeks there will make you see how wrong it would be to launch out with a campaign of denunciation. It is difficult enough for our comrades in America and here to do something in aid of the anti-Fascist struggle. An open campaign against the CAT-FAI would knock the bottom out of everything.

You have been away some time from America and Europe, so you don't know the horrible lies and calumnies that appear in every paper in the United States and England. The Manchester Guardian which is supposed to be Liberal, and sympathetic to the anti-Fascist struggle printed a most scandalous charge against the Anarchists by its Social Correspondent. The Daily and Sunday New York Times have had similar lies only a month ago. The New York Nation never stops lying. The London Times charged the Anarchists with running away from the front. Frankly I don't see how any of us can assume the responsibility of public criticism knowing as we do that our people are surrounded by hungry wolves in and outside of Spain - a hungry pack just ready to devour them.

Just as the millions and even the comrades the CAT-FAI represent making common cause with the bulk of the humanity against them - the no end reams of all the fascists in the world that Franco will conquer and will wipe out the CAT-FAI and all that magnificent effort of the last 70 years.

I do not think its any use going on with arguments. I am sure I will not convince you, and I might as well tell you frankly, you will not swerve me from my position to do what I can to help our Spanish people, actively as I have so far, or if the moment should arrive when I shall no longer be able to speak on their behalf, to keep silent until the struggle will be over.

You speak of three or four articles which you sent to the World and to Kreisler's Times that had not been published. I don't know whether they reached their destination. I am sending our comrades everything I thought. I will let him know you sent him this letter and by this time you are able to be sure about the Kreisler's Times.

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[Letter, 1938 Jan. 31, London to Jeanne Levey, Chicago (enclosure)] / [Emma Goldman]. — 5 p. ; 21 x 17 cm.

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Yes I heard about the Santillan book; but as I have not read it I am not in a position to know why it was stopped. In any event I do not think that Santillan's life was threatened by the CNT-FAL. On the day of my departure from Valencia I saw Santillan, and he told me his life was threatened by the communists and that's why he kept under cover. Could you not have sent out a copy of Santillan's book and copies of the underground papers. I tried my utmost to get the latter when I was still in Spain but failed.

No doubt Shapiro, Volin and the others are getting these papers. I suppose because the comrades think that they are safer than I.

I should like to hear from you as to what you intend to do now that you have had a long time to consider the advisability of an open campaign. It seems that Brant has definitely changed his mind about an open criticism of what you call the "Official Marxists" whom you consider Bolsheviks. His criticism of the real enemies of the Revolution, the communists and the Negro government is very valuable. I am waiting anxiously to see what your stand will be. Of course you must do what you can reconcile with your integrity.

I am sending back the carbon copy of your brochure. You will see that I have marked some parts which were very striking to me. I suppose you no longer want it published. It would be a pity because it is a splendid analysis of the fascist designs in Spain and Russia.

One more thing. I hope you have seen Rudolf Becker and had a talk with him. He has the clearest mind in our movement today. The man has inexhaustible knowledge of every department of human thought. His pamphlet "The tragedy of Spain" is brilliant and penetrating. I have only just begun to read the great book; but then I have read and seen the argument several years ago.

Let me hear from you soon.

Fraternally & affectionately  
Ed Emma Goldman.

35 Your article could not be published because Spain. The world would be stopped for obscene language. It would be held for libel which is very rigid in England. You are unknown in this country. Your material has no documentary evidence. Had you obtained copies of the photos you say are the documents it might have been possible to do something about it. As it is your statement could be ruled out of court by the British Government. It is a great chance that Combat may bring it out; because your charges are not against the French Government. I am sorry and so in Spain & The world. I forgot to ask Reccioni about your article. Next time.

K.G.

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Jan. 31 [London to] John Cowper Powys, Corwen, Wales / [Emma Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 24 × 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

31st January, 1938.

Dear Friend,

You are a great comfort to be so prompt in your replies and in your interest in my work. I cannot tell you how much that means to me in the intellectual desert I meet with in this country. Really, I firmly believe that if it were not for the very few like Ethel Mannin, yourself and two or three others, I should not be able to go on. Instead of the difficulties diminishing, they grow far more numerous and more exasperating; but of course I have no intention of giving up. In fact, I have taken on more work than last year.

The S.I.A. is one of my new adopted pet children. Another one will be the organisation of a press service, if I can get quick and authentic news from Spain. I am corresponding about this with my friends. I hope they can establish a direct telephone contact. If I can realise the press service, naturally I will keep you supplied with fresh news.

I had a lovely letter from your sister-in-law. I was so terribly sorry to hear that your brother Llewellyn is so ill. It was quite a surprise to learn that his wife had heard of me in America. Actually, the only people who ever heard me are those who were in America. I can say without exaggeration that I never feel myself on an English platform. I cannot get rid of the sensation of a chill the moment I face an English audience, a sensation of being held by the throat. I am always glad to meet friends who have been in America and who know me and my work there.

I am interested in all your work and follow the reviews. Formerly I was able to treat myself to worth-while books. I cannot afford it now, but when your new book is out perhaps I shall manage to get it.

You will be glad to know that a number of people have answered my appeal for sponsorship, among them Rebecca West, Laurence Hausman, Louis Golding, Herbert Read and Havelock Ellis. The others have not yet replied.

With my old affectionate friendship,  
Sincerely,

John Cowper Powys, Esq.,  
7, Cae Goed,  
Corwen, N. Wales.



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Jan. 31 [London to] Harry Rosenberg, New York / [Emma Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 24 × 19 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17650

31st January, 1938.

Dear Mr. Rosenberg,

I have received both your letters of December 4th and the one of the 7th in the form of a New Year's greeting. Thank you for both.

I am sure I do not know who you mean by Sonia whom my friend, Alexander Berkman used to call "Black Diamond". I used to be away a great deal from New York touring the country. During that time there were always a lot of young people in our office whom I never met. I do not mean to say that I am positive about not having met Sonia. I have a rotten memory for names, given or family names, and I cannot imagine who the bearer of the name Sonia is. At any rate, I have not heard from her nor has she sent the cheque for the Basque children. If you see her, please tell her not to be offended because I am unable to place her. I do not mean to disown her. I simply cannot recollect her or any event that would refresh my memory of her.

Will you please let her read the enclosed draft which explains a new venture I am launching in this country. Should she care to send a contribution, I would like her to do so for International Anti-Fascist Solidarity, as a great deal of money is being collected for the Basque children in England; not that I wish to deprive them of anything. In fact, together with the Independent Labour Party, we are taking care of 41 Basque children who are, in the majority, children of C.N.T.-F.A.I. parents. But the International Anti-Fascist Solidarity fund is concerned with the care of all the refugee children in Catalonia, as well as the women; so I should like her to contribute for that purpose, and you, too, dear friend, if you can afford it.

Thank you very much for assuring me that I will go down in history as "a great person" when the world wakes. It is small comfort to those who are dedicating their whole life to the emancipation of the disinherited and oppressed to know that they will go down in history! It is nothing new; the dead are always spoken of well and admired, even in cases where they do not deserve either. The living must find their recompense in the doing of the work which means life itself to them. That is all we can expect while we are alive.

Thank you for all the kind things you say about me and for so cherishing my letter.

Sincerely,

Mr. Harry Rosenberg,  
812, Riverside Drive,  
New York.

## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Jan. 31 [London to] Peter Chalmers Mitchell, [London] / [Emma Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 24 x 20 cm.

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17786

31st January, 1938.

Dear Sir Peter,

Thank you for your reply to my letter of the 21st instant. Of course you must do what you think best for Spain, only I would like to correct one mistake for which I am perhaps myself responsible. It is where you say that you cannot now come out as "an active public supporter of the F.A.I. and the C.N.T." The draft I enclosed in my letter does not plead for the C.N.T.-F.A.I. It calls for International Anti-Fascist Solidarity. Now, it is true that the originators of this new organisation called the S.I.A. are members of the C.N.T.-F.A.I., but the organisation itself is separate and distinct, not on party or organisational lines. Its appeal is to all of humanity. That is why I had hoped that you would consent to add your name to the list of sponsors I already have; but, as I said, I would not for the world want to coax you into anything that you feel would be impractical at this time of your impending election to the Scottish University.

Very sincerely,

Sir Peter Chalmers Mitchell,  
44a, Courtfield Gardens,  
S.W. 5.

## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Jan. 31 [London to] The Manchester Guardian, [Manchester, England] / [Emma Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 24 x 17 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

31st January, 1938.

Dear Sir,

Please forgive me if I again presume on your time. I am very grateful indeed that you have sent me the real reasons for your refusal of my letter. I knew that it was not only the subject of my writing. I am gratified that I was correct in my supposition.

I understand perfectly that you could not very well be your correspondent to the charges I made. That would be expected of the super-human of a liberal paper. Perhaps I was harsh in my expressions. I should have said "your correspondent accepted the Communist version about the Anarchists and did not take the trouble to investigate it". That would have been in keeping with British politeness; but, having grown up in a roughneck country like Russia, I have not quite acquired the niceties being used here. Please.

This matter is of course closed. You need not waste time any more in explanations.

However, I do want to congratulate you on your forceful editorial in your issue of January 21st - "About-turn in Russia". It took many years before the Manchester Guardian came out unrestrained in criticism and condemnation of the horrors continued by Stalin, but better late than never. Every word you have written is true and as a matter of fact it applied to Russia when Lenin was still alive, except that the "purgings" he used to undertake were not of his own comrades but of Anarchists, Socialists, Social Revolutionaries, the liberal intelligentsia, workers and peasants. Nevertheless I welcome your brilliant analysis of the harrowing things that are going on in the country of my birth.

Yours very truly,

The Editor,  
The Manchester Guardian.

## The Emma Goldman Papers

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[Letter, 19]38 Jan. 31 [London to Mariano Cardona Rosell and Emilio Aparicio, Barcelona (fragment)] / [Emma Goldman].— 1 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.  
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18984

Jun 31st 38

Dear Comrade.

In answer to your letter of the 11th of this month I wish to say that we will indeed be delighted to receive your paper. We are opening a reading room of all our Spanish papers as well as ~~many~~ Anarchist publications in other languages and we will be very glad to add yours to the number we are receiving from many parts of Spain and the rest of the world.

As regards your question about Bank clerks and similar occupations I can only tell you what the comrade who translates from the Spanish for me and from English into Spanish. Here it is quote your own letter to me dear Jack

The say in as much as he works in a bank and is thrown together with the servants of banks he is in the best position to give you most reliable information. As to groups of comrades in England, neither among the real proletarians, or the pseudo "respectable" occupations or the intellectuals do we have any groups in this country. We are a few who work day and night for the CNT-FAI and for the SIA. But it is frightful uphill work, often most discouraging. However we feel that as long as our heroic comrades can fight and die on the front we must continue our work. It is little enough for us to contribute.



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Jan. 31, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / Mariano R. Vázquez [and] Pedro Herrera. — 1 p. ; 26 x 21 cm.

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Confederación Nacional del Trabajo

Federación Anarquista Ibérica

Relaciones Exteriores

BARCELONA, a 31 de enero de 1.938.

A la Oficina de Propaganda C.N.T.-F.A.I. en Inglaterra.  
Londres.

Estimada camarada Emma Goldman:

Adjuntamos a la presente un ejemplar del informe presentado por los delegados de la C.N.T. que asistieron al Congreso Extraordinario de la A.I.T. Al propio tiempo, un folleto que contiene la parte del informe que el camarada Rudiger, secretario de la A.I.T. en España, presentó también al mismo Comicio.

Recomendamos examinéis detenidamente ambos folletos, que fijan de forma especial, el informe que presentó la delegación de la C.N.T. en el Congreso de la A.I.T. y al propio tiempo, el del camarada Rudiger.

Son dos documentos verdaderamente históricos, en los que ~~de camaradas, anarquistas, socialistas, etc.~~ España desde el 10 de julio y porque la C.N.T. ha seguido la línea por todos conocida. Es decir; se habla detallada y objetivamente, de cuanto la mayoría de los camaradas del Exterior no se han sabido explicar.

No dudamos que tomaréis en consideración nuestras palabras y examinaréis con cariño el material que os adjuntamos.

Te saludan fraternalmente,

POR EL CTE. PENINSULAR FAI.

FEDERACION ANARQUISTA  
IBERICA  
CONTE PENINSULAR  
Relaciones Exteriores

Pedro Herrera.

POR EL CTE. REGIONAL FAI.

Mariano R. Vázquez

REGIONAL FAI  
SECRETARIO



## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Jan. 31, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / M[ariano] R. V[ázquez] and P[edro] H[errera]. — 1 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.  
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 Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

### TRANSLATION

20689

Barcelona, 31st January, 1938.

To the Propaganda Office of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. in England,  
 LONDON.

Dear comrade Emma Goldman:

We are enclosing herewith the Report presented by the Delegates of the C.N.T. who attended the extraordinary Congress of the A.I.T. We also send you a pamphlet containing the Report made by comrade Rugider, Secretary of the A.I.T. in Spain, at the above mentioned Congress.

We recommend to your careful study both Reports. They are truly historic, examining and explaining in an objective way all that has happened in Spain since July 19th, and giving at the same time the reasons why the C.N.T. has followed the line of conduct known to all.

You will find that everything is explained which our comrades abroad have not been able to understand.

Fraternal greetings from,

P.H.

M.R.V.

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 Jan. 31, Vence [France to] Emma [Goldman, London] / [Martha Gordon Crotch]. — 2 p. ; 26 x 20 cm.

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Vence

10002

31st/1/38

Dearest Emma,

Just now a second to answer your letter.  
Nol. All the electric fittings - and the gas -

are hired from the electric and gas companies. I am enclosing a note for you to give the company asking them to pay the amount of deposit to my account at Barclays W. Kensington. I am doing this because not having my pass book here I don't know exactly how much the deposit was. There was no deposit for gas (of this I am nearly certain) because it is a slot meter.

I think your new venture has every appearance of being a successful one. I am so glad you have done it and provided it has efficient management it should attract both people and money. I would love to see it.

I was interested to hear about the Communist gesture at your meeting. What's the matter with them? But £75 is not a bad amount to raise at one meeting. So their intervention reacted on themselves. I have just finished reading a book by Edgar Snow called "Red Star over China". A grand book, I can't get over the effect it made on me. Have you read it - a Left Book Club publication?

Stella arrived last Friday, we had a two day's mistral immediately, but this morning it is glorious. She is at St Paul. I lunched with her yesterday and a man I know joined us and we had a very gay time.

Yes I always knew Charles is invaluable to fix a place up. I will certainly ask him to do up your flat. Do what you like with the trunk. Let Winne have it by all means. If you don't need the things you mention leave them in the house and I will tell my sister to go and get them. I hope Reggie is better. It must be a great worry to Ethel his being so ill. I expect they are away now but I wanted you to give them my love. I think sending food stuffs from Marseilles is a far better thing than sending money. Coin is not much good that can't be eaten but food is what the poor souls need. It is the children that worry me. I wish I could adopt one. Norman D. says he would help me, but there are so many things attached to doing it. I may have to arrange my life differently if things don't improve, and in doing that I shall want to be untrammelled.

I hear nothing at all of Emmy. She has never come to Vence or St Paul. 500frs a month should help her with the other assistance she gets. I heard something from Nellie that she had some new fad about being operated upon. What she would do for amusement without that stomach of hers makes one wonder.

*The I will send it in a cheque for*

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 Jan. 31, Vence [France to] Emma [Goldman, London] / [Martha Gordon Crotch].— 2 p.; 26 × 20 cm.

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Enclosed find the letter to the electric Co.  
and telephone for a man from the electric Co to come  
and see you. It will save you a lot of fag  
Enclosed your electric bill that was sent on to  
me. You will see 15/6 a quarter is charged for hire.

My best love. Glad to are so full of  
optimism. I am sure you are on a good thing.

Lots of luck.

affectionately,

*Emma*

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Jan. 31, Mundesley [England to] Emma Goldman, London / S[idney] Vere Pearson. — 1 p.; 22 × 17 cm.  
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17833

Rillbank.

Mundesley.

Norfolk.

31st January 1938.

Miss Emma Goldman,  
 18, Castletown Road,  
 London. W.14.

Dear Miss Goldman,

I am much obliged to you for yours of 24th instant. I have read some of your articles and communications in "Spain Against the World". I also receive weekly a journal called "Comment". I was in London for one night last week but I refrained from calling at Frita Street although I was near there because I thought you would be in the midst of moving or that I might not find you there.

I get appeals from various organisations for support for the poor refugees and others in Spain and now I have your appeal. I am much inclined to support you, of course, particularly as an anarchist, and as a Georgeist. But I am a little hesitating because I am so strong a Pacifist that I am frightened of supporting any side in war time. I do feel that what is settled by force is not settled permanently and can be upset again by force. I am still considering the position. It is one of the reasons why I have not answered your letter so promptly as I might have done.

Perhaps I shall be in London again before very long, possibly on Wednesday week. In the meanwhile do let me hear from you again and let me have your comments on the above.

I remain,

Yours sincerely,

S. Vere Pearson

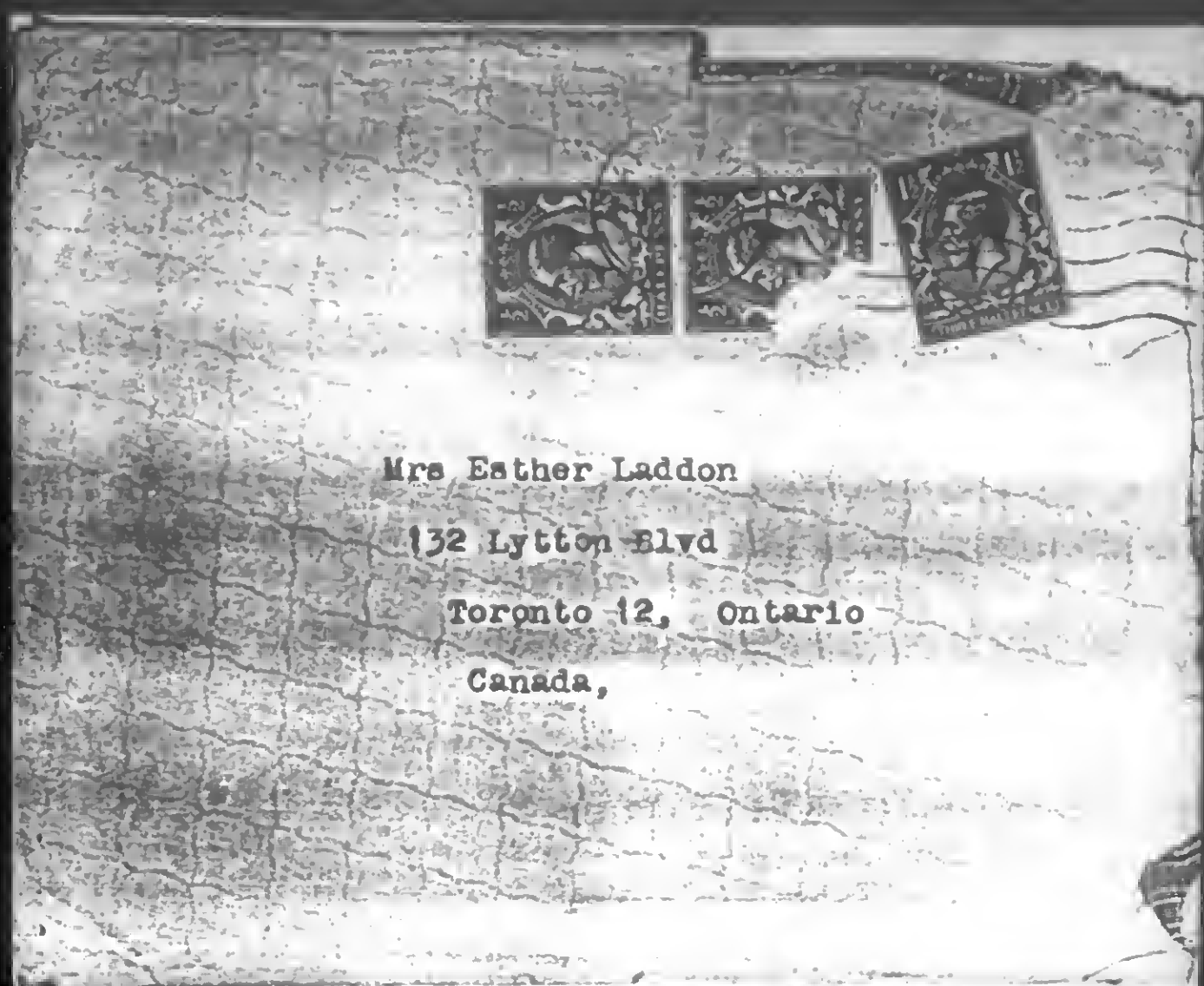
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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Envelope, 1938? Feb.?] London [to] Esther Laddon, Toronto / E[mma]  
G[oldman].— 2 p. ; 13 × 16 cm.

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Mrs Esther Laddon

132 Lytton Blvd

Toronto 12, Ontario

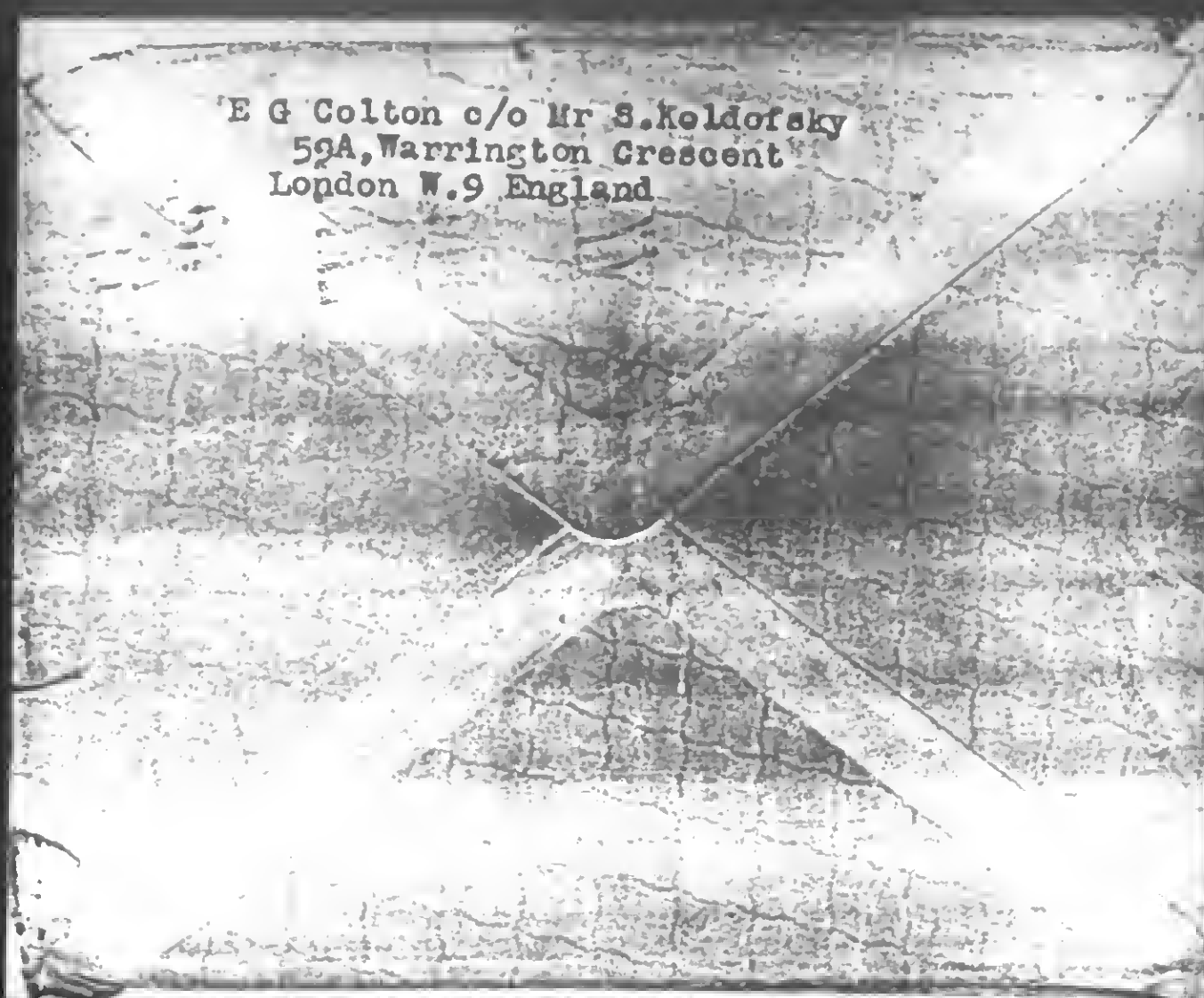
Canada,



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Envelope, 1938? Feb.?] London [to] Esther Laddon, Toronto / E[mma]  
G[oldman]. — 2 p. ; 13 × 16 cm.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938? Feb.? London to unknown recipient (fragment)] / Emma Goldman. — 1 p.; 26 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

cer de moral, fueron las Brigadas 116, 117 y 118, todas ellas pertenecientes a la 35 División, las que con su espíritu y valentía consiguieron la entrada en Teruel.

No acierto a comprender como su corresponsal dejó de enterarse de esto o cómo fue cegado de tal manera por la influencia comunista que se olvidó de hacer justicia a los bravos conquistadores de Teruel. El socialismo comunista de su corresponsal está presente en cada línea, si bien más de una vez se contradice a sí mismo en sus declaraciones. En un párrafo lleno de elogios dice que "los comunistas españoles han sido los más bravos y determinados en la lucha" y que "el partido de juventudes comunistas ha sido la fuerza de más eficacia en la guerra contra el Fascismo". Por otra parte y a renglón seguido admite que la influencia de los comunistas se encuentra en declive, añadiendo que no sólo con los "profesionales anticomunistas como los Anarquistas y el ex P.O.U.M., sino también con ciertos miembros del Gobierno Negrín". ¿No es extraño, pues, que la influencia de la "fuerza de más eficacia" haya empezado a desvanecerse tan pronto? Y lo que es también raro es que su corresponsal no explique las razones de este cambio en la posición de los comunistas, por lo que ruego me permita enumerar algunas de ellas.

En donde dice "que Rusia literalmente salvó a la República española" hay que añadir que fué mediante la venta de armamento, denegado por los demás Gobiernos. Pero además deseo aclarar a su corresponsal y lectores que Rusia no solamente "vendió armamento" a España contra pero en oro, sino también los famosos métodos soviéticos para con aquellos que no comulgan con sus ideas. En primer lugar, el pueblo y la República tenían el derecho a esperar ayuda de una República que se titula socialista. En segundo lugar, fué una falta de sinceridad y justicia por parte del Gobierno soviético el imponer sus métodos al pueblo español. Como resultado tenemos que existe una dictadura hoy en España que ejerce una censura de prensa y propaganda, al mismo tiempo que ha llenado las prisiones con miles de revolucionarios que habían servido con fidelidad y desprendimiento la causa antifascista hasta que el Gobierno soviético plantó su mano de hierro sobre el pescuezo del pueblo español. Las Brigadas comunistas, pintadas en colores tan vivos por su corresponsal, constituyeron una "fuerza de gran eficacia"; pero no, desgraciadamente, contra Franco, tanto como contra las Colectividades que se habían ido estableciendo desde la heroica gesta del pueblo español en Julio, 1936. El pueblo español ha aprendido desde entonces que su negocio con Stalin no sólo fué pagado en oro, sino con sangre y con la aniquilación de muchas de sus libertades políticas, las cuales, ciertamente, no entraban en el contrato.

Los anarco-sindicalistas y los anarquistas no constituyen una fuerza de poca importancia. Sus organizaciones cuentan con un elemento de 3.000.000 de hombres. Su fidelidad a la lucha antifascista no ha permitido que nada de los poderes del frente y su valor en los combates ha sido demostrado en

los frentes - Madrid, Belchite y ahora Teruel. Con mercedores a que se les trate con justicia. Lealtad, sobre todo tratándose de un diario de la seriedad del Manchester Guardian. Es lo único que piden.

Emma Goldman

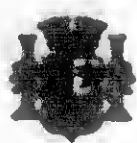
# The Emma Goldman Papers

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[Letter, 1938 Feb.? Barcelona to Emma Goldman, London] / A. Ejarque.—  
1 p. ; 22 × 16 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

21038



**EJERCITO DEL ESTE**  
**25 DIVISION**  
**COMISARIADO**

Registro núm.

*Me permite adjuntarle un ejemplar de la Revista que este Comisariado edita, con el exclusivo objeto de facilitar a nuestros soldados las enseñanzas y consejos que pueden contribuir a su mejor formación militar y cultural.*

*Esperando que será objeto de la mejor acogida por su parte el presente número de nuestra Revista "25 DIVISION", le saluda atentamente.*

EL COMISARIO DE GUERRA  
DE LA DIVISION,

A. Ejarque.

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Feb. [Barcelona to Emma Goldman, London] / [author unknown]. —  
1 p. ; 22 x 16 cm.  
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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.



21039

EJERCITO DEL ESTE

25 DIVISION

COMISARIADO

Registro núm.

La importancia que la lucha española ha adquirido en el mundo no es desconocida para nuestros soldados. Por eso ellos quieren llevar a todas partes el convencimiento de que España cuenta con un Ejército capaz de lograr los mayores éxitos, por la fe ideal que anima a nuestros soldados, y por la disciplina y la capacidad que estos observan en sus actos.

Con tal propósito, y seguros de que en ese país existen numerosos amigos de nuestra causa, nos permitimos enviar un reducido número de ejemplares de la Revista que edita nuestra División, con objeto de que sea divulgada y conocida la magnífica gesta que nuestro Ejército realiza.

Con gracias anticipadas.

Cuartel General Febrero de 1.938.

EL COMISARIO DELEGADO DE  
GUERRA DE LA DIVISION.

R. S.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 Feb. 1 [London to Stella Ballantine, Bearsville, N.Y.] / [Emma Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 20 x 16 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Feb. 1st 38

Darling. I wrote you last week and sent some inclosure of my correspondence with Barcelona. I said I was also inclosing copy of my letter to Abe Weinstein, but it was not ready at the last moment. I am sending it in this letter. Just to show you how much there is to do besides the work in this country for our people in Spain, the C.I.T.-P.A. and now an additional job, the S.I.A. But all that is nothing compared with the effort to explain to comrades like Abe and others why they should not cry from the Houston against the C.I.T.-P.A. It would be easier if I myself did not know of the inconsistencies the C.I.T.-P.A. are guilty of. In point of truth I cannot reconcile myself with them. It is only the ever present danger under which they are working in Spain which forces me to go on in spite of the fact that they are all the deeper and deeper into the morass of corruption. This crazy request that I should deal gently with the Communists is about the last straw. I have had no reply from Vazquez yet. You will hear me out that my letter to him was the milk at you ever heard of such a negative reply. It was hard enough to remain still, but having learned the character of our Spanish people I know they are on the run and that they feel the most innocent criticism or remark as a mortal thrust. No matter how disgusted I feel and impatient with the idiotic idea that they must continue to lick the boots of Stalin I can not lose sight for a moment that the comrades in Spain are fighting with their backs to the wall while I am here in safety and comfort, even if there is not much comfort, and so I go on reasoning with them and trying to make them see how futile their overtures to the Communists are. It really seems to me out.

Together with your last letter I received one from Harry with a short note from Morris about inclosure. The latter repeats what Roger told him. I think it was a serious mistake to approach the ~~unrepresentative~~ ~~damnable~~ ~~officious~~ body before a strong committee had been organized. It is one thing to refuse Roger's and another to refuse a representative body of men and women. Should it be too much the politician to dare stand out against such a group of people. Roger who is too timid to make any kind of determined request is easily put off. But now it is too late to cry over spilt milk. I only want you to know that I was opposed to any private dealings with that woman. It was different four years ago. MC Cormack was really the boss then to serving under her and he was quite close to her. She showed her nature when she refused point blank to extend the visa. But as I said it cannot be helped now.

Your plan is of course ~~excellent~~ excellent if only you can carry it out, not to the lady who as I was told had been very much imp

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 Feb. 1 [London to Stella Ballantine, Bearsville, N.Y.] / [Emma Goldman].— 3 p. ; 20 × 16 cm.

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18119

next with LIVING WIFE. The only question is whether it would not be better to organize the committee first. Don't you think Mr R. would be more impressed when you can add to your plea for a visa a number of well known people. I really don't know. Those of our friends who know Mrs R. well ought to be in a position to advise much better than I am so far away. Whatever you decide to do my dearest see that it does not reach the Press prematurely. You know how poisonous the papers are and how they can ruin every attempt. In any event it will be worth trying to see whether the lady is really what her reputation is, not merely a puppet in the White House bound by his position or whether she is as broad and humane as one would like to believe. So if you get the introduction proceed as you think best. I wish you luck my darling. I am convinced that there will be no return for me unless some one of my own flesh and blood starts the ball rolling. Comrades are alright but most of them have no influence whatever, and Rose P. though most willing is tied by her job. If I had means I would suggest to you and Taddy to move to town so that you could devote all your free time to the job. But I haven't. So I must rely on what others you are able to take. Only I am not very optimistic that something can be accomplished without someone efficient and who feels strongly about me steady on the job. You can imagine I will be anxious to hear from you, so do not delay writing whatever you do or achieve.

The war hero grows over my head and those who would ~~be~~ or could help do not increase. Added to the amount of jobs I had last year is the attempt to ~~try~~ organize an English section of the SIA, International Anti-Fascist Solidarity. Ethel Mannin my one and only faithful friend and co-worker has gone to Jugo Slavia for six weeks. She did succeed in interviewing a few people as sponsors among them Laurence Lawrence before she left last Saturday. Now that she has gone I feel more alone than ever and all the work rests on my poor old shoulders. I have sent out sixty personal letters to every known writer, poet and some men in the "learned" world. I received only ten replies that their names might be used. Generous isn't? Rebecca sent in some more. Its easy to give you name when you it does not tie you to do anything else. Its like Sybil Thorndike last year. The first letter I got from her was to the effect that she could not contribute financially but she could be a sponsor. A funny people these English. Well, I am going ahead with our printing. A friend is helping or that, we are having a nice folder of our manifest copy of which I sent you, I am also having a special supplement devoted to the SIA in the next issue of Spain and the world. And I am having a special invitation to the opening of the exhibition of children drawings from Barcelona schools I brought with me. Two very fine artists are helping me with that. Yes, I do have help in this direction but not in the hard clerical work and the publicity. One simply cannot get a lot into the papers here, not for anything connected with the CNT-FAI or my name.

We are still not entirely settled in our new place but when everything will be done it will look very attractive and very unarchitectural. For our people here are as they used to be in A.

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3

18120

many years ago, they still believe any dump good enough for propaganda. Well, I differ from them in this and many other things. The new place will be the first the Anarchists ever had which will show that our ideas are not what they are popularly believed to be that they can even in our rotten system lift the work out of dirt, filth and ignorance. One thing I am definitely set on to permit no hanging arounds of all sorts of people ~~and~~ for some unknown reason to me call themselves Anarchists when they have never attempted to realize it in their own life to do anything for it that would require effort. Anyway the London CFT-PAI Bureau, and the office of the IWA should ~~attract~~ attract people. I hope so. I will be heart broken if all the labor and expense will again be for nothing. Well, at least I will have tried to establish decent headquarters, a meeting room of our ours and the exhibition. No one can do more.

All my personal stuff should be delivered to me c/o Mrs L. Goldfarb, 6, Sneath Ave. Goldfarb Green London N.W.11. Lucky I have my furniture I did not have to buy anything for our offices. I am going to arrange my office as a living room so I can occasionally sleep there if the weather is too bad, or I am kept late in the office. Goldfarb Green is quite a distance from the street, quite a walk from the underground when one gets to Goldfarb Green Station. I am making my office real cozy with cushions to serve tea if someone comes to see me. And so Rose confide in you the state of my life. Yes, they have been torturous. I never could understand Annie's such awful acts and ~~extraneous~~ mattresses. However I do not intend to spend money on new outfits. The best I have used for over a year will be good enough for the office.

And Liza is giving me a soft bed. I hope it will be better than mine.

I am not it is as good as certain that I will go to Scotland for ten days, speaking in Glasgow, Edinburgh and Aberdeen. I don't remember Bettie's address. Please send it to me again. And will you write her to let me know whether she comes to put me up or has place to do so. I don't want to stay with comrades if I can help it. There is the usual feud among them and if I stay with one the others will be up in arms. I would therefore like to be able to say I am staying with friend or relatives. So please write a little on receipt of this letter and send me her address.

Marline what sort of a school is this that you want to put Davy in? You know the bad experience you had with Iana private school and the brutality practice of it there. David is over so much more sensitive than Ian was at his age, or a few years older. Don't you think Davy might suffer more in a private school which is always so snobbish and sickeningly middle class? Better be careful dearest.

I must write now and must go to the office.

With love to the family and lots of it to your self. I am so glad to hear of Ruth's complete recovery. Naturally Bob would feel relieved. After all it was no real matter to have Ruth in such condition. Love to all and always yours,

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Feb. 1 [London to] Dorothy [Rogers], Scarborough Bluffs, Canada / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p. ; 24 × 19 cm.

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17932

1st February 1938.

Dorothy Giesecke,  
Toronto Libertarian Group,  
Chino Drive Scarborough Bluffs,  
Ontario, Canada.

Dearest Dorothy,

I was somewhat grieved over your long silence; but I knew there must be reasons for it - so there was nothing to do but wait until you emerged from whatever difficulties caused your silence. I do not take the view that your lines of 6th January is a home-fido letter. I see that you promised then to write me. As it is the end of January, and nothing from you, I suppose you will have to wait till the time and spirit moves you. As for myself I am so overwhelmed with work and correspondence it seems I can never get through with it. I have a very efficient woman to help once or twice a week. Unfortunately I cannot give her personal letters or letters to comrades with whom I can be frank about the situation in Spain. Comrade Ralph Barr is helpful; but since we have taken new quarters for the CNT-M.I Bureau he will have more than he can do to look after things there once our place has been opened to the public. We have all sorts of irons in the fire. The organisation of the English section of the S.I.A., and an exhibition under its auspices. It seems to me it gets harder and harder to reach people in this country instead of easier. About a dozen people replied to fifty letters we sent out to people in the world of art and literature asking them to sponsor the S.I.A. You see the percentage is very small. Still we do have a few outstanding names such as Rebecca West, Laurence Housman, Havelock Ellis, Louis Golding, Herbert Read, the two brothers 'Powsy', Dr Stella Churchill and Ethel Mannin. I don't know what we should have done without Ethel. She is the one genuine devoted soul who has been a tremendous help to us in ever so many ways. This week we are going to print our folder, copies of which I will send you when they are done. Also we are having a Supplement gotten out in Spain & The World which will contain articles by Ethel Mannin, our Manifesto and a lot of other things.

The exhibition will show drawings by children in the Barcelona schools working under terrible duress and almost daily bombardments. A very dear artist friend of mine is helping me with it; but of course there is enough work for a dozen people and we are only a few indeed. However we are determined to go on if only to try once more to reach the young people. Formerly we had no place where we could invite people to; but now we have a central located office which we are fixing up so that when people do come they can convince themselves that anarchists need not meet in filthy alleys or slums.

Oh yes I forgot to say that among other things, we are also going to have a Reading Room with our International Press, especially the Spanish of course.

## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Feb. 1 [London to] Dorothy [Rogers], Scarboro Bluffs, Canada / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p. ; 24 x 19 cm.

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2

17983  
I am enclosing two things - both only for comrades and NOT FOR PUBLICATION. One consists of my talk at the Congress in Paris and the other a letter which I wrote to our comrade Abe Blusteine who towards the end of his stay in Barcelona became very pessimistic. Both the enclosed speak for themselves. Please let comrades of the Libertarian Group read them.

I realise as well as the critical comrades of the CNT-FAI the inconsistencies of the latter and the compromises they have made. The only justification is that the war in Spain has ceased to be a civil war. That the capitalists of the world are testing their schemes on the backs of our comrades. It is therefore much easier to criticise when one is away from the struggle and the scene of battle than it is for those who have to go through a thousand fires.

Thank you for sending me the clippings from the Star. It is a good idea to give them the Bulletin and Spain & The World if possible. I have not heard from anyone or the Editor of the Star whether my letter I wrote him in answer to his Editorial, "Brickmaker Becomes General", was the title, has ever appeared. I suppose not or one of you would have sent me the clipping. It is not desirable not to be able to correct the numerous lies and misrepresentations that appear about the CNT-FAI. I have tried it with the Daily and Sunday Times, with the Star, and two weeks ago with the Manchester Guardian; but they will not be decent enough to print proofs that would set aside the opposition to the CNT-FAI. We shall probably have the letters appear in Spain & The World, then make a little leaflet out of it to give out at meetings. It is the only way we can reach the few at least with our presentation of the heroism of the CNT-FAI.

Give my love to Joe and the family. Fraternal greetings to all the comrades. Love to you my dear.

Fraternally & affectionately

P.S. I cannot say anything about my going to Canada at this moment. It will all depend what happens. We have to use strenuous efforts to build up a movement here. As far as America is concerned I do not have to go to Canada in order to get there. The recent letters from the States make my chances look very dubious; but of course I am not one to give up in a hurry. I hope to be able to sail for Canada in August or September, so the group must not give up the work they are doing to raise the fund and prepare for my coming. I will let you people know in good time.  
With love.

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 Feb. 1, London [to] Rose [Pesotta, Boston?] / Emma [Goldman].—  
3 p.; 28 x 22 cm.

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C.N.T.

A.I.T.

F.A.I.

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• London Office

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SHAFTESBURY AVENUE  
LONDON, W.1

London, Feb. First 38

TELEPHONE: GERRARD 2636

Dearest Rose,

I received your letter of Jan 12th. It was sweet of you to write so soon after your arrival and I feel a pig that I did not reply at once. But you know the work I had before me when you left. Your letter found me in the very midsts of it. Supervising the re-ovation of our new offices, writing fifty personal letters to all sorts of people in the world of letters and art to get their names as sponsors for the SIA, sending out thadnd folders of the CNT Structure and signing as many letters, and last but not least going after two artist friends of mine to help with my exhibition of childrens drawings from Barcelona schools. You will admit this is a mouthful. Well, I can announce that our new place is almost in good condition. It is really beginning to look cosy and inviting. The exhibition is also on the way. It will be opened the 17th of this month. The SIA Manifesto which Ethel has written is in the hands of printers. In addition I am having a special supplement for the SIA in Spain and the WORLD. Not the least satisfaction is that I have 12 names as sponsors of people well known in letters and art, among them Rebecca West, Laurence Housman, Mavelock Ellis, two of the brothers Powys, and others of importance in this country.

The meeting on the 14th was more successful than I had expected. It was well attended. The Communists came to make trouble. But all they succeeded in doing is to turn the audience against them. When Ethel who spoke about the SIA made the appeal the response was £75. In view of the plan handling done here for Spain this was a grand showing. I am now planning a very ambitious undertaking, a sort of literary and musical evening in a large place. If only I can get the right people for it, such as Rebecca West and some of the outstanding male writers I know I could then also get some first rate musicians. Alas, Paul Robeson is lost to us. He and she are in the clutches of the Communists. I am sure she more than he. I have written him three times but now answer. There is no knowing whether he even gets my letters. But the fact is they have. ~~xxxx~~ are evidently afraid to have anything to do with me or the CNT now that they have been caught in the damned Stalinite net. Well, we will have to get other musicians. I am to see Rebecca this week. When I have her promise I will go ahead with the plan of the evening. It is not to take place before the latter part of March.



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3 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

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I hope Abe has taken your advice to take time to digest his impressions of the last part he spent in Spain. For it was at the end of his stay that he reversed all his ideas about our comrades. I don't know whether he read you a copy of his long letter to me. In any event I am inclosing a copy of my letter to him. I understand Abe's feelings and reactions. As you said yourself Spain was his first great adventure. He went there thinking the Social Revolution had ushered in anarchism. For nine months he continued to believe in the miracle. Then suddenly he came down with a thud. And being ~~xxx~~ young and optimistic the change naturally had to be from the sublime to the ridiculous. Much of what he says is unfortunately true. But it is true only because the forces arrayed against our people ~~xxx~~ are too formidable to be met by theoretic simplicity. And not because the National Committee has ceased to be what they were, real revolutionists and anarchists. I cannot believe that Vazquez or the others whom you met and who look as if pulled out of ash barrels in the same old tattered clothes they were 16 months ago when I first met them are compromising their ideas ~~xxx~~ in return for luxuries or because they want power. They see themselves besieged on all sides with the waves rising high above their heads and they feel they must grab at every straw or sink. ~~xxx~~ Now Abe could have it in his heart to leave Spain and then attack our people is beyond me. I do not mean he should not have left the country. It was damned little he could do there, but to know he will be in safety while the others face death every hour and yet to attack them that is the thing I cannot understand. By the way, I have a feeling though I maybe mistaken that if Abe had been helped to carry out his ambitions of an English paper and other important work he would have not gone away nor would he have felt so bitter against the leading comrades. Well, whatever it is you will read my reply.

I referred to the possibility of having to give up active service for the CNT-FAI. That moment has almost arrived. A letter from Vazquez in a very comradely and kindly tone suggests that I should handle the Communists ~~with~~ in a gentler manner and also not to write so condemnatory of the Negrin government because this will hurt the anti-fascist struggle. "What would the workers be is the good of helping the anti-fascist war when our brothers are being persecuted in anti-fascist Spain even more than in Capitalist countries". I inclose copy of my reply. You will agree I have been milder than mild. So far I have had no answer to my letter. I do not believe Vazquez will put me before any alternative. I hope not for it will break my heart to have to give up the amount of work I have begun for the CNT-FAI here. But if he does I will retire. I simply will not be gagged about the rotten Communist gang and their lies about Spain in their press. Rose my dearest my answer to Vazquez as well as the other inclosures are only for yourself & And possibly for the very few most trusted comrades. I really must insist on that. I know I can rely on you to stick by my request. As you have not been at the conference in Paris when I addressed the delegates I am sending you the speech.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 Feb. 1, London [to] Rose [Pesotta, Boston?] / Emma [Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

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3

Stella writes me about a scheme she has in re my reentry to the States. Someone close to the "first lady of the land" has promised her a letter of introduction which Stella intends to use in order to get to her ladyship. The question only is whether she ought to do it before the planned Committee has been organized or wait until she can back her plea for a visa by the outstanding names of a committee. I just wrote her to talk the step over with you if possible or anyone who would advise the most practical way. I am afraid it is only in this way that hold out some hope of success. A letter from Harry Kelly with a short note by Morris Ernst inclosed tells me that Perkins had refused Roger Baldwin. I have advised him last year not to ask her until a Committee has been organized. The good official like all officials is no doubt sensitive to public pressure or opinion. She would not so easily have refused a representative body as she did Roger. Still the Committee should be tried in any event.

By the way I see there is trouble between your Presinde as you call Dubinsky and Lewis. Dictators and rulers usually fall out and can stand no god besides them. The interesting point to me is that Lewis is again thick with Roosevelt, at least his visit to the White House together with the industrial kings leads me to believe that. If this is the case is there anyone close enough to Lewis who would approach him in re my case? What do you think?

Next Friday a week from this I move to my friend Liza Koldofsky. I cannot swear her bed she will give me is better than mine but at least I will be relieved from the ordeal of cooking for myself and eating alone two things I hate worse than Hell. My address for my own mail will be c/o Mrs Liza Koldofsky, 6. Sneath Avenue Golders Green London. Wx N.W. 11.

I must be off to the office so will close with love.

Let me hear from you again soon.

Emma

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 Feb. 1 [London to] Rose [Pesotta, Boston?] / [Emma Goldman].—  
3 p.; 24 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17649

Feb. First 38

Dearest Rose.

I received your letter of Jan 12th. It was sweet of you to write so soon after your arrival and I feel a pig that I did not reply at once. But you know the work I had before me when you left. Your letter found me in the very midsts of it. Supervising the re-ovation of our new offices, writing fifty personal letters to all sorts of people in the world of letters and art to get their names as sponsors for the SIA, sending out thousand folders of the CNT Structure and signing as many letters, and last but not least going after two artist friends of mine to help with my exhibition of childrens drawings from Barcelona schools. You will admit this is a mouthful. Well, I can announce that our new place is almost in good condition. It is really beginning to look cozy and inviting. The exhibition is also on the way. It will be opened the 17th of this month. The SIA Manifesto which doessed Ethel has written is in the hands of printers. In addition I am having a special supplement for the SIA in Spain and the WORLD. Not the least satisfaction is that I have 12 names as sponsors of people well known in letters and art, among them Rebecca West, Laurence Hausman, Havelock Ellis, two of the brothers Powys and others of importance in this country.

The meeting on the 14th was more successful than I had expected. It was well attended. The Communists came to make trouble. But all they succeeded in doing is to turn the audience against the. When Ethel who spoke about the SIA made the appeal the response was £75. In view of the pan handling done here for Spain this was a grand showing. I am now planning a very ambitious undertaking, a sort of literary and musical evening in a large place. If only I can get the right people for it, such as Rebecca West and some of the outstanding male writers I know I could then also get some first rate musicians. Alas, Paul Robeson is lost to us. He and she are in the clutches of the Communists. I am sure she more than he. I have written him three times but now answer. There is no knowing whether he even gets my letters. But the fact is they have ~~come~~ are evidently afraid to have anything to do with me or the CNT now that they have been caught in the damned Stalinite net. Well, I will have to get other musicians. I am to see Rebecca this week. I have her promise I will go ahead with the plan of the evening. not to take place before the latter part of March.

# The Emma Goldman Papers

870929087

[Letter, 19]38 Feb. 1 [London to] Rose [Pesotta, Boston?] / [Emma Goldman].—  
3 p. ; 24 x 20 cm.

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2

17669

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180



# The Emma Goldman Papers

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3 p. ; 24 x 20 cm.

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3

17679

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I must be off to the office so will close with love.

Let me hear from you again soon.



## The Emma Goldman Papers

870929188

[Letter] 1938 Feb. 1 [London to Sidney Vere] Pearson [Mundesley, England] / [Emma Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 24 x 19 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17834

Feb. 1st 38

Dear Dr Pearson.

Thank you for your letter. I am sure I do not know what to say to your doubts as to whether as a Pacifist you should support the work I am doing for the unfortunate victims of Franco. It seems to me that your uncertainty would be justified if I and my friends who work for Spain if we asked for help to buy arms. But the SIA, INTERNATIONAL ANTI FASCIST SOLIDARITY is an organisation that concentrates on the care and succor of women and children, of the sick and destitute, of schools and nurseries as well as refugee colonies. In other words for the hundreds of thousands innocent victims of Franco's German and Italian hords with their devastating ~~machin~~ machinery. I should think just because you are a Pacifist should you feel the urgent need to protest ~~and~~ against the daily horror to which Barcelona and other cities have been subjected to, 350 new victims last Sunday, people who take no part whatever in the war and are yet mowed down without mercy by repeated bombardment. Surely it cannot be against ones pacifist principle to help the civil population. However I am so much of an Anarchist I want my friends to be free to decide their own action. And of course I consider you one of my friends and therefore do not wish to spampede you in doing anything you do not care to do. If however you decide to add your name to our list of sponsors please let me have your reply by return post mail as we must go ahead with our printing. By the way I understand Mr Laurence Housman is a Pacifist, yet he did not hesitate to give us his name.

For the present I am at 21 Frith Street only at odd hours. But beginning next week I shall be there pretty much every day from about 5 to 8.0/c. I will be very glad to see you.

Sincerely

## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Feb. 1 [London to] Walter Gube, Esbjerg, Denmark [fragment?] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 20 x 16 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17446

1st February 1938.

Walter Gube,  
Esbjerg, Jyllandsvej 98/2.  
DENMARK.

Dear Comrade,

I have to dictate this letter in English to comrade Ralph Berr. I simply have not the time to write myself in German. I believe you once wrote me you could read English. I hope so.

You see we have taken new offices and there is a tremendous amount of work connected with having them renovated, and the organisation of an exhibition we are opening on the 17th February of drawings by children in Barcelona and other Catalan schools. In connection with this we have been busy writing innumerable letters to various people in the world of literature and art to induce them to back our work for the exhibition and the new organisation founded by our comrades in Spain, Solidaridad Internacional Anti-Fascista (S.I.A.). We have had some response - not so many as we would like; but I have to go ahead printing our manifesto and doing a lot of other jobs. Of course we will send you our folder and a lot of other printed matter when we have them.

In addition there is a tremendous amount of work for the CNT-FAI, a large correspondence with the U.S.A. and also with comrades whose morale has to be kept up because of their discouragement owing to the situation in Spain. Added to this I had to rush off to the Congress of the I.L.T., and since my return immediately launch into putting the notes I

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used for my talk to the delegates into readable form. I am sending<sup>2</sup> you<sup>1</sup> a copy so that you may note the difficulties of our Spanish comrades - the unfortunate opposition of some comrades in our ranks, and my very painful task of trying to explain them to each other. PLEASE BEAR IN MIND DEAR COMRADE THAT THE ENCLOSED IS NOT FOR PUBLICATION. It is only to be sent to comrades so that they can get an idea how matters stand in Spain.

Of course I will be glad to hear from either comrades Bachmann and Mirebo Boulverden. I would be glad to exchange letters provided they can read English. I can dictate this to my Secretary; but I could not take the time to write German as it would be an added task to my already overwhelming jobs I have in connection with our activities for the CNT-FAI and the new organisation the S.I.A.

I have not received any copies of your paper. I see that you mention that you sent two, one each of each edition. I don't know why they should not have been received unless they have been lost, and such things do happen.

Do not be deceived, dear comrade, in the "change of heart of England towards the Spanish Republic Government". There is no change whatever - on the contrary the British Government is serving Franco, even if it does so in a underhanded way.

That is just the tragedy of Spain, especially for our comrades, and their organisations. The whole world is against them.

Yes I dare say that the time is just coming when <sup>we</sup> I will have to undertake a new orientation in the light of our experience in Spain; but that will have to wait until Fascism is ~~defeated~~ <sup>gallant</sup>. Just now we have all we can do to help our heroic comrades in their fight against Fascism and Imperialism.

Do you get Spain & The World. You should practice your English, and you can do it best by reading our press.

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Feb. 1, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London [fragment] / [Martin Gudell].— 2 p. ; 22 x 18 cm.

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19379

C. N. T.

A. I. T.

F. A. I.

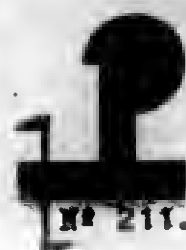
**CONFEDERACIÓN NACIONAL DEL TRABAJO  
FEDERACIÓN ANARQUISTA IBÉRICA**

CASA C. N. T. - F. A. I.

VIA DURRUTI, 32

BARCELONA

OFICINA DE PROPAGANDA EXTERIOR

SECRETARIADO - DEPARTAMENTO 84  
TELÉFONO 14731 - 41

## TELÉFONOS:

CENTRALITA 14731

SECRETARIADO 41  
EDICIONES 44-45  
GUERRA DE CLASE 46  
BOLETIN ESPERANTO 46  
BOLETIN FRANCÉS 46  
BOLETIN ALEMÁN 47  
BOLETIN INGLÉS 46  
BOLETIN SUECO 46  
BOLETIN BULGARO 46  
BOLETIN PORTUGUÉS 46

Barcelona le 1r. février 1938.

Camrads **EMMA GOLDMAN**,  
Londres.

Chère Camarade,

Je viens de recevoir à l'instant la copie de votre lettre du 19 janvier dernier, qui m'est parvenue par l'intermédiaire de Perpignan. La lettre originale dont vous dites m'avoir envoyé par Paris, ne m'est pas encore parvenue et comme dans celle-ci vous parlez de la censure, il est bien probable qu'elle ne me parviendra pas jamais. Personnellement, pendant votre séjour en Espagne, je vous ai dit qu'il irait mieux de m'écrire les lettres par l'intermédiaire de Perpignan. Naturellement que celles-ci m'arrivent avec un peu plus de retard, mais elles arrivent toujours, tandis que les lettres qui passent par la censure, disparaissent bien souvent.

L'oeuvre de théâtre intitulée "Winterest", ainsi que "Mother" de Gorki, il y a longtemps que je les ai reçues. Ces deux oeuvres je les ai remises au camarade Markwald, ainsi que celle de Sillonne.

C'est vrai que pendant la période novembre-décembre, je n'ai pas reçu aucune lettre votre et je pensais que c'était dû à que vous étiez encore à Paris, mais maintenant je vois que vos lettres se sont égarées. Je crois que vous pouvez continuer à m'écrire par Perpignan car votre dernière lettre datée du 19 janvier, m'est arrivée aujourd'hui premier février. A l'avenir l'on va continuer à me faire parvenir les lettres aussi rapidement et davantage.

J'espère que le camarade "accarsàl" va me remettre rapidement toutes les lettres qu'il va recevoir. Je ne connais pas personnellement que très peu à ce camarade, mais par ses activités dans le mouvement syndical, je sais que c'est un camarade sérieux et quand il s'engage à faire quelque chose il

...

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Feb. 1, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London [fragment] / [Martin Gudell]. — 2 p. ; 22 x 18 cm.

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1938

la fait rapidement et avec exactitude. Si vous voulez m'écrire par l'intermédiaire de ce camarade, vous pouvez le faire, car je suis sûr qu'il fera tout son possible pour que nos relations ne soient pas interrompues.

Dans "Spain and the World" j'ai lu un article concernant le meeting que vous avez donné dans lequel vous avez dit des très grandes vérités. Ici nous ne pourrions pas le faire, car l'on viendrait nous interrompre, précisément ceux à qui nous avons permis, quand nous pouvions l'avoir interdit, de crier tout ce qu'ils ont voulu crier. Mais nous espérons l'heure dans laquelle nous aussi nous pourrions dire tout ce que nous voudrions. Entre-temps, à l'extérieur, vous et d'autres camarades êtes chargés de dire ce que nous tous pensons.

Après la visite de Mme. Adams je vous ai écrit une lettre par laquelle je vous communiquais que j'avais reçu le livre avec les adresses, ainsi que votre envoi. Naturellement que vous ne devez pas envoyer un autre exemplaire de ce livre, car nous avons suffisamment avec un. J'ai parlé avec le camarade Vazquez sur cela et il pourra profiter tant qu'il voudra du matériel d'information qui contient ce livre.

Nous sommes très contents de que vous ayez organisé la section de S.I.A. en Angleterre et que vous ayez la collaboration de plusieurs personnalités connues dans le monde littéraire et artistique. J'ai lu sur cela aussi dans "Spain and the World". Aujourd'hui même je vais parler avec Herrera, afin qu'il fasse la nécessaire pour vous faire parvenir le matériel dont vous avez besoin pour l'exposition que vous vous proposez organiser.

Le film qui a fait Frank est déjà fini et nous espérons que dans un bref délai nous pourrions lui donner la publicité. Les camarades espagnols m'ont délégué pour faire la liste de toutes les personnes qui désirent recevoir ce film et vous pouvez être sûrs, que la première copie sera pour Angleterre et à votre adresse.

Aussi tôt que je vois à Frank je lui demanderais s'il a reçu vos lettres. Je pense qu'il n'a pas reçu vos lettres, car autrement il les aurait répondu immédiatement.

Le secrétaire de Herrera, c'est la même camarade Ilce.

Dans votre lettre vous nous communiquez les luttes intérieures que vous devez soutenir en ce qui concerne l'aptitude adoptée par les camarades espagnols. Ne pensez pas que vous êtes la seule. Tous ceux que nous nous trouvons en Espagne et qui luttent dans cette terrible guerre contre le fascisme, nous pensons pareillement et très souvent nous avons des doutes de la même nature de celles que vous exposez. Notre actuelle situation est vraiment terrible. Non seulement en ce qui concerne la lutte dans les fronts



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Feb. 1 [London to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Peter Addison.—  
1 p.; 22 x 17 cm.

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Amsterdam  
1905

98

Sutherland Avenue W. 9017  
Feb. 1. 1938

Dear Emma Goldman: Here are the  
"translations", and I hope that you will be able to read  
my handwriting. Observe that I have put "translations"  
in inverted commas, as, in order to make any kind of  
a show at all, I have been obliged to take liberties with  
them. Literally rendered into English, they would be im-  
possible. Do let me know if you want anything more  
done to them, want to consult me about them, etc.

I hope to do the "French News" one to morrow, as well  
as the other, so that you can have them by Thursday.

The American paper has interested me very much. I  
take it that Hammer Brodway knows all about the Sklar  
gang's sabotage, games on the French frontier, as given on  
page 4. This is extraordinarily important, if it is as reported.

I hope that you are very well and that we shall meet  
again soon.

Yours fraternally

Peter Addison

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938] Feb. 2, London [to] The Manchester Guardian, [Manchester, England]  
/ [Emma Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 26 x 21 cm.  
Obtained from the Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe College.

Copy.

## THE WIDOW OF ERICH MUEHSAM.

### A Second Disappearance.

To the Editor of the Manchester Guardian.

Sir,

On June 30, 1936, you printed a letter of mine dealing with the case of Mrs. Zensel Muehsam, the widow of the poet Erich Muehsam, who had been tortured to death in one of the concentration camps of the Third Reich. In that letter I called attention to the disappearance of Mrs. Muehsam and to the fact that all efforts made to ascertain her whereabouts had been in vain. It will interest you to know that it was my letter in your paper which started a campaign on behalf of Mrs. Muehsam, taken up by the Labour Press in Sweden, Holland, France, and the United States; but it was only in March 1937, when a letter addressed to Mr. Roger M. Baldwin, the director of the American Civil Liberties Union, revealed the whereabouts of Mrs. Muehsam. The letter stated that Zensel Muehsam "spent some time in a sanatorium and is at present in Moscow." In fact the sanatorium was the Cheka prison, and she was not released until March 23. However, she was finally liberated and continued to live quietly, but under rigid surveillance.

Now, comes the news that Mrs. Zensel Muehsam has again disappeared from the hotel in Moscow where she was living and that she has left no trace of her whereabouts. This information was contained in the paper "Dernieres Nouvelles," published in Russian in Paris, on January 18. The report goes on to say that every effort to ascertain what has become of Mrs. Muehsam has brought no results. I again appeal to you to make the disappearance of Zensel Muehsam known to your readers. I am certain that it will again prove, as it did in 1936, the beginning of a campaign to save the unfortunate woman.

Yours, etc.,

21, Frith Street,  
London, W.1.  
February 2.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Feb. 2 [London to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Peter Addison. — 2 p. ; 22 x 17 cm.

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98 Sutherland Avenue . W.9.

February 2. 1938.

Dear Emma Goldman :

Here with the translation of the "Nueva Nueva Unificada". I simply don't know how to render the title. "Unificada" doesn't appear to have a real equivalent in English. "Unified" doesn't mean anything definite, "Unification" is impossible. So I've left it to you.

The poster. As you will see, I have just permitted in the equivalent sense, under the Spanish. It is quite easy to rub out, and it occurred to me that you could see it better at a glance.

I sent you the other translation last night and hope that they reached you safely.

Fraternally Yours

Peter Addison

Yours of 15-day just received, with many thanks  
In, I shall be delighted to dine with you at 18  
Cathcart Road next Monday and 8 o'clock will  
suit me fine. Your envelope gave me a shock. Well

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You try and help me to forget my membership of the  
Dorogovitch by not putting so when you write to  
me. You don't mind my asking you this, do you.  
Re the Translation: I want you to be perfectly candid  
with me about him, and criticize all you like. Trying  
to put propaganda Spanish into readable English is not  
an easy job. I have been obliged to take liberties  
with it; but in any event should be glad of your  
guidance on the business.

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Feb. 2, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / Mariano R. Vázquez [and] Pedro Herrera. — 1 p. ; 26 × 21 cm.  
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 Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Confederación Nacional del Trabajo

Federación Anarquista Ibérica

Relaciones Exteriores

No. 116. E.

20691

BARCELONA, a 2 de febrero de 1.938.

A la Oficina de Propaganda C.N.T.-F.A.I. en Inglaterra.  
Londres.

Estimada camarada Emma Goldman:

Adjuntamos a la presente un ejemplar del Boletín de enero último, editado por este Comité Nacional para uso exclusivo de los Sindicatos, para los efectos de documentación e información por vuestra parte, de la marcha de la Organización en España.

Sin otro particular, te saludan fraternalmente,

POR EL CTE. PENINSULAR FAI.

POR EL CTE. NACIONAL CNT.

Pedro Herrera

Mariano R. Vázquez





# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Feb. 2, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / Mariano R. Vázquez [and] Pedro Herrera. — 1 p. ; 26 x 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Confederación Nacional del Trabajo

Federación Anarquista Ibérica

Relaciones Exteriores

Nº 125. B.

20692

BARCELONA, a 2 de febrero de 1.938.

A la Oficina de Propaganda C.N.T.-F.A.I. en Inglaterra.  
Londres.

Estimada camarada Emma Goldman:

Adjuntamos a la presente un folleto de "LA ADMINISTRACION EN EL CAMPO", por el cual podéis observar como trabaja nuestra Federación de Campesinos para elevar el nivel cultural y de capacidad administrativa de los campesinos.

Es ésta una demostración edificante, de cómo se ocupa la C.N.T. de los problemas del campo de forma práctica, empezando por lograr la elevación cultural y profesional del campesino, arrancándole del analfabetismo en el que le tuvo sumido la sociedad hasta el presente. Puedes utilizarlo, comentándolo para los efectos de propaganda.

Te saludan fraternalmente,

POR EL CTE. PENINSULAR FAI.

POR EL CTE. NACIONAL CNT.

Mariano R. Vázquez.

EDERCO  
IBER  
COMITÉ PENINSULAR  
Relaciones Exteriores

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 [Feb.] 2, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / Mariano R. Vázquez [and] Pedro Herrera. — 1 p. ; 23 x 17 cm.

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Institutional Location: Confederación Nacional del Trabajo Archives.

*Nº 1365*  
Barcelona, Via Durruti 30, 6a  
3rd of January 1938

Emma Goldman  
Delegation C.N.T.-F.A.I. en England  
21 Frith Street, Shaftsbury Avenue  
L O N D O N W I.

Dear Comrade Emma Goldman,

we received your letter of January 24th, it was studied closely by this secretariat for Foreign Relations, which decided to inform you, that at no time have we doubted your warmest interest in defending us and helping us in our struggle.

We ourselves never said that we need not answer adequately the attacks we are made object of abroad; but it must be done by defending ourselves and by concentrating on those things of which they accuse us.

In our letter of January 11th, we said, that one should not speak to much abroad about the repression we are made object of here, because this might give the impression that we have almost ceased to exist; this can not be done, because in the first place it is not true and secondly, for the given reasons, not convenient. Keep in mind, dear comrade, that the situation here is not the same as it was in Russia, and that here in spite of everything we are strong enough not to be exterminated.

Therefore we are of the opinion, that our propaganda abroad must always be guided by the utmost objectiveness, which does not exclude, that we shall answer the attacks made on us with arguments of Defense. One may say what one wants, the proletariat of the world, if convinced that here in Spain, their class brothers are being suppressed, will not deny us the solidarity we need. First of all we must triumph over fascism and therefore we absolutely need the moral and economic assistance of the proletarian masses of the world.

This was what inspired us to our letter of January 11th, which we confirm, assuring you at the same time, that you need not have the slightest doubt of the confidence we have in you and that you must continue your work with the same enthusiasm as before propagate our cause, make the world proletariat understand the capacity of the Spanish workers and lend them their maximum help.

We are, dear Comrade, your comrades and friends

For the Peninsular Committee  
of the F.A.I.

For the National Committee  
of the C.N.T.

Pedro Herrera

Mariano R. Vázquez

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 Feb. 2, Paris [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Katia [Landau].—  
1 p.; 26 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

EDGAR G. NEWMAN

SUITE No.

Paris, den 2. II. 38

Liebe Genossin Emma Goldmann,

Ich schreibe Ihnen nicht nur, um Ihnen mitzuteilen, dass ich -gegen alles Erwarten- in Freiheit und in Frankreich bin, sondern vor allem, um Ihnen fuer die vielen Beweise Ihrer Solidaritaet zu danken. Mit mir sind sieben andere Genossen gekommen und wir haben die Hoffnung, dass auch die anderen Genossen, gleichfalls durch die direkte Intervention der Gauche Révolutionnaire, in kuerzester Zeit Spanien verlassen werden koennen.

Ich haette Ihnen so viel ueber meine zweite Verhaftung zu erzaelien, vielleicht nichts Sensationelles, aber doch Dinge ueber die gesprochen werden muss und sehr laut meiner Meinung nach und die nicht genuegend oft wiederholt werden koennen. Es hat mich ausserordentlich interessiert, den Metrieb von innen kennen zu lernen. Ich habe manches Wissenswerte dabei erfahren. Wir haben uns der Gauche Révolutionnaire gegenueber dazu verpflichtet, solange die anderen Genossen noch in den spanischen Werkern sind, vorlaeufig zu schweigen. Ich wuerde Ihnen sonst sehr gerne schon heute einen Bericht ueber das, was ich erlebt habe, geben.

Ich habe in Barcelona mit Mika oft von Ihnen gesprochen; wie gerne wuerde ich Sie, liebe Emma Goldmann, wiedersehen. Besteht gar keine Aussicht, dass sie in absehbarer Zeit nach Paris kommen? Ich haette gerne ueber viele Dinge mit Ihnen gesprochen, aber nicht nur ueber unsere negativen Erfahrungen mit den etalinietischen Gangstern, sondern ueber die Probleme und Perspektiven unserer und der anarchistischen Bewegung. Sie erinnern sich vielleicht, dass ich im Gefaengnis mit den Mujeres Libres in freundschaftlichen Kontakt getreten bin. Die Haltung der Mujeres Libres gegenueber der PSUC war nicht nur politisch einwandfrei, sondern vorbildlich. Ich halte eine enge Zusammenarbeit zwischen der anarchistischen Frauenorganisation und der unseren fuer sehr wuenschenenswert und fruchtbar. Ich hatte nur einen Wunsch: mit den spanischen Genossen zusammenzubleiben, mit ihnen zu arbeiten, mit ihnen zu leben. Ich hoffe, dass es mir nur ganz voruebergehend unmoglich gemacht wurde, diesen Wunsch zu realisieren.

Ich brauche Ihnen doch nicht zu sagen, wie sehr es mich freuen wuerde, von Ihnen zu hoeren.

Salut y revolucion, trotz allem.

Katia.

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 Feb. 3 [London to Ethel Mannin, Dubrovnik, Yugoslavia] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 20 x 16 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17161

Feb. 3rd 38

Dearest Own.

I had fully intended to write you Monday so as to have a letter in Dubrovnik when you called me. But I had not a spare moment. Really if I had known the task it will be to put the office in order and organize the work I should probably not have had the courage to face it. Wirling you seem to have the impression that I expect the impossible from Ralph or anyone else. That is not the case. But I cannot bear when people who want to regenerate the race and build a new society are so inefficient and helpless. I had talked and talked for two months about trying to get the addresses of the branch trade unions. The reply was always "it is impossible". Just by chance I spoke to Mac about the matter and he at once suggested that the various unions should be written to for their papers or for addresses. Well in a few days we receive five hundred trades council addresses and those of ~~the~~ different trade papers. And we may through this channel also get the branches. So you see dearest it means keeping after every body and everything which as you know is no pleasure.

My dearest as I could not find time to write I wired you Tuesday evening. I hope you found the telegram when you called to day. I wonder how the crossing was. The papers were full about gales. I thought of you every minute hoping you and Regie may not have been shaken up too much. I am looking forward to a letter from you telling me how you both are after the trip and in the strange new surroundings.

Thank you and Regie an awful lot for bringing me together with Peter Addison. He is very charming and so eager to be of help. He told me that if I will have only an occasional translation he could not accept pay for it. But if it is to be any arrangement that would take much of his time he will be willing to come to some understanding. I am still waiting for word from the GWT about my suggestion of a Press Service in this city. If they consent of course I will need the cooperation of Peter Addison. I mean if Barcelona will really send me fresh news at least once a week, else what it would be of no use. I also have another scheme, always more schemes than I can carry out. It is a S.I.A. supplement once a month. I am making a start this month, a supplement to SPAIN and THE WORLD. It will be entirely devoted to S.I.A. material, it will have a very striking illustration.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 Feb. 3 [London to Ethel Mannin, Dubrovnik, Yugoslavia] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 20 x 16 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17162

ion, it will have an announcement of the opening of our exhibition and finally an appeal for contributions. I will send you a copy when it is off the press. This supplement will be distributed at meetings. There is to be a big affair Sunday week on Japan and China. ISE Sun YAT SUN is to be the principal speaker. She is the widow of the man who brought about the ill fated Republic. Some Republic it was where tens of thousands were butchered. Well, our supplement will be given out at that meeting. The folder has also been ordered. That and the letter you wrote my dearest and an announcement of the opening of the exhibition will be sent out to about thousand addressees we have. But I have no faith that many will respond. Still it has to be done as it is our only channel.

About the big affair in the Scala you approved I am seeing Rebecca Tuesday, she asked me to lunch with her. If I can persuade her to consent to speak at that affair it may not be so difficult to get others who are known. You wrote you might get Laurence Housmann. Don't do anything until I know about Rebecca. How well known is Thomas Burke. He wrote me a lovely letter and ~~came~~ let us use his name on our list. He might be asked to read something at our affair or speak. Then we mean to try for two or three good musicians. Alas we will not have Paul. I simply cannot humiliate myself more than I have. I am sure Paul never saw my letters for no human being can chance so suddenly in his friendship. It occurs to me that you might write him if he will, since for the INTERNATIONAL -ANTI FASCIST FUND, or the English section of it. In a measure it would be an unfair way of writing him in. But after all it is not asking him to do anything for me which if he has become a party man he ~~can~~ has no doubt had his line of action laid down to him. First I must see what Rebecca will do.

Darling I simply won't have the affair until your return. I cannot bear to have it without you when you have helped me so much from the very beginning. Are you likely to be back by the 25th of March. If it is to take place in that month it will have to be at least two weeks before Easter that means around the 25th. Let me know what you think of March 25th and whether I can count on you being back by that time.

Do have a restful holiday. You need it and of course Regie will surely rain by it.

With much love

Best greetings to Regie.

Until the 10th I will remain in the flat after that my personal address will be 21 Sneath Ave. Golders Green, London N. 11.  
Of course you can also reach me at the flat.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 Feb. 3 [London to] Martin [Gudell, Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman]. — 3 p.; 20 x 16 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

19376

Feb. 3rd 38.

Mein lieber Martin,

Ich bin sehr enttäuscht dass meine Briefe Dich nicht erreichen. Ich kann nicht begreifen dass man Dich speziell benachteiligt. Denn schliesslich erhalten V. und H. meine Briefe regelmässig. Man muss also meine Briefe auch Dich unterschlagen, sonst müssten sie Dich erreichen. So habe ich Dir am 19ten Januar wieder geschrieben, und zwar habe ich das Original durch die direkte Post geschickt und eine Kopie des Schreibens via Perpignan. Letztere Adresse ist ja sicher aber was nutzt es wenn Du einen Monat warten musst ob Briefe von mir? Auf diese Weise hat es keinen Zweck ~~schon gar nicht~~ Dir wichtige Dinge zu schreiben die schnell beantwortet werden sollen. Wenn ich die Sicherheit hatte dass meine Korrespondenz mit Dir via Paris befördert werden konnte würde ich die Briefe dahin senden. Die Kameraden haben mir mitgeteilt dass mein Schreiben an V. und H., der sehr wichtig war sofort nach Barcelona persönlich befördert wurde. Ob sie das auch mit Briefen für Dich tun würden weiss ich nicht. Könnte es doch durch V. oder H. arrangieren? Es ist von grosser Wichtigkeit dass ich Dich und Du mich schnell erreichst und da das auf dem regulären Wege nicht geht so sollte es eben mit Paris organisiert werden. Dann es ist sehr unbefriedigend Briefe ~~inzwischen~~ zu schreiben ohne die Gewissheit dass sie den Empfänger erreichen oder erst nach einem Monat.

den  
We so mir über den Stimmungswandel unserer sogenannten Freunde, die K.P. schreibt ist sehr interessant. Im Ausland haben sie ihre Taktik in keiner Weise geändert. Umso peinlicher ist es für mich von V. und H. zu hören dass man mich doch um Gotteswillen die Menschenhaft behandelt. Ich muss sagen ich war verzweifelt als ich den Brief bekam und zuerst bereit alles stehen und liegen zu lassen und mich irgend wo zu verkriechen. Es gibt eben Dinge die ein reiner Mensch nicht tun kann sich selbst ins Gesicht zu spucken wie Ibese sagte. Und im Ausland alles herunter zu schlucken was die Bande ~~schickt~~ gegen unsere Kameraden schreibt hiess für mich mich selbst ins Gesicht zu spucken. Aber da ich keinen Moment die spanische Situation vergesse so habe ich V. und H. in einer milderen Form geantwortet, eine milde Art die ich in meinem Leben nie gebraucht habe weil ich gewohnt war frei und offen von der Schulter weg loss zu leben. Ich würde Dir gerne Kopien von dieser Korrespondenz schicken aber wer weiss in welche Hände sie fallen könnten. Ausserdem habe ich noch keinen Ant

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 Feb. 3 [London to] Martin [Gudell, Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 20 x 16 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

19377

Es kann ja sein dass man mir den Laufpass geben wird. Dass waere mir so weit peinlich ~~als~~ als dann ich hier ein ~~grosses~~ Unternehmen anfangen habe fur die G.T.F.A. und fur die SIA und wir leiter keinen einzigen Genossen weder man noch Frau haben der die Arbeit weiter fuhren konnte. Gewiss waere mir der Rucktritt als Vertreterin der G.T.F. und dem andern sehr schmerzhaft. Aber lieber ~~das~~ als auf etwas eingehen das mir in der Seele zuwider ist. Und dass man im Ausland uberhaupt nicht durch fuhren konnte. Denn hier ist die Sippe endlich entlarft, man wird bei jeder Versammlung mit ~~Straken~~ uberschuttet was sie in Spanine vollbracht hat. Wie kann man da schweigen, oder gar eine unsere eigen Genossen wollen nicht dass man ihnen etwas bores nachsagt? Es ist lacherlich und ich kann und werde darauf nicht eingehen. Na wir worden ja sehen was ~~die~~ V. und H. zu sagen haben.

Ich habe Dir schon ein paar mal erklart lieber Martin dass ich ein Buch mit gewerkehafte Adressen an Dich gesandt habe leider durch die Post direkt, jemand hat es also geklaut. Eine ahnliche ~~habe~~ habe ich vorige Woche via Paris an Vazquez geschickt. Ausserdem ein exemplare von Zeitunge Adressen und das Buch durch Frau ~~Adams~~ Adams. Das ist ja glucklich angekommen. Eine neue Liste Gewerkehafte Adressen lese ich Dir hierbei, vielmehr in der Kopie die nach Per pignan abreht. Alle diese sind trade union Adressen die the G.T.F. verwaerten soll wie ich es vorzuschlagen habe, namlieh sich ~~direkt~~ direkt an die einzelnen syndikate zu wenden, die Transport workers to write the British transport workers, die Metallarbeiter, die Schneid Grubenarbeiter und so weiter.

Ich bereite jetzt eine andere Liste vor die ich entweder V. via Paris oder Dir via P. senden werde. Ich mochte aber sehr ab rathen sich an die Leute direkt zu wenden da das nur Konfusion hervor rufen durfte. Ich meine da ich mit den Leuten gerade fur die SIA in Verbidung bin so hat es keinen Zweck noch extra die Leute von Euch auss mit Material zu uberburden dass sie eventuell uberhaupt nicht lesen konnen. Und das Englisch das jetzt von Euch versandt wird ist so miserable man kann und soll es niemanden zeigen. So war das Englische Bulletin ein furchtbares Kauderwalech. Bitte sage es den Leuten die es herstellen. Denn gerade ~~hier~~ wir sollen uns alle Muhe geben echparlich korrekt zu sein. Also wie gesagt es ist nicht aus Stoltz oder ~~Ehr~~ weil ich hier das ~~Kauderwalech~~ Monopole haben will dass ich darauf bestehen muss dass man an die Adressen der Intellektuellen von Spanien aus schreibt, oder wenn man schon darauf besteht dann soll man mir regelmassig mitteilen was man geschrieben oder geschickt hat. Bitte sorre Du dafur.

Du nennst H. sagen dass sein Kind die SIA auch hier ein Asyl gefunden hat. Vorleufig, nur bei einer kleinen Zahl. Aber der Anfang wurde gemacht bei meiner Versammlung den 14 Januar wo wir £75 gesammelt haben. ~~Die~~ Nachste Woche kommt eine epezielle SIA Beilage zu SPAIN and the WORLD heraus die originelle Artikel und Uebersetzungen aus den Spanischen enthalten wird und die wir in recht v Exemplare bei Versammlungen vertoilen werden. Ausserdem kommt ein folder heraus das unser Manifest fur die SIA representieren wird so ~~wohl~~ wohl wie auch die Announce von unsere Ausstellung von Kinder Zeichnungen die ich aus Barcelona mitgebracht habe und die unter den Auspizien von der Englischen SIA Section stattfinden wird. Fur Marz habe ich den Plan einen gorseen literarischen Abend zu organisieren mit der Anteilnahme von bedeutende Schriftsteller, Poeten, Musiker ~~die gehalten werden~~ uber die Bedeutung von der SIA

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 Feb. 3 [London to] Martin [Gudell, Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman]. — 3 p.; 20 x 16 cm.

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1937

H. kann also sehen dass die paar Genossen die mir helfen und ich tüchtig an der Arbeit sind. Lese im bitte ans Herz dass von die SIA in Barcelona Plakate druckt, oder Photographien macht von Institutionen Schulen, Heime, oder was es auch ist man mir komplette schickt. Man muss aber dafür sorgen dass sie die Censur passieren und dass man den Inhalt angiebt. Zwei Blocks wurden hier beschlagnahmt weil die Kameraden in Paris nicht dieselben der Zensur vorlegten und auch nicht angaben was das Packet ~~enthalt~~ enthält. Dass sollte nicht wieder so nachlässig gemacht werden. Ich habe Paris gebeten sie sollten wenn sie mit Barcelona reden bitten dass man mir das herrliche Kinderplakat das die Semana del Niño representiert. Ausserdem habe ich H. in meinem Schreiben ingefahr vor zwei Wochen gebeten er soll mir welche schicken. Ich gebe zu ihr seit alle viel braver dieses Jahr in dem ihr mir mehr Material sendet als in 37. Aber es ist noch sehr viele dass man mir nicht schickt und dass ich unbedingt brauche. Die Plakate und Bilder sind ausserst wichtig. Die Fragua kommt noch immer nicht dafür abhelfen sich die Genossen von Lerida mit Masseneendungen ihr er Zeitung. Jetzt wo ihr doch einen Mangel an Papier habt sollte man nicht so viel vorreden. Bitte teils es den Kameraden von Lerida mit. The neue Zeitung HOY von der Du schreibst in Deinem kurzen Brief vom 28sten Jan. Es freut mich sehr dass unser lieber Kamerade A. jetzt wieder literarisch tätig ist. Ich fürchte nur man wird ihm bald die Feder Lehnab. Grusse ihn recht herzlich von mir und auch seine ~~Gefährtin~~ Gefährtin.

Du hast also endlich das Packet bekommen. Hat nicht zwei Monate gedauert. Da die SIA jetzt durch Marseille verhandelt vielleicht kannst du es einrichten dass Packete für Dich von dort aus abgehen. Ich würde Dir nur zu gerne jeden Monat etwas Nahrungsmittel senden wie auch der arme Mercedes. Ich bin sehr betrübt dass es ihr so schlecht geht. Ich schreibe ihr noch diese Woche. Ubrigens hattest Du auch ein Packet durch Souhy oder V. bekommen. Eine Amerikanische Genossin die zum Besuch war und der ich hundred Franken gab. Verschiedenes zu kaufen hat auch was beigesteuert und hat einen Teil des Packetes Souhy und einen Teil V. gegeben. Mindestens habe ich als so verstanden also sie hierher kam auf der Rückreise nach den Staaten. Es war als Weihnachts Packet gedacht hast Du es empfangen?

Morgen send ich ein ~~Paket~~ Packet Drucksachen ab an P. auch eine Kopie meiner Rede auf dem kongress der I.A.A. Dieses ist nur für Genossen bestimmt nicht zur Veröffentlichung.

Bitte bitte schreibe Du recht oft und sage ob man Dir von Paris aus meine Briefe wird zukommen lassen. Herzlich Grusse.

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 Feb. 3 [London to C.W.] Daniel, [London] / [Emma Goldman].—  
2 p. ; 24 × 19 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Feb. 3rd 38.

Dear Mr Daniel.

Thanks a lot for your kind tribute to my energy. Yes, I still have a lot of that precious article. My trouble is where to apply it. I keep working about 16 hours out of twenty four, sometime even more but the results are hardly worth the effort. The Communists have infested every channel of social life and thought in this country. One would think that after all the horrors in Russia the so called intelligentsia would come to its senses. But the myth goes on and nothing else finds favor with the "banner barriers of British culture". However I come from a race that owes its survival to perseverance. I certainly do not mean to give up. But it is disheartening at times.

Yes, I know you are a busy man. But surely you do not live by love and expectations alone, you do eat sometimes? So why not ~~just~~ come to my little dinner? we have postponed it until the 10th, Wed, next. Please come, won't you. The sweetloves will enjoy their dinner better I am sure with you present. And I have a big spot of affection for you for many years even if you do not know it. Say Yes. Please.

Some business matter what could you let me have my Disillusionment for? Literature sells abominably in this country I mean Anarchist literature. But we mean to push our stuff by means of advertising now that we have offices centrally located, 21 Frith St. And we want My DISILLUSIONMENT on sale. By the way it is more timely now in view of the events that followed my book and which I foresaw and wrote about than it was in 25. Mr Herbert Read whom I met recently suggested it would be most timely to get out a new edition with a new preface. The evil deed of Bolshevism were never more before the world. I want Mr Read to get a copy. Please send it him to The Burlington Magazine LTD, Bank Buildings 16a St James Street. And charge to me. Let me know please the lowest price for the book. I'll get rid of the copies you have on hand I'd have to charge very little. Do the best you can for me please. And will you kind ask you office staff to kindly send the balance of Alexander Berkman's book to me to 21, Frith Street. Naturally I will pay for the carriage.

I am working on an exhibition of drawings by Harriet Wilson which I brought out with me. Some of them may have perished.



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938 Feb. 3 [London to C.W.] Daniel, [London] / [Emma Goldman].—  
2 p.; 24 × 19 cm.

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17883  
terrified in the recent savage onslaught on Barcelona. France  
on murdering and no one gives a damn except to jabber in  
House of Commons.

How different is the sympathy shown China to what is  
tragic Spain. Not that I begrudge China all the money  
But it does rile me to think that in eighteen months  
raising some money of which only a small part reached  
finger was lifted by anyone to give the Anti-Fascist  
direct help, such as a boycott a refusal to load stuff  
and other more telling help than a few tins of milk. Oh,  
tell you how bitter and difficult it is to rouse anyone  
action. I wish my comrades in Spain would let me go back  
much rather die in action there than chase windmills here.

The Exhibition will open the 17th of this  
run for three weeks or a month. I am hoping you will be able  
some afternoon to see the work of children under daily  
the air and undernourished. It will do you good to see the  
of the Spanish people already expressed in the spirit and  
its children.

Let me hear from you soon if we may have your  
next Wed.

Cordially.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 [Feb.] 3, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / Mariano R. Vázquez [and] Pedro Herrera. — 1 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Emma Goldman  
Delegation U.N.E.-P.A.I. en England  
21 Frith Street, Shaftsbury Avenue  
L O N D O N W 1

Dear Comrade Emma Goldman,

We received your letter of January 11th. It was studied closely by the Secretariat for Foreign Relations which decided to inform you that at no time have we lost our warmest interest in defending us and helping us in our struggle.

We ourselves never said that we need not answer adequately the attacks we are made abroad, but it has been done by defending ourselves and by concentrating on those things of which they accuse us.

In our letter of January 11th, we said that one should not speak too much abroad about the repression we are made suffer here, because this might give the impression that we have almost ceased to exist; this can not be done, because in the first place it is not true, and secondly, for the given reasons, not convenient. Keep in mind, dear comrade, that the situation here is not the same as it was in Russia, and that here, in spite of everything, we are strong enough not to be exterminated.

Therefore we are of the opinion, that our propaganda abroad must always be guided by the utmost objectiveness, and must not exclude, that we shall answer the attacks made on us with elements of Defense. One may say what one wants, the proletariat of the world, if convinced that here in Spain, their class brothers are being suppressed, will not deny us the solidarity we need. After all we must triumph over fascism and therefore we absolutely need moral and economic assistance of the proletarian masses of the world.

This was what inspired us to our letter of January 11th, which we confirm, assuring you at the same time, that we do not have the slightest doubt of the confidence we have in you, and that you must continue your work with the same enthusiasm and propagate our cause, make the world proletariat understand the capacity of the Spanish workers and lend them their maximum support.

We are, dear Comrade, your comrades and friends.

For the Peninsular Committee  
of the P.A.I.

For the National Committee  
of the P.A.I.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 Feb. 4, London [to] Mark [Mratchny, New York] / Emma [Goldman]. — 4 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

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C.N.T.

A.I.T.

F.A.I.

London Office:

18 CASTLETOWN ROAD  
WEST KENSINGTON  
LONDON, W.14

London Feb. 4th 38.

TELEPHONE: FULHAM 6829

My dear Mark.

You really do not deserve a letter from me. You never write and never value my letters more than with a rare acknowledgement of a few lines. Can you blame me if I am disappointed in you? Well, while I am no Cristain, good or bad, I will reward evil with good. I will write you, again but remember it will be the last attempt to move your heart on my part.

A letter from Rose Pasetta tells me you had been laid up with the flu. I hope it was not serious and that you have quite recovered. She also wrote me that Abe Bluestein gave a report of his impression in Spain. Poor boy as late as Oct. he was still enthused, anxious to remain in Spain and ready to explain many of the steps and decisions of the CNT-FAI. I have no idea what happened after I left Nov 6th because the letter he wrote me from Paris before he sailed was a complete reversal of his attitude. I am sending you a copy of my letter to him. You will be able to gather the contents of his letter.

Of course my dear there is much to discourage one in the compromises of the CNT-FAI, many unnecessary things which instead of helping their struggle have only injured them. It is only that I know so well the odds against them that I continue the work for the CNT-FAI though I rebel in my innermost being against the silly concession they are making. You will see by the inclosed copies of a letter I have received from Vazquez and Herrera and my answer to them that they are even going so far as to attempt to muzzle me in regard to their so-called allies that have betrayed them thirty times more than Judas did Christ. You will ~~amix~~ probably be surprised to find me so mild. Believe me it cost me a great deal of Überwindung to write in this tone when I felt like telling them to find someone else to represent them in England. But here again it was my knowledge of and understanding for their peculiar characteristics that made me hold myself in check. I haven't yet received an answer from Vazquez

## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 Feb. 4, London [to] Mark [Mratchny, New York] / Emma [Goldman]. — 4 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

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But I tell you frankly ~~my~~ even my patience will be at an end if they insist on putting a gag in my mouth regarding the murderous Communist gang. This maybe possible in Spain itself. But it is utterly impossible in Europe. To continue silent in this country for instance, is to give my consent to the savagery of Stalin and his ~~satraps~~ <sup>henchmen</sup>. Its more than I can submit to much as I want to help our Spanish comrades. In point of fact, I would have laid down my "job" as representative of the CNT-FAI when I received V's letter. But there is not a soul in this rotten country to take my place in the newly created bureau and various undertakings for the CNT-FAI and the SIA. We have no movement in England, not a trace of it. And the few comrades who help are the last word of inefficiency. They cannot string two sentences together in public, or write or do some organizational work. In fact is, I consider it a waste of money and time to continue the efforts in England for the CNT-FAI. I have tried it time on end with very little result. I am trying it out again not because I have much hope of better success but because Vazquez and the others insist that one must continue trying to enlist the sympathy of the workers or the intelligentsia. They are simply ignorant about the possibilities in England or the rest of Europe. Their boast about the great response in America or France is all bluff and on paper. I know America better than Galve to believe his fantastic story that fifty thousand American workers will soon join the I.A.A. and are for the CNT-FAI. Its the identical bluff the Communists are using. It is pathetic the lack of knowledge of European possibilities, English or American our Spanish comrades have. No wonder they have been so easily misled by their Communist allies. Innocent babes in the woods that they are how can they buck up against the shrewd jesuitic Moscow gang trained for twenty years in underground and crooked political ways. No wonder Stalins satraps destroyed much of the political and strategic strength of the CNT-FAI. It is heart breaking.

Well, you will see from the inclosures also from my talk at the I.A.A. Congress that whatever the shortcoming of our Spaniards I will stand by them to the last. Even if I should be forced to lie down my credentials as their spokesman I will not raise a finger against them. I feel about the terrible inconsistencies of our people as a mother feels about a son, condemned to death regardless of whatever offense he may be guilty of. Nothing matters so much to me than the consciousness of the danger and death our people are facing and their superhuman effort to go on building amidst wreck and ruin. The latter is so grandiose that all else ~~seems~~ pales in the face of it.

You understand dear Mark that the inclosures are not for publication. You can let Freedman and a few other reliable comrades read them. But I do not want our ~~family linen~~ <sup>family linen</sup> soiled family linen washed in public. Suffice it the day thereof when Franco will be conquered not before. I have begun a long report of my second visit in Spain. Will send you a copy for the



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3

Freie Arb.Stimme. It will stress the marvelous constructive work our impossible yet wonderful are continuing and it will try to <sup>convincingly</sup> explain many things outsiders cannot grasp.

I have undertake a colossal job since I came back from Spain. In the whole history of the Anarchist movement in England we never had a place where people interested in our ideas could come without breaking their necks or getting their clothes dirty or torn. Well, I have taken offices in the centre of the city and have <sup>been</sup> fixed up not to be recognized as an Anarchist hang out. All our work will now be centered in our place, the CNT-FAI, the SIA, Spain and the World, a reading room for people interested in our press or wanting to know what Anarchism and Anarcho Syndicalists are all about, and last but not least a place for exhibitions of all sorts of Spanish material. The first exhibition we will open the 17th of this month will consists of childrens drawings in bombarded Barcelona and other schools in Cataluna. This will be followed by works of the Mujeres Libres and later by photographs of collectivized industries and villages. It should prove an educational venture even if it is not likely to bring money.

In connection with this I am concentrating on building up the SIA. Next week I will send you copies of the folder we are having printed with the names of our sponsors well known in the English world of letters, poetry and the drama. This goes out next week to thousand people. In addition I am having a supplement printed to Spain and the World devoted entirely to the SIA, containing our manifesto, articles by the writer Ethel Mannin and some translation from the Spanish about the SIA. I hope something for the SIA will come out of all this. We have made a beginning at my lecture the 14th of last month by raising £75 for the SIA. We hope to have some response from the folder we are mailing to all sorts of people interested in the Spanish anti-Fascist struggle.

You can see I am busy dear Mark. But it seems a drop ~~xxx~~ in the ocean compared with the struggle in Spain and all that is needed especially for our comrades for whom no one outside of our own do anything. On the contrary, they are being injured, aligned and lied about constantly and it is impossible to get a line in anywhere ~~xxx~~ for their vindication and defense. Even the Manchester Guardian has recently turned down a letter of mine showing up the Communist bias of their correspondents and his lying about the Spanish Anarchists. As for the rest of the English Press, the Left ~~continues to lie and the~~ keeps silent about the achievements of the CNT-FAI and the Right lies continuously.

Now be a good boy and write me a real letter on the machine I should not have to strain my poor old eyes reading your script. I know I have a rotten handwriting myself. At least I admit it. Seriously Mark I expect an answer soon about the situation in New York especially in regard to what is really being done for Spain.

205

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Our new address is 21. Frith Street, ~~21~~ Shaftsbury Ave.  
London W.1 this for All unless you want to reach me personally then  
it is 6. Sneath Ave. Golders Green London N.W.11 I am moving to this  
place the 11th. Any mail to the office had better be addressed  
c/o CNT-FAI or the SIA. Please tell Freedman to kindly send the  
Frie Arb. Stimme to 6. Sneath ~~Street~~ <sup>avenue</sup>. London N.W.11.

How is Johanna quite Americanized isn't she? And y  
you, ein ganzer Yankee, was? Do write dear Mark. You once considered  
one of your sweethearts, or at least I thought so. All our wishes  
are fathers to our thoughts. Then why neglect me so shamelessly?

Greetings to Freedman and all the other comrade

Affectionately

*Emma*



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18162

Feb. 4th 38.

My dear Mark,

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18163

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18165

Our new address is 21. Frith Street, ~~51~~ Shaftsbury Ave  
London W.1 this for All unless you want to reach me personally then  
it is 6. Sneath Ave. Golders Green London N.W.11 I am moving to this  
place the 11th. Any/ mail to the office had better be addressed  
c/o CNT-FAI or the SIA. Please tell Freedman to kindly send the  
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are fathers to our thoughts. Then why neglect me so shamelessly?

Greetings to Freedman and all the other comrade

Affectionately

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[Letter] 1938 Feb. 4, Corwen [Wales to Emma Goldman, London] / John C[owper]  
 Powys. — 2 p. ; 20 x 25 cm.  
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82271

with the electric  
 nerves of the  
 ones in America.

Well I must  
 get to work now.  
 I would be a low cble  
 in my personal budget  
 if my American publisher  
 hadn't suddenly decided  
 to pay me advanced  
 royalties to keep me  
 going while I write  
 under their direction  
 a huge book of literary  
 essays — so that  
 they can call it "Trove  
 Homer's 'Odyssey' to  
 Joyce's 'Ulysses'!"

This means I have to give  
 up for many months as I  
 told you the Historical Romance  
 about Wales that gives me  
 such a thrill to write.  
 But there it is! Authors cannot  
 be choosers. — Emma  
 your admiring friend  
 John C. Cowper

P.S. This is now a reply to  
 yours so it needs  
 no answer!

17628

7 (ae) Joel  
 Corwen

Merionethshire  
 Feb. 4 1938

My dear old friend interested  
 Aye! but I was interested  
 in your article in  
 a Shain & The World

And what a dear letter  
 you wrote me telling  
 me so frankly of  
 your difficulties in  
 this illegitimate island.  
 I wish you would  
 (when Shain is free)  
 a book on Saturnian  
yourself —

It is a puzzle to  
 me that yours not  
 better known or  
 treated with more



# The Emma Goldman Papers

870929063

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 Powys. — 2 p. ; 20 x 25 cm.  
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 Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

22387

intense interest  
 & appreciation over  
 here.

Everyone in America  
 from President to  
 truck-driver, from  
 the great magnates to  
 the hotel bell-boys!  
 The world would  
 know Emma Goldman  
 you are a Household word  
 over there like all the  
 great American figures.  
 That have caught the  
 popular imagination.  
 And I am perfectly sure  
 ready to confess that  
 I derive and will  
 real snobbish  
 of proud delight  
 (intellectual anyway!) to be actually  
 named famous "Emma".  
 by the famous "Emma".

17628

But of course you will  
 come into History  
 and the History of the  
 World too. The  
 in the future the  
 liberationist ideas of  
 true Anarchy at  
 last come true or  
 begin at last to  
 come true! But it  
 is certainly the first  
 time in History  
 that a great number  
 of people have in  
 C.N.T. have  
 one combat began  
 organization is actually  
 to take part in  
 re-making the  
 world!  
 Of course I know well  
 what you mean  
 by the phlegmatic timber  
 of audiences over  
 here compared

## The Emma Goldman Papers

880726207

[Letter, 19]38 Feb. 5 [London to] Emmy [Eckstein, Nice] / [Emma Goldman].—  
1 p.; 28 x 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

23695

Feb. 5th 38

Dear Emmy. Our letters have crossed each other. I wish I knew what to tell you. You know my view about an operation for you. I consider it dangerous and useless besides. I am certain as I can be that Sasha would never have consented to your going under the knife again especially after what the famous surgeon in Tehecho Slovakia told your mother. As for myself I would ~~never~~ never be able to ~~forgive~~ forgive myself having given my consent if anything fatal should happen to you. But my dear child you are of age and you must know what you are doing.

As regardw material help I cannot do more than I am doing. I am sorry. My brother and sister-in-law supported me fro three years. So even if he were not as my own child I should feel it my bonden duty to help him. My sister-in-law is as you know also an invalide. laid up at least once a month or more and suffering such pain she has to take to her bed. But because Morris can no longer earn their living and he is a cripple unable to get about Babsie does night nursing and is now the main supoorter. I must therefore sent yhem something every week and I have other obligations. I wish you would understand that it is not lack of interest in you that makes me tell you these things. I simply want you to know the situation so that you can make up your mind to do the best you can on what you get from me and the Freie Arb Stime. In addition you could write or wire Modest. I know he will if on y he can send you something. He must be ill or something because he has not even acknowledge the money due him for his piece of land which I sent him in Dec.

Friday the 11th I move to Liza Koldofsky the address is 6, Sneath Avenue Golders Green, London N.W. 11. I had to be done in order to save from the high exnences I had in my flat. In fact if there were a bath in the house where we have our offices I should use my office as a living room. But I cannot be without a bath and facilities for preparing my meals. Besides Liza will not charge me too much though I will insist that she charges more than when Simion was alive and I lived with them.

I am very busy with ever so many things. I hope some thing will come of it all for the unfortunate victims of Franco. It is all I live for now, I have no other interest in life but to serve my comrades in Spain, to serve them doubly for Sasha and myself.

Affectionately

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 Feb. 5 [London to Martha Gordon Crotch, Vence, France] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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17987

Feb. 5th 38

Dearest Auntie. Here is the check for my last rent. I am sorry I cannot get out until Friday. Barr and I are working overtime to send out our folder to a thousand addresses and get our ~~xxx~~ SIA Supplement printed for mailing Tuesday. Until that is done I cannot budge from here. But I will definitely be out Friday the 11th. I sent word to your agent to say he can bring people to see the flat. He said he would. But so far no one came though I was in every day until five and six o'clock. I see the flat under mine is let. The electric Co. man came with some electric ranges. Their name is Patrici, good old Irish I suppose. I know it because a letter already arrived for them.

Thank you my dear for your sweet letter. I will leave a blanket which I had wished, the cover from your bed and some pieces of dishes. I have two curtains of your with flowers if you remember I would like to keep them as I cannot afford to buy anything now. I need one for one bed which I will have in my office and one at Lizas to shut out the light in the morning. Later, if you need them I will buy some material. But just now I cannot spend another penny. 21, Frith Street has cost a fortune, much more than I thought of spending. So I must stop for a time. I went with Ruth Craik to get material for hangings in the large exhibition room. But I gave it up when I realised it would cost at least a pound if not more for very ordinary material. They are coming up tomorrow to see whether the Emmys portieres will do. I mean whether they will not look too gaudy in the place. I will use them if they look all right.

Dear I have never mentioned Emmy for a long time because she remains the old cross. She lives for nothing else but her stomach or ever mentions anybody or anything else. Imagine in the face of the appalling horrors in Spain the woman has never once expressed interest in or compassion for the children mowed down by Franco. I never met such self-centeredness in my whole life. It gets on my nerves so much that I have to hold on to myself not to give her a piece of my mind. But what would be the use. She is incurable and so is her stomach I fear. Yes, she has gotten in to the hands of a new doctor who advised operation. Well, she can do what she likes but I will never give my consent for it because I consider it dangerous and useless nor have I any money to waste on it. She actually hinted at that in her last letter. Believe me it is hard enough to send her 500 francs every month. I have a hundred places I could use that money for, friends in distress, out of work with children sick. But I am quite willing to go on for a year. I am not willing however to pay doctors eternally. I do not say E.

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is not suffering, she is. But she would forget her pain if only she could or would interest herself in others. Well, she must do as she wills. I have so many other things to do I cannot go on humoring E.

Of course you cannot tie yourself with a child from Spain. If Norman really would want to help you you could adopt a child say of the Bawque children in the care of the Friends at Street. You know the ones the I.L.P took under its protection and to which I contributed fifty pounds from the fund last year raised for the care of children. I don't know exactly how much it costs a week for each child. From all sides I hear that the 41 kiddies in the Street Colony are getting the best of care. I went out there last summer and I liked Mrs Clarke who is in charge and is a Quaker very much. You ~~xxxx~~ could feel quite safe to adopt one child for the time of their stay in England by paying for its maintenance. This is only a suggestion.

Poor Winnie and Charles their boy had his head split open from a heaving door falling on him at the place they used to live. The houses were torn down and nothing down to exclude the place from access. The children were playing there and the little fellow is now in a frightful state. ~~xx~~ It makes my blood boil when I think of how the poor cannot even afford a taxi in such a grave situation. Winnie and Charles had to carry the boy to and from the hospital and instead of getting the necessary care there they have to keep him at home with that gash in his head. An Xray is to be taken to day. Winnie looked like a wraith this morning. Of course I would not let her stay to clean the flat. It is all so sad yet there are people so damnedly selfish nothing moves them of the misery and suffering of others.

I suppose Stella will have left when this reaches you. I got her letter and the one to the New Statesman inclosed. She writes "if there are no mistakes poste it to the editor. But the letter was sealed I could not very well open it. So I have sent it on anyhow it would help a great deal if the New Statesman would bring the letter calling attention to our exhibition.

I have been more than surprised with the fine response we received from the people as sponsors. Yesterday I had a letter from Biran Howard saying at his responsibility I could add Nancy Cunard and W.H. Auden and his name to our list. I also heard from Dr Pearson Thomas Burke and several others. All wrote in a friendly way and said they would contribute later. Oh, yes Miles Mallison sent a check for a pound and wrote "by all means add my name. I don't know whether I wrote you that Rebecca has given her name. I am having lunch with her Tuesday when I will ask her whether she will speak at a literary affair I am planning for the latter part of March. Once I have her consent I can get other noted people. Ethel said she could get Laurence Housman. We may also get two or three outstanding musicians to participate. I am taking the Scala Theatre though it will mean a big expense. You can see I keep scheming. It is so little I can do for the unfortunates in Anti Fascist Spain, the most innocent among them the children. How can one remain indifferent and not strain every muscle to bring them help? You will like our folder which I will send you when it is ready.

Write me after Friday to 6, Sneath Avenue London N.W.11  
Until then write to the flat please. With love.



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2 p. ; 28 x 21 cm.

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24288

Feb. 5th 38

Dear Albert.

Thanks you for the credential and the sixty Kronen. It is a long time since I have been paid for my writing and that never from our own papers. Five years ago this month when I was given permission to re-enter America I wrote for several Liberal Magazines and earned enough to live from it a year. But being so far removed from the States I can get nothing accepted. So whatever the Arbetaren pays is very welcome.

Thanks also for the credential. I will try my best to send you occasional reports from Canada, if I ever get there. I was definitely set on sailing this month, but the collapse of Barcelona and the horrors of our Spanish comrades impells me to postpone my sailing. I simply cannot bear to go away so far without knowing if our forces will reorganise themselves and continue the struggle, this time not only against Franco but also against their treacherous and cowardly allies the Negrin-Communist government, or whether they will all be exterminated. A letter from Souhy which he must also have written you proves that the criticism and attacks of Chaipor Volin which they publicly expressed and I privately whenever I am returned to Spain have now proven quite true. The CNT-FAI have by their tactics under-



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 Feb. 5 [London to] Albert [Jensen, Stockholm] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p.; 28 × 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

24289

he was among the most unconditional defenders of the CNT and thereby became incompetent to defend the Spanish comrades of every compromise. The queer thing about Souchy's letter is that he violently on our way to Valencia and Madrid is 37 regarding dangerous steps taken by our comrades. Even three months ago when the FAI had finally seen the errors of the CNT and had come out unreservedly against the methods of the National Committee demanding the overthrow of the ineffectual and traitorous Negrin Communist game Souchy defended the stand of the CNT. Now he writes what you and I and the other comrades have felt and expressed all along the line. Whatever it is Catalonia is lost nor do I believe that our people still have the means and the strength to recapture it in the nearest future. The odds is too great. I feel absolute crushed and paralysed in this blood freezing country. We are sending out an emergency appeal. But what will that help the hundreds of thousands refugees.

Fraternally

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 Feb. 5 [London to] Katia Landau, [Paris] / [Emma Goldman].—  
2 p.; 24 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

10015

Feb. 5th 38

Dear comrade Katia Landau.

I was so relieved to get your letter and to know that you are free at last and out of Spain. It is sad indeed that one should rejoice being out of revolutionary Spain. But with the murderous Stalin gang in power it is best not to be there especially since one can do a great deal for the Spanish people and the anti/Fascist struggle outside of Spain than inside.

I too would love to see and talk to you. But my coming to Paris is out of the question, at least for the present. I have launched out on a big venture for the SIA, International Anti-Fascist Solidarity and for the CNT-FAI which takes up all my time and binds me to England. Next week we will have our folders and other matter printed I will send you some copies so you will know how much there is to be done. England is the most difficult country in the world to work for revolutionary ideas. The average Englishman lives in his silly dream that he is free born and that his Parliament will settle all social problems. Besides that he is indifferent to other peoples suffering and does not want to be inconvenienced with them. In addition is the poison spread by the Stalinists which has infected the entirely intelligentia in this country. It is therefore bitter hard to rouse public opinions no matter how terrible the injustice and the horrors perpetrated on the Spanish people. Yet I must continue in the work I have begun. It is therefore not likely that I will get to France though something unforeseen may happen to call me there.

Yes, my dear comrades of Mujeres Libres are splendid women and great workers. Unfortunately the ~~max~~ ablest and most ardent Mercedes Compasada is very ill. I really fear for her life. I wish I could get her out of Spain for a visit and to consult competent physician but she clings to Spain and does not want to leave.

That is just it that one cannot speak out loudly against the counter-revolutionary situation in poor war torn Spain without hurting those who are still in prison. I see that a campaign has been started for amnesty. I hope that will go through. If the Negrin Moscow gang had any vision at all they would know how much it hurts the anti/Fascist struggle to have true revolutionists in prison and killed. But like all people wielding power they too are blind. Yes, the Mujeres Libres spoke to me about the approach of the miserable PSUC to work with them advised strongly against any combination with those tools of Stalin. I am glad to know they have followed my advice. I only wish my comrades the CNT-FAI had never gone into any cooperation with them.

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 Feb. 5 [London to] Katia Landau, [Paris] / [Emma Goldman].—  
2 p. ; 24 x 20 cm.

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... have been unavoidable I don't know. But I consider it a terrible  
... for which my comrades are now paying dearly.

Please give my greetings to comrade Edgar Newman.  
to my comrade Sandilevitch. I wonder what has become of him and Tieta and  
the others I met in the Models. If you know please write me.

Yes indeed for the triumph of the Revolution  
in spite of everything.

Herzliche Grusse an Sie lieb Genossin.

Salud.

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Feb. 7, London [to] Herbert Read, [London] / Emma Goldman.—  
1 p.; 28 × 20 cm.

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71/174133

C.N.T.

A.I.T.

F.A.I.

Representing—THE NACIONAL CONFEDERACION OF LABOR  
AND REGIONAL COMITE C.N.T.-F.A.I.—BARCELONA  
INTERNATIONAL PRESS SERVICE

London Office

21 FRITH STREET  
SHAFTESBURY AVENUE  
LONDON, W.1

London, 7th February, 1938.

TELEPHONE: GERRARD 2636

Dear Mr. Read,

I wonder whether you have read the enclosed review in yesterday's Times? It is more than I expected from a paper so conservative. As you see, reviewers are beginning to see the important part played by the C.N.T. and F.A.I. It takes a long time for the truth to penetrate, but it does sometimes come out.

Friends of mine in Paris are writing a life of Bakunin. I am sure it will be more exhaustive and certainly more sympathetic than the one by Professor E.H. Carr, which is evidently receiving considerable attention in this country. I hope to try for an English publisher for the work of these friends when they have completed it. Incidentally both Dr. G. G. G. and his wife, German refugees, travelled with me through Spain in '36 and subsequently wrote a very sympathetic work about the position and strength of the C.N.T. and F.A.I. He is a well-known German journalist and was editor of the Welt buhne when von Ossietzky was arrested.

On Thursday week we open our exhibition at the above address. I hope to be able to keep it going for some weeks. I will be very glad indeed if you will come for the opening. Our folder announcing the work of the S.I.A. and the exhibition, will be ready for mailing this week. I will take the liberty of sending you some in case you should care to mail them to your friends who would be interested.

Sincerely,

*Emma Goldman*

Herbert Read, Esq.,  
The Burlington Magazine Ltd.,  
Bank Buildings,  
16a, St. James's Street,  
S.W. 1.

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Postcard, 19]38 Feb. 7, Dubrovnik, Yugoslavia [to] Emma [Goldman], London / Ethel [Mannin].— 2 p.; 7 × 11 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Villa Mara, Dubrovnik-Ploce Yugo-Slavia  
Feb. 7th '38 17266  
It was sweet of you to send the welcoming wire,  
Emma. Bless you. Did B tell you that I got yr orchid  
safely to Vienna and wore it there? We have a  
cheap room & b/fast in this pleasant house over-  
looking the sea. Dubrovnik is the most beautiful  
place I've yet been in & the weather is perfect—  
so much so in fact that I am finding it hard to  
settle down to work & I have the proofs of my new  
no. 1 on hand. B is so much better he is hardly  
recognisable & I have hopes of him returning to a  
normal when he returns. I am wondering how you  
got on with Peter A. & if he is doing the transla-  
tion work. It seems ages since you all came to see  
us off & poor little M. so unexpectedly wept, poor  
kid. Read the shocking news about the air attack  
on Barcelona in the papers here. Am wonder-  
ing very much how the SIA is getting on, and if the new  
offices are shaping as you wish. Do write and

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Feb. 8, London [to] Harry Kelly [New Rochelle, N.Y.] / Emma [Goldman]. — 3 p.; 26 × 18 cm.

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C.N.T.

A.I.T.

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London Office

21 FRITH STREET  
SHAFTESBURY AVENUE  
LONDON, W.1

TELEPHONE: GERARD 2636

Harry Kelly.

Dear Harry.

I was glad to get your letter of January 19th, although it contained the disheartening news about Perkins. I have just written to Harry Weinberg. I told him it was a great mistake on the part of Roger to have approached the woman before the committee I suggested was arranged. Naturally she would refuse Roger when he approached her in a sort of private way. She would probably sing another song if a committee of formidable names would send an application or delegation to call on her. Now it will be more difficult because she has already refused once; but even politicians are not so particular in their word of honor. They go by the wind. I am certain that if we could organize a really live committee, whose names only weight, she would change her mind.

Rose Resetta, who came from America at the time when the congress of the I.W.M.A. was meeting in Paris, also came here for a few days, promised faithfully to see ~~of~~ and others - Fitch, Pauline, Stella and others, and to approach the people whose names I suggested. From her last letter which reached me yesterday I see she is going to be stationed in Boston; but that she would be going back and start from New York. I do hope she will get in touch with you and that the work of the committee can begin. It takes time to get the right people. Surely you and the others must know who is before the public now of the intellectual or those in other walks of life. I know that Alfred Knopf would go on the list and a number of writers. What do you think of the possibility of approaching Leguerra. Now don't laugh at me old pal - I know he is a politician; but my god we are doing so many things we never thought possible in our lives, that I do not see the harm in approaching a man like him. He has shown himself rather liberal indeed and sympathetic with labor, and strongly anti-Fascist. That makes me think he may not be adverse to coming on the committee. I have written Rose Resetta to find out what she thinks of the possibilities of Leguerra. From the latest accounts he seems to have patched up his difference with Roosevelt - so may consent to give his name - and there are a number of others who could be approached and who would perhaps help with my re-entry. I do not have to tell you, that while I am not opposed to such people being approached, I am not willing to promise all sorts of "good behaviour" as a means of getting a visa. If I cannot get back to America on my own I will have to make up my mind to remain abroad, though all the saints know I hate England. Perhaps I should say I hate the smugness and snobbery, and I simply would

via Jack

Lenin.

## The Emma Goldman Papers

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2.

not live in Canada. That would be altogether too painful to be so near and yet so far. Nevertheless I am determined to get to Canada sometime this year.

I wonder whether you went to hear Abe Bluestein when he gave his report to the comrades. The poor boy went to Spain flaming with enthusiasm. For six months his spirit soared high and then out of a clear sky he came down with a thud. I don't know what could have happened between my departure early in November and his arrival in Paris in the middle of December. The fact is that he suffered a complete turnabout. He has written me a long letter appealing to my past that was "never bound by organisational discipline". He does not know, and cannot understand that the overwhelming tragedy in Spain has imposed upon me a more dominant discipline on me than any organisation could ever hope to do. Not that I defend many of the things the comrades are doing which has undermined considerably their political power and their strategic position. You will see what my point of view is by the enclosed copies of my letter to Vazquez and the address I delivered at the Congress in Paris. You will see that I am in agreement with much of the criticism against the CNT-FAI by Shapiro, Volin, Abe and others; but also you will see that I cannot, and will not raise my voice against the Spanish comrades. With the whole world against them I would feel that I was stabbing them in the back. I simply have got to stand by them, come what may. The conspiracy of silence about the CNT-FAI and all its attacks in the left wing press is amazing. If ever they break silence it is only to bismirch the great efforts made by our people - so how can I keep silent or speak against them. True our comrades have compromised and will probably continue to compromise some more so long as the united fascist war goes on; but on the other hand they are doing marvellous work. Their last congress which lasted for two weeks, and which occupied itself with the industrial organisation of Catalonia proves the greatness of the CNT-FAI. I cannot imagine any other people in the world gathering in a session - quietly and intelligently discussing day by day the question of collectivisation and reorganisation of industry. It was never done before Harry dear. Then there is their great courage shown at Turuel. Needless to say no one before reported the fact that Turuel was to a large extent taken by our people. The brigades belonging to the 25th Division consist exclusively of CNT-FAI members and they were the first to throw back Franco's hordes and to enter Turuel. Only the future will tell how many of those lives were sacrificed. For the present our comrades and those in command have shown themselves invincible - so how can one stop at this or that action which does not fit in with theories in the face of such courage and fortitude. I cannot anyway.

Rose Pesetta mentions the English bulletin published by our comrades. Are you helping on it? It is important that it should be presented in good English.

I am sorry to hear that your eyes continue to bother you.

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3

It is tragic that your right eye should be so bad; but I do hope that you will get relief soon. We have so few comrades. We cannot afford to lose all the old ones - the old guard. So you must make more effort to get well. I am sure you are still needed in the States.

Give my love to Elsie and her family, and also to Wally. In fact to all the names who still remember me. My fraternal greetings to all the comrades.

Oh yes-do not forget to give my greetings to Leah and Minnie. I gather she must be like a fish out of water now that she has our Sasha no more to work for. She certainly was devoted to him.

With love.

Emma.  
I am sending you the enclosed  
which are a change. So you will  
hear. In case of a change to look  
at the matter, etc.

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225

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Feb. 8 [London to] Harry Kelly, [New Rochelle, N.Y.] / [Emma Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 28 x 20 cm.

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17585

8th February 1938.

Harry Kelly,

Dear Harry,

I was glad to get your letter of January 19th although it contained the disheartening news about Perkins. I have just written to Harry Weinberg. I told him it was a great mistake on the part of Roger to have approached the woman before the committee I suggested was arranged. Naturally she would refuse Roger when he approached her in a sort of private way. She would probably sing another song if a committee of formidable names would send an application or delegation to call on her. Now it will be more difficult because she has already refused once; but even politicians are not so particular in their word of honour. They go by the wind. I am certain that if we could organise a really live committee, whose names carry weight, she would change her mind.

Rose Rosetta, who came from Mexico at the time when the congress of the I.W.O.M. was meeting in Paris, also came here for a few days, promised faithfully to see by and others - Mitzi, Pauline, Stella and others, and to approach the people whose names I suggested. From your letter which reached me yesterday I see she is going to be stationed in Boston; but that she would be going back and start from New York. I do hope she will get in touch with you and that the work of the committee can begin. It takes time to get the right people. Surely you and the others must know who is before the public now of the intellectuals or those in other walks of life. I know that Alfred Knapp would go on the list and a number of writers. What do you think of the possibility of approaching Dewartha. How don't laugh at me old girl - I know he is a politician; but my god we are doing so many things we never thought possible in our lives, that I do not see the harm in approaching a man like him. He has shown himself rather liberal indeed and sympathetic with labor and strongly anti-fascist. That makes me think he may not be adverse to coming on the committee. I have written Rose Rosetta to find out what she thinks of the possibilities of Dewartha. From the latest accounts he seems to have patched up his difference with Roosevelt so may consent to give his name - and there are a number of others who could be approached and who could perhaps help with my re-entry. I do not have to tell you, that still I am not opposed to such a course being approached. I am not willing to promise all sorts of "good behaviour" as a means of getting a visa. If I cannot get back to America on my own I will have to make up my mind to remain abroad, though all the saints know I hate England. Perhaps I should say I hate the smugness and snobbery, and I simply would

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2.

17586

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I wonder whether you went to hear Leo Blustein when he gave his report to the comrades. The poor boy went to Spain flaming with enthusiasm. For six months his spirit soared high and then out of a clear sky he came down with a thud. I don't know what could have happened between my departure early in November and his arrival in Paris in the middle of December. The fact is that he suffered a complete turnabout. He has written me a long letter appealing to my past that was "never bound by organisational discipline". He does not know and cannot understand that the overwhelming tragedy in Spain has imposed upon me a more dominant discipline on me than any organisation could ever hope to do. Not that I defend many of the things the comrades are doing which has undermined considerably their political power and their strategic position. You will see what my point of view is by the enclosed copies of my letter to Vazquez and the address I delivered at the Congress in Paris. You will see that I am in agreement with much of the criticism against the CNT-FAI by Shapiro, Volin, Abe and others; but also you will see that I cannot and will not raise my voice against the Spanish comrades. With the whole world against them I would feel that I was stabbing them in the back. I simply have got to stand by them, come what may. The conspiracy of silence about the CNT-FAI and all its attacks in the left wing press is amazing. If ever they break silence it is only to bismirch the great efforts made by our people — so how can I keep silent or speak against them. True our comrades have compromised and will probably continue to compromise some more so long as the united fascist war goes on; but on the other hand they are doing marvellous work. Their last congress which lasted for two weeks and which occupied itself with the industrial organisation of Catalonia proves the greatness of the CNT-FAI. I cannot imagine any other people in the world gathering in a session — quietly and intelligently discussing day by day the question of collectivisation and reorganisation of industry. It has never done before Harry dear. Then there is their great courage shown at Turuel. Needless to say no one before reported the fact that Turuel was to a large extent taken by our people. The brigades belonging to the 15th Division consist exclusively of CNT-FAI members and they were the first to throw back Franco's hordes and to enter Turuel. Only the future will tell how many of those lives were sacrificed. For the present our comrades and those in command have shown lives invincible — so how can one stop at this or that action which does not fit in with theories in the face of such courage and fortitude. I cannot anyway.

Also please mention the English bulletin published by our comrades. Are you helping on it? It is important that it should be presented in good English.

I am sorry to hear that your eyes continue to bother you.

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227

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17587

It is tragic that your right eye should be so bad; but I do hope that you will get relief soon. We have so few comrades. We cannot afford to lose all the old ones - the old guard. So you must make a more effort to get well. I am sure you are still needed in the states.

Give my love to Klara and her family, and also to Wally. In fact to all the names who still remember me. My fraternal greetings to all the comrades.

Oh yes-do not forget to give my greetings to Leah and Minnie. I gather she must be like a fish out of water now that she has our Asha no more to work for. She certainly was devoted to him.

With love.

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17881

8th February 1938.

H. Weinberger,  
70 West 40th Street.

Dear H. .,

I have written you and also sent you a mass card. I don't know whether you received them.

Your last letter to me was dated September 23rd which I did not get until I came out of Spain in November.

I am no longer using new offices and do not have my file of letters at hand, and therefore I cannot say what date I have written you in answer to your letter of September 23rd. In case it did not reach you, I want to tell you that I have been in Spain for another seven weeks, and on my return to England have immediately plunged into a tremendous amount of work - so major ramifications as I had last year.

For one thing I have taken offices in the center of the city for the I.F.I. and the new organization of which I am also the representative in England, called the International Anti-Fascist Solidarity, or S.I.A. I am hoping to be able to send you with this letter our folder and other material dealing with the aims and purpose of this new venture - though started in Spain, already has sections in a number of countries. I understand that the one in America is bringing excellent results. I hope I will be able to see the same after a while; but as you know I am not very optimistic about my results in England, though I must say that the people I have come to sponsor the S.I.A. have responded much more than anything else I have asked them to do. Some of the people we have had contact with in the world of letters, literature and art.

In connection with all this we are having an exhibition of children who are being constantly bombed in Barcelona schools. Certainly the Spanish children show the fortitude of their race at a very early age. I do not think children in other countries could so concentrate on their work under such terrible duress of unrelenting bombardments. Franco's list of human slaughter is too appalling, and yet the world remains indifferent to it except for everlasting gibber in the House of Commons. I need not go any further.

Of course I have not given up my plan of going to Canada some

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2.

17882

time this year though I have lost every hope of re-entering the States. The latest word from Morris Ernst forwarded to me by Harry Kelly repeats what Roger has told Stella, namely, that Perkins is adamant in refusing me a visa. I think it was a great mistake on the part of Roger to approach the women before a notable committee was organised. It is one thing to whisper a refusal to a private person - it is another to stand out against a committee of people whose names are known and who carry considerable weight. Well my sailing for Canada is yet a long time. Many things may happen in between; but if I should fail to get to America, I will hope you will pay me a visit in Canada, for I certainly will want to see you again.

I enclose copy of a letter to Professor Dewey that will interest you.

You will see our new address given on the letter head.  
I am also changing my private address to 6 South Avenue, London, N.W.11. My personal mail will go there.

I hope to hear from you soon.

With my old affection.

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230

## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Feb. 8 [London to Mariano Cardona Rosell and Emilio Aparicio, Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 26 x 20 cm.

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20588

8 de Febrero de 1938.

Estimados compañeros: Salud:

Hemos tenido el gusto de recibir vuestra carta del 11 de Enero ppdo., en contestación a la cual os manifestamos que nos agradaría sobremanera recibir vuestra publicación, así como cualquier otra literatura que vosotros tengáis a bien enviarnos. Precisamente en estos momentos estamos ocupados en preparar en nuestras oficinas una habitación de lectura dedicada al público, y nos será grato añadir vuestra publicación a las otras muchas que recibimos de todas partes de España y resto del mundo.

En cuanto a vuestra consulta sobre empleados de Banca y similares en este país, la situación no puede ser más deplorabile, pues no existe ninguna asociación propiamente dicha que los represente, encontrándose, por tanto, desunidos y a merced de los respectivos Consejos de Administración. En los Bancos de mayor importancia existen agrupaciones internas, que son las únicas reconocidas por cada entidad, ya que las tienen bajo su dominio y las pueden manejar a su antojo. La única asociación independiente, que trata de unir en un sólo bloque a todos los empleados de Banca en la Bank Officers Guild; pero hasta ahora no cuenta con número suficiente de asociados para desarrollar una campaña efectiva. Además, no está reconocida por los Bancos, quienes se oponen a que sus empleados pertenezcan a ella.

Toda vuestra correspondencia debe ser dirigida a nuestras nuevas señas arriba citadas.

Con saludos antifascistas, quedamos vuestros y de la Causa,



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 Feb. 8, London [to Mariano R.] V[á]zquez, [Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

19329

C.N.T.

A.I.T.

F.A.I.

London Office:

18 CASTLETOWN ROAD  
WEST KENSINGTON  
LONDON, W.14

London Feb 8th 38

TELEPHONE: FULHAM 6829

Dear comrade Vazquez.

Thank you for your note ~~afxx~~, the I<sup>n</sup>formacion and Rudigers report to the Congress in Paris. Indeed the Informacion is important. But I fear it will not convince the comrades who are critical of the methods used by the CNT-FAI. Not because they do not want to be convinced but because they live removed from your scene of action therefore think in different terms. Another reason is that your methods while dictated by Spanish reality ~~must needs be confusing to our own comrades and the workers who are not confronted with the same desperate situation. However, it is certain that you must act as you find indispensable. All we can ask from the CNT-FAI who work for them with all our might and may is that we should be free to use our judgment of the best and most successful methods to serve your great aim.~~

I was glad to see in the last German Bulletin that you find it necessary to call attention to the reactionary designs of your government and how they ~~regard~~ disregard the right of the Spanish people by their attempt to gain more power. That ~~is exactly what I wrote and said about your government. I have written you in response to your French letter and have sent it via Paris. I hope it has reached you and that you will soon reply.~~

Just know we are frightfully busy with work for the SIA, our exhibition, the specila supplement and folder as per inclosed copies. Nor are we forgetting the CNT. We have received a lot of new trade union addresses copy of which I will send with this letter also via Paris because I am sure you will never receive it otherwise. You must know that your allies are also anxious to have these addresses.....

## The Emma Goldman Papers

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19230

I would like to hear from you about the Press Service I suggested  
it would require constant fresh news else it would have no value  
it would mean extra labor and expense so unless we could get  
news from you as quickly as Paris, or nearly so it would be use  
less. I suggested telephone connection with me in our new office  
transmitted in French. Or transmitted from Paris. Anyhow let me  
hear from you please as soon as possible.

In haste.

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 Feb. 8, Crompond, N.Y. [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Rudolf [Rocker].— 5 p. ; 22 x 17 cm.

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Crompond, N.Y. February 8th 38.

Liebste Emma:

Gerade ist dein letzter Brief hier eingetroffen. Ich hätte dir auf deine anderen beiden Briefe bereits geantwortet, aber ich wurde von einer schrecklichen Grippe heimgesucht und lag geschlagene zwei Wochen im Bett. Verschiedene Vorträge musste ich aufgeben, was unter meinen jetzigen Verhältnissen besonders unangenehm war, denn von meinen Vorträgen verdiente ich das wenige, das wir zum Leben brauchen. Becker & Warburg schickte mir einen Check von 12 Pounds und 10 Schillinge als Anzahlung für das kleine Buch, die mir sehr zu statuten kamen. Ausserdem erlebte ich eine Ueberraschung, wie sie einem nicht jeden Tag beschieden ist. Vor vierzehn Tagen erhielt ich plötzlich aus Stockholm eine Postanweisung von 50 dollar als Honorar für die schwedische Ausgabe meiner Broschüre über Spanien. Es passieren, wie du siehst, noch immer Zeichen und Wunder. Das alles hat mir etwas geholfen, denn von Covici habe ich bisher keinen roten Cent erhalten. Ich habe sogar keine Ahnung, wie sich das Buch bis jetzt verkauft hat. Nun, an diesen Dingen lässt sich jetzt nichts mehr ändern. Es war schliesslich meine Schuld, dass ich deinen Rat in den Wind geschlagen habe. Allerdings habe ich das nur getan, weil man mir versicherte, dass Covici-Friede sich sehr gebessert hätte und gegenwärtig zu den besten Verlegern gehöre in diesem Lande.

Dein letzter Brief hat auf mich einen niederdrückenderen Eindruck gemacht als alle übrigen. Es scheint fast, dass unsere spanische Genossen in ihrer verzweifelten Lage von allen guten Geistern verlassen sind. Die unglückselige Kolemik im Auslande scheint bei ihnen ein so tiefes Misstrauen erweckt zu haben, dass sie den Verhältnissen in anderen Ländern absolut blind gegenüberstehen und aus diesem Grunde nach jedem Strohhalme greifen, der ihnen Hilfe in ihrer Not verspricht. Das ist ein Verhängnis, das sich bitter rächen muss, wenn nicht noch zur rechten Zeit die bessere Erkenntnis kommt.

Als du mir in deinem ersten Briefe deine Eindrücke über die Konferenz der IAA übergabst, waren mir die näheren Einzelheiten natürlich unbekannt. Aus diesem Grunde legte ich dem Vorschlag der Spanier, sich mit der 2. und 3. Internationale in Verbindung zu setzen, keine allzugrosse Bedeutung bei, da ich darin eine momentane Anwendung erblickte, sich jede Hilfe zu sichern, die unter den gegebenen Umständen möglich war. Ich war überzeugt, dass die Spanier von dieser Seite nichts zu erwarten hatten, aber ich verstand ihren Vorschlag, umso mehr, als ich wusste, dass sie von der wirklichen Lage im Auslande keinen blauen Dunst hatten. Mittlerweile erhielt ich den Bericht Rüdigers und ausserdem gewisse Informationen aus Spanien selbst, die nicht für die Öffentlichkeit bestimmt waren, und die mich in grosse Bestürzung versetzten.

Es gibt Dinge, die sich rein theoretisch sehr leicht erfassen lassen, die aber in einer Lage wie die spanische praktisch nicht abarbeiten. Das Leben ist kein wissenschaftlicher und vor allem kein logischer Prozess und lässt sich aus diesem Grunde rein theoretisch nie erfassen. Die beste Theorie ist im günstigsten Falle nicht mehr wie eine Hypothese, um einen gewissen Zustand mehr oder weniger richtig zu erfassen. In normalen Zeiten ist das ziemlich einfach, aber wenn das Haus erst in Feuer steht, bekommt die Sache einen ganz anderen Charakter, den niemand voraussehen konnte. Wenn unsere Kameraden in Spanien gezwungen waren, sich mit allen Elementen zu verbünden, die sie früher bis aufs Messer bekämpft haben, so war es nicht die Logik der Theorie, die sie dazu trieb, sondern die Logik der gegebenen Umstände, denen sie wohl oder übel und sicherlich gegen ihren eigenen Willen Rechnung

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tragen mussten. Gewiss hätten sie auf ihrem Standpunkt bestehen können und jede Bindung mit den anderen ablehnen können. Aber das wäre nur möglich gewesen, wenn sie sich selber zu einem Diktaturregime entschlossen hätten. Und wer von uns kann sagen, ob eine solche Stellung nicht bald im Anfang zu einer furchtbaren Katastrophe und vielleicht zum Siege des Faschismus geführt hätte? Ich weiss, dass die Kritiker der CNT-FAI bestreiten das. Ich beneide sie um ihre Sicherheit. Ich für meine Person muss gestehen, dass ich diese Sicherheit nicht besitze und gerade dafür auch für eine andere Stellung Verständnis besitze oder mich wenigstens bemühe, ein solches aufzubringen. Wäre aber der Versuch eines Selbstregimes der CNT fehlgeschlagen -- und nach meiner Meinung hätte das unbedingt der Fall sein müssen -- dann wäre die ganze Welt davon überzeugt gewesen, dass die Anarchisten den Faschisten in die Hände gearbeitet hätten.

Eine Bewegung wie die CNT-FAI konnte aber auch nicht den Standpunkt vertreten: Wir spielen einfach nicht mit. Das ist gut für eine kleine Sekte, aber nicht für eine Massenbewegung. Sie musste mitspielen, da ihr kein anderer Ausweg offen stand. Dazu aber kommt noch ein Umstand, den man nicht verkennen darf: die radikale Aenderung der modernen Kriegstechnik. Zur Zeit der Pariser Kommune konnten die Arbeiter, solange sie genug Gewehre und gute Barikaden besaßen, einer ganzen Armee monatelang widerstehen. Jene Zeiten sind vorbei. Die Bedienung der grossen Geschütze, Luftzeuge etc. fordert erfahrene Techniker, die sich nicht im Handumdrehen schaffen lassen. Wer aber in aller Welt hätte einem anarchistischen Regime in Spanien diese Waffen und die nötigen Techniker geliefert, ohne die man in modernen Kriegen mit aller Tapferkeit nichts ausrichten kann?

Auf diese Weise entstanden eine ganze Menge schwieriger Probleme, an die man früher nie gedacht hatte, oder deren Bedeutung man erst richtig erkannte, als man das Feuer auf den Fingernägeln brennen fühlte. Eine solche Situation aber muss unvermeidlich zu Kompromissen führen, deren Tragweite auch der Einsichtigste nicht immer richtig abschätzen kann. Nur wenn man alle diese Dinge in Betracht zieht und dazu die ganze internationale Lage richtig zu würdigen versteht, kann man den Spaniern gerecht werden. Es ist die politische und soziale Krise eines ganzen Landes, die sich in ihrer Haltung offenbart und der man mit trockenem, wenn auch logischem Dogmatismus nicht beikommen kann.

Ist man aber erst gezwungen, zu bestimmten Kompromissen seine Zuflucht zu nehmen, dann entstehen ganz von selbst gewisse psychologische Voraussetzungen, die sich nicht umgehen lassen. Wenn man genötigt ist, im eigenen Lande zusammen mit Republikanern, Sozialisten und Kommunisten gegen einen gemeinschaftlichen Feind zu kämpfen, so entsteht ganz von selbst der Gedanke, dieselben Elemente auch im Auslande zur Hilfe heranzuziehen, besonders, wenn man von ausländischen Dingen so wenig versteht wie die spanischen Genossen und sich in einer so furchtbaren Lage befindet. Hier liegt die grosse Gefahr, die ich keinen Augenblick verkenne; aber ich muss in derselben Zeit auch gestehen, dass ich bisher trotz aller Bemühungen kein Mittel ausfindig machen konnte, wie eine solche Gefahr in einer so verzweifelten Lage zu vermeiden ist.

Die Anarchisten im Auslande waren die natürlichen Bundesgenossen der CNT. Hätten sie die Lage verstanden und den Spaniern kameradschaftliche Warnungen zukommen lassen, anstatt sie als Verräter zu brandmarken, so wäre vielleicht manches anders gekommen. Am wenigsten hätte man die CNT durch gemeinschaftlichen Einfluss und freundschaftlichen Rat von manchen Dingen und besonders von manchen Illusionen bewahren können. Leider ist das nicht geschehen. Von der anderen Seite aber hat S., durch persönliche Antipathie an gegen die IAA angestachelt, in seinem Berichte, den er vor ungefähr vier Monaten dem Nationalkomitee der CNT in Valencia vorlegte, alles getan, um die Spanier in ihren Illusionen zu bestärken, indem er ihnen vorredete, dass im Auslande eine ganze Anzahl Organisationen, wie die I.L.P. in England usw. beständen, die sich zwar nie der IAA anschliessen würden, aber gerne bereit wären, mit



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der CNT nähere Verbindungen anzuknüpfen. Ich habe diesen Bericht selbst gelesen, der sehr vorsichtig gehalten war, aber dessen Absicht niemand verkannte, der mit den Dingen hinter den Kulissen vertraut war. Er hat den Spaniern Flöhs ins Ohr gesetzt, die sich unter dem Einfluss der Kritik im Auslande zu Elefanten ausgewachsen haben.

Du schreibst mir, dass S. sehr gute Qualitäten besitzt und dass er sich dir gegenüber sehr aufopfernd und Hilfbereit gezeigt hat. Daran habe ich nie einen Augenblick gezweifelt. Hätte ich ihn einfach für einen Schuft gehalten, so hätte ich ihn gewiss nicht so lange gegen alle anderen verteidigt, obwohl ich überzeugt war, dass die Formell gegen ihn in Rechte waren. Was ich an ihm auszusetzen habe, ist just das, was du in deinen letzten Briefe als die Charakteristik seines ganzen Wesens anführst. Sein kleinlicher Egoismus, sein Bedürfnis zu scheitern und seine blinde Gehässigkeit gegen seine gewesenen Gegner in der IAA, die sich bei ihm zu einem Hass gegen die ganze Organisation ausgewachsen hat, wirkt sich in diesem kritischen Konkrete zu einer direkten Gefahr aus. Er ist der ausländische Ratgeber der FAI und in seiner kleinlichen Verbitterung gegen die IAA suggeriert er jenen Dinge, die sich nur verhängnisvoll auswirken können, besonders in einer so ernsten Zeit wie die jetzige. Das ist der springende Punkt.

Dass er auf der Pariser Konferenz keine Rolle spielte, wusste ich; ich habe lediglich auf seinen Bericht angespielt, den du wahrscheinlich nicht gelesen hast. Ich weiss auch, dass Therese heute keinen Einfluss mehr über ihn besitzt. Leider kam die Trennung viel zu spät. Als ich S. kennen lernte, vor seiner Bekanntschaft mit T., war er ein ausgezeichnete junger Mensch, bescheiden und zugänglich in jeder Beziehung. Natürlich kann man nie richtig beurteilen, was im Unterbewusstsein eines Menschen vorgeht, und es ist möglich, dass gewisse Anlagen bei ihm vorhanden waren, die sich unter dem langjährigen und unheimlichen Einfluss T. in sehr unangenehmer Weise entwickelt haben. Dazu gehört in erster Linie seine lächerliche Vorliebe, den grossen Mann zu spielen.

Das war auch die Ursache seines Bruches mit Helmut, der mit persönlichen Dingen gar nichts zu tun hatte. Helmut und er waren nie intime Freunde, da sie beide in anderen Zirkeln verkehrten; aber sie waren Genossen derselben Bewegung und hatten absolut keinen Streit. Der Bruch kam durch S. eigene Schuld. Die kommunistische Partei versuchte seiner Zeit geheim in alle Organisationen einzudringen, um diese von innen auszuhöhlen und unter ihren Einfluss zu bringen. Aus diesem Grunde hatte die FAUD auf ihrem Kongress in Düsseldorf einen Beschluss gefasst, dass ein Mitglied der KP nicht in die FAUD eintreten könne. Zwei Jahre später, auf dem Kongress in Leipzig (ich war damals gerade in Amerika) stellte S. den Antrag, diesen Beschluss aufzuheben und die Kommunisten zuzulassen, da die Syndikalist die Arbeiter als Produzenten organisierten und auf ihre politische Meinung kein Gewicht legten. Dieser Antrag verblüffte den ganzen Kongress und alle Delegierten erklärten sich dagegen. Helmut hatte bei dieser Gelegenheit das Wort ergriffen und erklärt, dass jeder wisse, dass man bloss Mitglied der KP. werden könne, wenn man sich blindlings verpflichte, jeden Befehl von oben durchzuführen. Unter diesen Umständen sei die Aufnahme von Kommunisten in unsere Organisation einfach eine Einladung zum Selbstmord. Ausserdem aber sei die FAUD nicht bloss eine wirtschaftliche Organisation, sondern auch eine Ideengemeinschaft, in deren Reihen für Verteidiger der Diktatur kein Platz sei.

Die Delegierten stimmten dem vollständig zu. S., dem seine Stellung als Sekretar der IAA schon damals bedenklich in den Kopf gestiegen war, fühlte seine Niederlage wie eine persönliche Beleidigung und überhäufte H. mit Schmähungen, indem er ihm sagte, dass er von der Bewegung keine Ahnung habe usw. Das brachte die beiden auseinander. Bei dem Bruch mit den anderen, besonders mit Orobon, spielten persönliche Angelegenheiten durch Theresens Schuld eine gewisse Rolle, aber nicht bei Helmut. H. hatte nun Gelegenheit, das Spiel S. in Barcelona zu beobachten, und du kannst dir vorstellen, dass der Eindruck nicht gerade erhellend war. H. versteht die Lage der CNT gründlich und hat bisher alles getan, der Bewegung zu helfen. Aber er kennt



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auch ihre Fehler und scheut sich nicht, die Genossen darauf aufmerksam zu machen, wie er es in seinem Berichte an den Kongress der IAA sehr gut und vor allem sehr taktvoll getan hat. S. würde das nie tun. Um seinen Geltungsbedürfnis Genüge zu tun, wird er den Leuten schmeicheln und die gefährlichsten Dinge gutheissen, um sich die Sympathie zu erhalten. Vielleicht kommt ihm sein Tun selber nicht richtig zum Bewusstsein, da es einer seiner Charakteranlagen entspringt; aber es ist nichtdestoweniger ein Verhängnis, besonders in einer so verzweifelter Situation wie die spanische. Ich habe gegen S. persönlich gar nichts, obwohl ich Grund dazu hätte. Seine Dummheiten mir gegenüber habe ich ihm nie nachgetragen, weil ich ihre Ursachen kannte; aber für die Spanier ist er gegenwärtig der schlechteste Ratgeber, und darin liegt die Gefahr.

zweite  
Dass die IAA sich bei gewissen Gelegenheiten früher an die ~~IAA~~ und dritte Internationale gewandt hat, hatte gewisse Ursachen, die weder mit dem Geiste noch mit den Prinzipien der IAA irgend etwas zu tun hatten. Im Anfang handelte es sich darum, die syndikalistischen Organisationen dem Einfluss der Moskauer zu entziehen, die in allen Landesorganisationen ihre unterirdische Wühlarbeit begonnen hatten. Das letzte Kapitel meines Buches über Anarch-Syndikalismus wird dir darüber die nötigen Auskünfte geben. Das letzte Mal wandte sich die IAA an beide Internationales betreffs eines Boykotts gegen die spanische Regierung und zwar geschah dies auf den speziellen Antrag der Franzosen, die ihre Anhänger unter allen Umständen davon überzeugen wollten, dass weder die Amsterdamer noch die Moskauer gesonnen waren, irgend etwas Entscheidendes gegen die spanische Reaktion zu unternehmen.

Aber das, was vor Jahren als eine taktische Notwendigkeit betrachtet werden konnte, gilt heute nicht mehr. Aus diesem Grunde war die Stellung des Kongresses in Paris durchaus korrekt. Hier ist aber ein anderer Umstand, der die Stellung der Spanier erklärt, und von dem ich erst später Kenntnis erhielt. Dies natürlich streng zwischen uns. England bemühte sich seit den letzten Monaten mit allen Mitteln, das Bündnis zwischen Deutschland und Italien zu erschüttern. Aus diesem Grunde beeinflussten die englischen Diplomaten die Regierung Negrin, ~~xxxxxx~~ mit den Kommunisten zu brechen. Das ist bis zu einem gewissen Grade bereits geschehen, wie du weisst. Die Russen aber wollen ihre militärische Allianz mit Frankreich mit allen Mitteln aufrecht erhalten; deshalb hat sich bei den Kommunisten Spaniens eine gewisse Opposition entwickelt, um den Engländern in Spanien Schwierigkeiten zu bereiten. Aus diesem Grunde knüpfte man mit der CNT bereits Verbindungen an, um die Regierung Negrin zu stürzen, und wie es scheint, haben manche unserer einflussreichen Genossen mit diesem Plane geliebäugelt. Das war die Ursache, weshalb man beschlossen hat, meine Broschüre vorläufig nicht in Spanisch zu veröffentlichen, um Reibungen zu vermeiden. Darauf lassen sich auch die Forderungen Vasquez dir gegenüber erklären. Ich habe den Spaniern einen ausführlichen Brief ~~xxxx~~ zugehen lassen, in dem ich die ganze verräterische Politik der Stalinisten enthüllte und sie warnte vor jedem Versuch in dieser Richtung. Ich weiss, dass Vasquez meinen Brief gelesen hat. Wie es scheint, ist jetzt wieder eine kleine Ernüchterung eingetreten. Es wäre eine furchtbare Sache, wenn sich die CNT zu einem Bündnis mit den Moskauern hinreissen liessen, um die Regierung Negrin zu beseitigen und damit den Kommunisten die Kastanien aus dem Feuer zu holen, die sie bei der ersten Gelegenheit verraten und verkaufen würden. Deine Antwort an Vasquez war durchaus in der Ordnung, und wir müssen alles tun, um eine Katastrophe in dieser Richtung zu vermeiden. Die Spanier befinden sich in einem brennenden Hause und sind aus diesem Grunde nur allzusehr geneigt, nach jedem Mittel zu greifen, das ihnen einen zeitweiligen Erfolg verspricht, ohne sich viel um die unvermeidlichen Konsequenzen zu kümmern, die sie umgehen zu können glauben. Meine grösste Furcht ist, dass S. Stellung sie in diesen Plänen bestärken könnte, und das wäre ungeheuerlich. Wir müssen im Auslande den Moskauern mit allen Mitteln entgegentreten und den Spaniern klipp und klar sagen, dass wir uns von diesem Wege nicht abbringen lassen. Hoffentlich ist es nicht zu spät.

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18494

Das sind kurz nur einige Andeutungen, die ich dir machen kann.  
Bluestein habe ich bereits getroffen. Er ist natürlich sehr niedergeschlagen, wird sich aber wieder zurechtfinden. Die eigentliche Lage versteht er natürlich nur sehr oberflächlich, was natürlich sehr leicht zu begreifen ist. Vorläufig arbeitet er mit dem spanischen Büro hier zusammen, und er ist vernünftig genug, zu verstehen, dass eine Attacke auf die CNT im jetzigen Moment die grösste Torheit wäre.

Und nun muss ich schliessen, denn ich habe eine Versammlung in New York; möchte aber diesen Brief nicht länger verzögern.

Mit herzlichsten Wünschen von uns allen



# The Emma Goldman Papers

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[Letter] 1938 Feb. 8, New York [to] E[mma] G[oldman, London] / Harry Weinberger. — 2 p. ; 22 x 17 cm.

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17888

HARRY WEINBERGER  
COUNSELOR AT LAW  
10 WEST 40th ST., NEW YORK  
LONG ISLAND CITY 1, N.Y.

Feb 5/1938

Dear Emma,

So to make the point clear Harry  
I am writing this in long hand.

We delayed writing you as I wanted for  
Rose Pasata to call me - she hasn't called  
yet - she try to find out where she is.  
Curious how the cycle of flame up when  
the govt wants them to flame up - now other  
as in the Boer war - the town has agitation -  
some individuals have been able to stir  
them up.

Your real difficulty is that next to  
any faithy for them - the next effective action  
of individuals - seems to be government  
intervention that might be if done fairly  
a step for a world war.

But don't go into that - it would be  
much to sit down somewhere & talk it all  
out. The Communists like the Fascists  
have undermined all faith in human  
being, morality (in the sense of keeping  
one's word) and the possibility of nations  
carrying out their treaties of decency. which  
leads me to your problem. I will do  
what I can about getting you a visa  
into this country - just now is a  
bad time - later on spring would be good  
too near election would be bad.

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[Letter] 1938 Feb. 8, New York [to] E[mma] G[oldman, London] / Harry Weinberger. — 2 p. ; 22 x 17 cm.

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Have been going hard - not much to  
show - the way of satisfaction or money -  
too many people - friends relatives acquaintances  
need help - but to keep the world away!

all that battle with

Harry Weinberger

Read with interest articles & letters of  
your work & the war - I am -  
you will be appalled that the  
world does not realize that if  
Franco wins or the Japs in  
China succeed - we go back  
to brute force in world affairs -  
weary will be "to arms to arms"

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 Feb. 8, Beaconsfield [England to Emma] Goldman, [London] / Herbert Read. — 1 p. ; 24 × 20 cm.  
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17442  
 FREEDOM HOUSE SEER GREEN BEACONSFIELD

JORDANS 3194

8.2.58

Dear Miss Goldman,

I noticed this review in the Sunday Times and was amazed at its perspicacity. I cannot imagine who wrote it - it would be interesting to know.

Thank you very much for sending me a copy of "My Disillusionment in Russia" - I am reading it with great interest and admire its vividness and courage. It is extraordinary that I should not have heard of it before - it shows how effectively it must have been suppressed at the time of its appearance. If published now it would receive much more attention.

I have also begun to read Rudolf Rooker's "Nationalism and Culture", but this will take more time. I can already, however, appreciate its fine quality, and find myself in full agreement with its main thesis. But I will say more about it when I have finished reading it.

Finally I must thank you for sending me the two pamphlets by Rooker and several copies of "Spain and the World". I shall send a subscription to the paper.

Meanwhile in return for all your kindnesses I am sending you a copy of my "Art and Society" which I hope may interest you a little. I will certainly come to the Frith Street exhibition (to the opening if possible) and look forward to seeing you again.

Yours sincerely,

Herbert Read



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 Feb. 9 [London to] Chris [Lewis and Julie Gibson, Bristol, England] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 24 × 19 cm.

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Feb. 9th 38

Dear Chris, dearest Auntie.

You cannot say anything so bad about me that I do not feel even so much worse in having neglected you both since my return from Spain. The inclosed copies of printing and of some letters as well as my talk at the Congress in Paris in Dec. will explain better than I can why I have not written. You know yourself what it means to round up sponsors to any of our undertakings, how much time is wasted on getting the new quarters as per above address. Then having it renovated and ever so many other odd jobs. In short it meant a grind for two months. I am hoping that our place will look decent enough even for "Anarchists" to meet in. In point of truth our comrades will decalre me a regular bourgeois, as they used to call anyone in Russia who wore a white collar. Anyhow it will be the first time in the history of the Anarchist movement in England to have an attractive clean place centrally located and not the usual dump. Whether that will bring people any more than last year I cannot say. But at least no one will be able to give the excuse that they did not know where we are, or where anything about Anarchism can be found out.

Our place consists of four rooms, one very large for exhibitions, reading room and occasional small gatherings. Then one room for Barr and our literature, one for SPAIN AND THE WORLD and one for me self. I have just written Tommy that if he or you should be able to come over for a week end to see our exhibition and our quarters I could put you up in my room at Frith Street. Alas it will have to be in my narrow virtuous bed. If you both come Dpriss can and will be glad to put one of you up and the other at our new quarters.

I myself am giving up my flat. I am moving to my old friend Liza Koldofsky. I will have to be at the office most of the time ~~and~~ it would therefore be a waste to keep up a flat as well. I move this coming Friday, the address is 6, Sneath Avenue London N.W.11. My private mail can be addressed there, or the office. My telephone at Sneath Ave is Speedwell 71 35. I hope you can come over some week end, perhaps Tommy can drive you over.

What about the possibilities of a meeting in Bristol in April? March is half booked already and I will need the other half for an affair I am planning for the new organisation of which we formed a section here, INTERNATIONAL ANTI-FASCIST SOLIDARITY. You will learn all about it from our folder and Supplement.

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[Letter, 19]38 Feb. 9 [London to] Chris [Lewis and Julie Gibson, Bristol, England] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 24 × 19 cm.

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Dear Auntie, as frisky as ever  
and you dear Chris? Please write me soon  
and send my love to Edie, how has she been and her  
family? I send my fraternal greetings.

With love to you dear Auntie and a chunk of  
your dear Emma,

Emma Goldman

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

870929263

[Letter, 19]38 Feb. 9, London [to] Frangeon-Davies, [London] / [Emma Goldman]. —  
1 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

101. Speedwell 71 35.

6, Sneath Avenue. N.W. 11  
London Feb. 9th 38

Dear Miss Frangeon-Davies.

I do not know if you still remember our meeting at the Liverpool Laboratory Theatre one Sunday in 26. when I lectured on THE RUSSIAN THEATRE. I had seen you in a play the Saturday previous when I met you after the performance and then again the Sunday after. I have since followed your career every time I was in London. You were so promising and the few plays I saw you in proved that you were making good. One was CAESAR AND CLEOPATRA at the Kingsway Theatre. I was Sir Barry Jackson's guest then.

I have just returned from Spain and saw the announcement of your being in the cast of Tchekhov's THREE SISTERS. I would so much like to see the performance. I wonder if I may have seats for Monday, or Tuesday next. I know no one else in your company hence am taking the liberty to address you.

Sincerely

## The Emma Goldman Papers

870929107

[Letter, 19]38 Feb. 9 London [to] Jack [R. White, London] / [Emma Goldman].—  
1 p.; 25 × 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17717  
Feb. 9th 38

Dear Jack,

Thanks for your letter and the inclosed from Liverpool. The 27th of March is out of the question for me. I am planning a large affair for the SIA and will have to devote every day of March to organize it. Besides that I am already booked in Scotland from the 4th to the 14th which means that I will have to do double work for the rest of the month. The first Sunday in April will do for me. But once the date is set your friends in Liverpool will have to stick to it. I have been asked for dates in April by our friends in Bristol and Plymouth. I have not yet given them anything definite. That's why I must know quickly whether the first Sunday I believe it will be the third will be acceptable by the I.L.P. people in Liverpool.

Please get at them right away and ask them to let you know by return mail if it is alright.

Friday I move to a friend in Golders Green. My private address will be 6, Sneath Ave. N.W.11. Telephone Speedwell 71 35. But my mail can also be addressed to 21, Frith Street.

Sincerely,

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 Feb. 9, London [to] Nellie [Harris, Nice] / [Emma Goldman].—  
2 p.; 20 × 16 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

18192

London Feb. 9th 38

Nellie, my Dearest. Believe me you have not been forgotten. It was only the amount of work since my return to London to find and equip an office to look after the arrangement of an exhibition that will open the 17th of children's drawings from Barcelona schools, and masses of printing to prepare as well as people to see that made it impossible to attend to my own private correspondence. Now it looks as if I will have a little more respite from the drudgery so I will have an hour to write you and other friends I have neglected for so long.

Our offices, or rather offices, we have four rooms at Frith Street Shaftesbury Ave is certainly centrally located. No one will have the excuse that they did not know where to find us. One room is large and will serve for the exhibition, reading room and occasional small gathering. On the second floor I have my office, a small room for Barr and one for SPAIN AND THE WORLD. It ~~will be~~ The innivating and inetalation have already cost a lot and the rent is also not cheap, £150 a year. But the experiment had to be tried if only to see whether the easy access to the office will bring people and interest them more than I succeeded from Castletown Rd. You know yourself people do not care to come to private places, besides West Kensington is out of the way. Well, we will see.

The office is not the only change I have made. I am also leaving Auntie's flat. I shall have to be in the office most of the time so there is no sense in keeping up a flat for just coming to sleep. Also it was beginning to be very enervating to be all alone so much and prepare food for myself. So I am moving to my very dear friend Liza Koldofsky. I feel sad that he is no longer among the living. We were great friends as well as with his wife. Liza has not yet pulled herself together. She feels very lonely and she has asked me to come to her. So I am going Friday. My personal address there will be 6, Sneath Avenue London N.W.11. It is a small house Liza has taken and I know I will have the best of care and attention as I always had when I lived with the Koldofsky. I am sure it will also cost less than the upkeep of the flat. I gave Auntie a months notice and of course I paid her for the month.

This will not go until tomorrow when I will have all the printing done I want you to see the work involved that you may not think ~~myself~~ I am fibbing when I say I was too overwhelmed with work hence had no time to write you.

What about E? I really hate to ask because I know it will not be very agreeable for you to tell me what about her. She is again obsessed by an operation. I had to be very outspoken in my last letter because she had sort of hinted she needed more money. I had to tell her outright I can do no more than I am doing and I certainly would not send her money for operations. I consider it madness for her to go under the knife. She may not survive it and in any event it will not help her, it is more likely to make her condition worse. Every physician including a great Tcheco Slovakian Surgeon



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 Feb. 9, London [to] Nellie [Harris, Nice] / [Emma Goldman].—  
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18193

xxx specialist has told her that. My dear I had to be determined. I simply cannot afford to send her money, my poor crippled brother has greater claims on me though he never made any claims. You remember I told you he had his leg amputated, can no longer work and the my sister-in-law every bit as much of an invalid as Emmy simply cannot afford the luxury of being idle, she has to work to support Morris and herself.

I hope dearest Nellie you are not too burdened by E's complaints of her stomach. I am sure she does suffer. But so do hundreds of thousands of human beings who must yet shift for themselves. Do not think my dear I begrudge E. the 500 francs a month I am sending her. She also gets ten dollars a month from New York though how long this is going to continue I do not know. It is only that I am unable to send her more.

How are you my dear? What are you doing? Has Shew ever written the letter or preface he promised to do? Have you done anything about a Club you had in mind? Do write me soon. Believe me my dearest I still am interested in everything that concerns you. It is only that I am fairly consumed by the tragedy of Spain and its needs.

With love.

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Feb. 9, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / M[ariano] R. V[á]zquez [and] P[edro] Herrera. — 1 p. ; 26 × 21 cm.

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Confederación Nacional del Trabajo.

Federación Anarquista Ibérica.

Penisiones Exteriores

Delegation CNT-PAI en Inglaterra  
Emma Goldman  
21 Frith Street, LONDON W.1.

Werte Genossen,

einliegend senden wir Euch einen Bericht ueber  
die Ursachen, die zum Fall des Nordens beigetragen haben.  
Wir nehmen an, dass Euch dieses Dokument interes-  
sieren wird.

Mit kameradschaftlichen Gruessen

Fuer das Nationalkomitee  
der C.N.T.

CONFEDERACIÓN NACIONAL  
del TRABAJO  
PAI  
COMITÉ NACIONAL  
SECRETARIA  
M.R. Vazquez

Fuer das Peninsularkomitee  
der F.A.I.

FEDERACIÓN ANARQUISTA  
IBÉRICA  
COMITÉ PENINSULAR  
Penisiones Exteriores

# The Emma Goldman Papers

870930288

[Letter] 1938 Feb. 9, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / P[edro] Herrera. —  
2 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

**Solidaridad Internacional  
Antifascista**

**Consejo General**

English Section of S.I.A.  
Emma Goldman.  
21 Frith Street, LONDON W.1.

Dear comrade:

We were very contented to receive your letters of January 19th and 27th, full of good news. We also received 3 copies of SPAIN AND THE WORLD, of January 21st.

At last your enthusiastic efforts are crowned with success. We are most satisfied with your activity and convinced of its best results.

We have read the manifesto you sent to various personalities to invite them to collaborate in S.I.A. etc. We respect the reasons that induced you to orientate people in the form in which you did, though from our point of view we don't quite understand why you reduced our objectives to such a limited geographical space as Catalonia.

The meeting of January 14th seems to have been quite a success and you collected a nice sum of money. We read what SPAIN and the WORLD published about it. If you can give us more detailed reports about it, something we can use as a little article for the various national sections, please let us have it without delay.

What with the £ 75 you collected, we agree with you, that the money should all be used in Spain as was promised to the donors. We enclose the receipt for said sum so that you can justify that it has reached its destiny. — Practically, it would be convenient not to send these Pounds Sterling anywhere, because if you send these we shall have to send you others; therefore you shall use of these funds for your expenses and we will turn their equivalent over to the solitary work S.I.A. realizes in Spain. Which altogether means that the General Council of S.I.A. has paid you £ 75 for running expenses for the organisation of the English Section of S.I.A.

Our congratulations to the idea of organizing the exhibition of drawings and our best wishes for its success. It has not been possible so far for the Spanish Section of S.I.A. to collect all the indicated fotos and we can not supply you with the same at the moment. Some days ago we sent some 80 photos to the American Section in New York, and advised them to pass them on to you as soon as they have reproduced them. The posters you have mailed to you today. All we could dispose of has been sent in 3 registered parcels. We shall send you photo material as soon as our reproduction service permits us to serve our section in this respect.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE



# The Emma Goldman Papers

870930288

[Letter] 1938 Feb. 9, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / [Pedro] Herrera. — 2 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

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Solidaridad Internacional  
Antifascista

Consejo General

We have talked too much already about the question of the collaboration of the I.L.P. and the Trade Unions. If you see no possibility to realize something in this respect, it is not worth while harping more on the subject. What we would like to point out, is that there is no contradiction in our organization being apolitical and at the same time wishing to seek the collaboration in our work among the political circles of this party. Because we never wanted that the I.L.P. or the Trade Unions as such organizations. We were interested and still are interested in influencing these circles to use their sectors as antifascist elements.

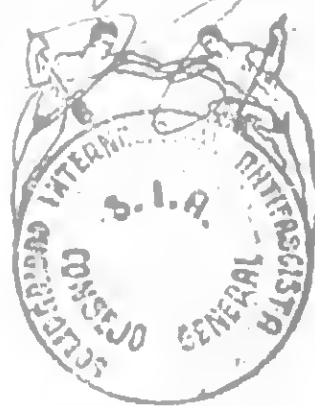
To the special number SPAIN and the WORLD is going to publish we are looking forward with impatience. Please do not forget to let us have several copies.

Your project concerning the English Section of S.I.A.'s taking charge of a special Colony or other institution meets with our heartiest approval. We have passed this wish of yours to the Spanish Section, to decide further on this problem. As soon as its National Council has come to a decision, we shall let you know so that you can start your campaign on this basis. At the same time we referred to comrade Driescher and they will get into touch with him.

With comradely greetings

For the General Council of S.I.A.

P. Herrera



# The Emma Goldman Papers

870930272

[Letter] 1938 Feb. 9, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / P[edro] Herrera.—  
1 p.; 27 x 20 cm.

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FEDERACION ANARQUISTA IBERICA

COMITÉ PENINSULAR

Sección Internacional  
(SECRETARÍA)

Via Damià, 22, 6º, 32 y 34, 4º  
Teléfono 14578

Barcelona, 9 de February de 1938

Emma Goldman  
21 Frith Street, Shaftsbury Avenue  
L O N D O N W.1.

Dear Friend,

Some of the questions you put in your letter of January 27th, I'd like to answer separately to avoid to mix up these things with those of S.I.A. and not to include them in a letter written by the General Council of S.I.A. who has nothing to do with them.

I did not know that Volin had written an answer to Yaroslavsky. I suppose he wrote it in answer to his infamous pamphlet "Anarchism in Russia". I am very much interested in reading this article of Volins, and would be very grateful if you could send me a copy of it as quickly as possible. We shall then see what can be done about its publication.

I shall speak to comrade Vazquez about it. I myself, as I already told you, had no knowledge of it and this proves sufficiently that it can't have been published in the Spanish press.

What you say about the English Bulletin did not surprise me. I believe the comrade who makes it has more good will than qualification and does not know the language properly. I shall inform Mariano and also bring the problem up before the secretariat of foreign relations to which it belongs. The same about the suggestion of yours about the press Service etc. I shall inform you officially on the results of our resolutions on this subject.

The Delegation in Paris has no telephone communication with us. You refer so frequently to these telephone calls, which do not exist, and on which you therefore can not count. Censorship and the fact that the service is overburdened oblige the Government (or serve as an excuse) not to allow telephone calls with abroad. I tell you this, so that you can make your plans independent of these calls.

With my fraternal greetings

For the Secretariat  
Relations P.A.C. I. I.



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Feb. 9, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / Martin Gudell. — 2 p. ; 22 x 17 cm.

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C. N. T.

A. I. T.

F. A. I.

**CONFEDERACIÓN NACIONAL DEL TRABAJO  
FEDERACIÓN ANARQUISTA IBÉRICA**

CASA C. N. T. - F. A. I.

VIA DURRUTI, 32

BARCELONA

OFICINA DE PROPAGANDA EXTERIOR

SECRETARIADO - DEPARTAMENTO 84  
TELÉFONO 14751 - 41

1938



Nº 257.

TELÉFONOS:  
CENTRALITA 14751  
SECRETARIADO 41  
EDICIONES 44-46  
GUERRA DE CLASE 46  
BOLETÍN ESPERANTO 46  
BOLETÍN FRANCÉS 46  
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BOLETÍN SUECO 46  
BOLETÍN BULGARO 46  
BOLETÍN PORTUGUÉS 46

Barcelona 1e 9 février 1938.

Camarade EMMA GOLDMAN,  
Londres.

Chère Camarade,

Je pensais que votre lettre du 19 janvier que vous m'avez envoyée directement ne me parviendrait plus, mais je viens de la recevoir à l'instant. Vous pouvez voir que la route officielle est plus longue et pour tant je vous prie de me faire parvenir vos lettres par l'autre intermédiaire car je les reçois plus rapidement.

Avec votre lettre j'ai reçu aussi la circulaire que vous avez fait et l'extrait de ce qui est la C.N.T., dont je vous remercie.

Je vois que vous avez changé votre adresse et je vous envoie la présente à la nouvelle adresse.

La semaine dernière j'ai répondu à cette lettre et je profite l'occasion pour vous questionner sur d'autres problèmes qui m'intéressent.

Je voudrais savoir votre opinion en ce qui concerne la langue anglaise de notre bulletin d'information. Celui qui rédige ce bulletin c'est un camarade espagnol qui a séjourné en Angleterre pendant plusieurs années. Je crois qu'il peut faire traductions de l'anglais, mais qu'il ne peut pas faire la version du espagnol à l'anglais. Il a fait un numéro de ce bulletin sans lui faire aucune correction et quand nous nous sommes rendu compte il a fallu suspendre l'expédition. Je crois que vous êtes la seule personne qui a reçu un exemplaire de ce bulletin et je vous prie de bien vouloir me donner votre avis sur celui-ci. Nous avons des grandes difficultés afin de pouvoir rédiger correctement ce bulletin, mais maintenant nous les avons surmontées. J'espère que les derniers numéros seront rédigés en un bon anglais et ne nous feront pas honte à l'extérieur. Celui-ci qui fait les corrections c'est un professeur d'une école anglaise.

....

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1938

à Barcelone pendant plus de 10 années. Il est aussi un bon traducteur. Naturellement que cela nous revient un peu plus cher, mais nous espérons que le bulletin sera bien fait. Je vous prie de bien vouloir me donner votre avis sur ces derniers bulletins.

Ces derniers jours nous vous avons fait parvenir quelques colis avec du matériel d'information et aussi un album que nous avons édité tout récemment. Nous espérons que dans votre prochaine lettre vous nous communiquerez le numéro de ces bulletins que vous désirez recevoir pour vendre en Angleterre.

Nous vous avons fait parvenir aussi 3 exemplaires de la revue "Hoy". Cette revue est assez bien faite et ici elle a eu un grand succès. Le rédacteur de celle-ci c'est le camarade Alaiz que vous avez rencontré à Lérida et plus tard dans le Syndicat du la "adema" à Barcelona. Dans cette revue il y a plusieurs travaux que l'on peut reproduire.

J'espère que maintenant vous serez bien munie de toute espèce d'informations, car chaque jour je vous envoie un colis. Maintenant j'envoie tout à votre nouvelle adresse. Veuillez me communiquer si les envois je dois faire à la nouvelle ou ancienne adresse, car, peut-être vous habitez encore dans celle-ci et vous désireriez recevoir encore des choses à cette adresse.

Nous vous avons fait parvenir une brochure de Rudiger et un petit rapport du Comité National concernant au Congrès de l'A.I.T. Ceux-ci sont seulement pour les militants et pour tant il ne faut pas les publier.

Il y a quelques jours nous avons reçu une lettre et un petit bulletin rédigé par les Jeunesses Révolutionnaires d'Angleterre. Peut-être vous connaissez cette organisation, car ne supposons qu'il s'agit d'une organisation semblable à celles de "Juventudes Libertarias" d'Espagne. N'est pas vrai ?

A vous lire, recevez, chère camarade, mes salutations bien fraternelles,

Martin Gudell

10110

# The Emma Goldman Papers

830414038

[Letter, 19]38 Feb. 10, London [to] Helmut [Rüdiger, Paris] / Emma [Goldman].—  
3 p.; 30 x 22 cm.

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Stockholm, Sweden.



H. Rüdiger  
Feb 11 1938

**C.N.T.****A.I.T.****F.A.I.**

Representing—THE NACIONAL CONFEDERACION OF LABOR  
AND REGIONAL COMITE C.N.T.-F.A.I.—BARCELONA  
INTERNATIONAL PRESS SERVICE

London Office

21 FRITH STREET  
SHAFTESBURY AVENUE  
LONDON, W.1

London, Feb. 10th 38

TELEPHONE: GERRARD 2636

Lieber Helmut.

Dein Schreiben vom 28sten Jan habe ich natürlich erhalten kam aber nicht dazu Dir gleich zu schreiben. Meine ganze Zeit war und ist mit der Einrichtung unserer neuen Bureaus und allerlei andere Dinge in Anspruch genommen. ~~xxxxxxx~~ Du wirst selbst urteilen können wie viel es hier zu tun giebt wenn Du die beiliegende Drucksachen sehn wirst. Alle die Leute zusammen zu trommeln für die SIA und die Ausstellung der Kinder Arbeiten in Barcelona die ich mit heraus brachte aus Spanien. Dass ich auf meinem Alter hinterher ~~schon~~ der "Respektabilität und der sogenannten intelligence sein werde habe ich mir auch noch träumen lassen. Man sollte es gar nicht glauben wie schwer es ist die Leute für Spanine zu interessieren. Und was noch unglaublicher ist ist die Tatsache dass man an Englische Arbeiter erst recht nicht heran kommen kann. Sie sind in der Zwnagsjacke der Gewerkschaften und der Labor Party, und die die nicht organisiert sind interessieren sich überhaupt nur für sport, prize fights und andere wahnsinnige Dinge. Na ja das ist meine alte Tragedie dass ich verdammt bin in England mein Alter zu beschliessen. Die Komik davon ist dass ich noch froh sein muss dass ich hier bleiben kann. Den armen Sasha hat die französische Regierung zum grossen Teil zu Selbstmord getrieben.

Also wir sind wirklich "grossartig" installiert. Ich glaube es ist das erste Mal dass Anarchisten einen anständigen Platz haben. Sonst hat man immer in die dreckigsten Buden zusammen wo man sich schämen musste jemanden einzuladen. Der eine Raum wo die Ausstellungen sein werden, nicht nur der Kinder Arbeiten sondern auch Mijers Libres und Ausstellung von Bildern der Kollektive die ich besucht habe wird auch als Versammlungs Lokal dienen für die neue reorganisierte Anarchist Syndicalist Union und andere kleine Zusammenkünfte. Dann Bureaus für die CNT-FAI und SIA. Glaube ja nicht mein lieber Helmut dieses repräsentiert die einzige Arbeit die ich hier unterkommen habe, da sind noch massenhaft andere Dinge, Versammlungen, ein Tour durch Schotland und andere Provinzstädte dieses Landes, einen literarischen Abend für die SIA, und noch viel mehr. Ausserdem haben wir endlich so ungefähr 5000 Gewerkschaftsadressen bekommen ~~xxxxxxx~~ die wir mit CNT material bearbeiten werden. Was aus alledem werden wird weiss ich nicht. Jedenfalls nicht viel. Aber ~~xxxx~~ Der Versuch muss doch gemacht werden die Leute aufzurütteln für die ~~xxxx~~ den Kampf in Spanien.

Unsere Spanier sind komische Menschen. Schreibt mir Vazquez einen Brief man soll die Kommunistin und die Regierung

# The Emma Goldman Papers

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3 p.; 30 x 22 cm.

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*Wacende* zart anfassen. Dann legen sie selber gegen beide loss. Deutsche Bulletin dass Du ja gewiss bekommen hast lehnt sich gegen die wachende Reaction und Konter Revolution von der Regiegun auf. Mehr habe ich schliesslich auch nicht getan. Ubrigens habe ich noch keine Antwort of mein zucker süssen Brief. Wie häufig ich schäme mich in einem so sanftentton geschrieben zu haben. Aber ~~ich~~ bei unsere Spanier heist es entweder schroff vorgehen und sie zum Teufel zu senden, oder sie zu besänftigen..

Es freut mich dass auch Ihr das blöde und grausame Zirkular ~~in~~ betreffs der Unterstützung von unsere auswertige Kamaraden nicht ~~bedruckt~~ gedruckt habt. Ich hätte es nie und nimmer getan den es ist ein Skandal dass die CNT sowas verlangt. Hoffentlich gelingt es der I.A.A. die CNT zu bewegen dass die Ausländer Genossen unterstützt werden. Ich sehe dass es der FOUM gelungen ist ihre Genossen oder ~~vi~~ viel von ihnen frei zu bekommen, so ist die Katia Landau ~~frei~~ und noch andere. Was geschieht mit unsere Kamaraden? Es ist eine Schmach dass die CNT nicht auf ihre Befreiung besteht. Die einteilung von "würdige und unwürdige" Kamaraden ist einfach Blech. Es wird von jeder Regierung gebraucht. Dass es die CNT auch macht wo sie in 36 zur Whal griff um die politische Gefangene zu befreien ist wirklich unverzeihlich. Alle diese Sschen machen es fast unmöglich mit leichtem Herzen für die CNT-FAI zu arbeiten. Ubrings scheint die FAI weiter keine Bedeutung zu haben. Durch ihre blöde legalisation hat sie wohl ihre wertvolle Arbeit kaput gemacht. Es ist dieses sehr traurig.

*Romexader* Ich kann es sehr gut verstehen dass unsere Inhaftierte ver zweifelt sind. Ist es den gar nicht möglich einem Menschen wie Vazquez klar zu machen dass es ihre verdammte Pflicht und Schuldigkeit ist für diese Leute zu sorgen die von Anfang an gekommen sind um den Genossen zu helfen und für sie zu kämpfen. Es ist geradezu ein Ver ~~rath~~ Verat an die Ausländische so wohl wie die Russische Genossen was die CNT bis jetzt unterlassen hat. Mir ist so weh ums Herz über die ganze ~~akatax~~ hundeschnauzige Art mit Genossen zu verfahren.

Es freut mich dass Besnard wieder gewählt worden ist für das ~~Sekretariat~~ Sekretariat, auch Roca ist der rechte Mann. Gut dass Galve weg ist. Ich fürchte die Genossen werden noch sehr unangenehme Erfahrungen mit ihm machen. Der Ergeiz lässt ihm alle Schnitzer zu.

Ja ich habe schon bemerkt dass der Combat nicht mehr polemisch ist. Deswegen wird er auch von den Leuten on Tarre Libre so angegriffen. Dass ist übrigens ein schauderhaftes Blatt. Solche Steinkerein, solche unergrarte Sprache. Na ja die Leute meinen wirklich Spanien mit ihrer sogenannten Whargeit zu nutzen.

*nut* Ich finde Abe's jeztige Stellung sehr oberflächlich. Der arme Junge wird aber in America wenig Glück mit dieser Stellung haben. Unsere Genossin Rose Pesatta hat mir geschrieben dass Abe den Genossen einen Bericht gegeben hat aber damit nicht viel ~~Spann~~ Begeisterun hervorgerufen. Ubrigens soll ihm Brand gesagt haben dass was auch die Spanier jetzt tun man muss sie stützen. Die kleine Lollie schrieb mir einen begeisterten Brief über Abes Stellung, man hätte ihm eine gute Stellung offeriert wen er nur in Paris bleiben würde. Aber er hatte es stolz abgelehnt weil er nicht "zum kaufen ist". Du verstehst hoffentlich den Wink.....

Die Englische Genossen von der ich Dir schrieb kommt mirgen zurück. Ich hore sie soll Deutsch kennen. Ich wusste niemanden sehr geeignet für die Sache die Du im Sinne hast. Wie ist es also

# The Emma Goldman Papers

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Stockholm, Sweden.

Du musst mir also so schnell wie möglich mitteilen ob Du ihr  
eine Mission übergeben wilt. Die Spanier sind mit ihre Arbeit höchst  
zufrieden und dürften sie bald wieder mit einer Mission ~~übergeben~~  
verschicken. Ich würde es vorziehen dass sie zuerst Deine Angelegenheit  
hiet übernimmt. Also schreibe recht bald was ich ihr sagen soll.

Ich ziehe morgen um zu einer Freundin wo ich ein Zimmer  
und Verpflegung haben werde. Ich werde ja doch fast jeden Tag  
viel Stunden im Bureau bleiben müssen. Und nur zum schlafen braucht  
man schlisslich keine Wohnung. Und kochen für sich allein ist  
auch kein Vergnügen. Meine Privatadresse ist 6, Sneath Avenue  
London N.W.11. Du kanst mir aber auch an das Bureau schreiben.

Herzliche Grüsse auch an Deine Kamaradin.

Emma





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Feb. 10th 38

Lieber Helmut.

Mein Schreiben vom 28sten Jan habe ich natürlich er halten kam aber nicht d. zu Dir gleich zu schreiben. Meine ganze Zeit war und ist mit der Einrichtung unserer neuen Bureaus und allerlei andere Dinge in Anspruch genommen. ~~Am liebsten~~ Du wirst selbst urteilen können wie viel es hier zu tun giebt wenn Du die heillosen Druck sachen sehn wirst. Alle die Leute zusammen zu trennen für die ~~die~~ und die Angestellten der Kinder Arbeiten in Barcelona die ich mit heraus brachte aus Spanien. Das ich auf meinem Alter hint. ~~noch~~ ~~unbekannt~~ der "Respektabilität und der sogenannten intelligence sein wo da habe ich mir auch noch trauen lassen. Man sollte es mir nicht glauben wie schwer es ist die Leute für Spanier zu interessieren. Und was noch unglaublicher ist ist die Tatsache dass man zu ~~unten~~ Arbeiter erst recht nicht herein kommen kann. Sie sind in der ~~ganzen~~ Jacke der Gewerkschaften und der Labor Party, und die die nicht organisiert sind interessieren sich überhaupt nur für sport, ~~prize~~ fights und andere wahnsinnige Dinge. Na ja das ist meine alte ~~re~~ geide dass ich so damit bin in England mein alter zu beschaffen. Die Komik davon ist dass ich noch froh sein muss dass ich hier bleiben kann. Den armen Gasha hat die französische Regierung zum grossen Teil zu Selbstmord getrieben.

Also wir sind wirklich "grosartig installiert". Ich glaube es ist das erste Mal dass Anarchisten einen anständigen Platz haben. Sonst hatten man immer in die dreckigsten Kellern, wo man sich setzen musste jemanden einladen. Der eine kann es nicht sein werden. Nicht nur der Kinder Arbeiter sondern auch die Libres und Ausstellung von Bilder der Kollektive die wir haben. Wir wird auch als Versammlung Lokal dienen für die Anarchist Syndicalist Union und andere. Unsere Organisation ist ein Zentrum für die CNT-FAI und IWA. Glaube ich nicht dass diese repräsentiert die einzige Organisation die ich hier habe. Es sind noch massenhaft andere. Dazu gehören auch die Catalan Schottland und andere Provinzen. Diese haben eine Reaktion Abend für die IWA, und noch viel mehr. Ich glaube es sind ungefähr 8000 Gewerkschaften. Ich glaube wir die wir mit CNT material besetzen werden. Was aus allen werden wird weiss ich nicht. Jedenfalls nicht viel. Aber das ist das was man auch noch macht.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 Feb. 10 [London to] Helmut [Rüdiger, Paris] / [Emma Goldman]. — 3 p.; 25 x 20 cm.

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18881

zart anfassen. Dann legen sie selber gegen beide los. Das Deutsche Bulletin daes Du ja gewiss bekommen hast lehnt sich gegen die wachende Reaction und Konter Revolution von der Regierung auf. Mehr habe ich schliesslich auch nichts getan. Unbirsens habe ich noch keine Antwort of mein zucker süssen Brief. Was heftig ich schame mich in einem so saftigen geschrieben zu haben. Aber ~~aber~~ bei unsere Spanier heist es entweder schroff vorgehen und sie zum Teufel zu senden, oder sie zu besänftigen..

Es freut mich dass auch Ihr das blöde und grausame Zirkular ~~im~~ betrifft der Unterstützung von unsere auswärtige Kameraden nicht ~~bbagedruckt~~ habt. Ich hatte es nie und nimmer getan den es ist ein Skandal dass die CNT sowas verlangt. Hoffentlich gelingt es der I.A.A. die CNT zu bewegen dass die Auslands Genossen unterstützt werden. Ich sehe dass es der POUM gelungen ist ihre Genossen oder ~~vi~~ viel von ihnen frei zu bekommen, so ist die Katia Landau frie und noch andere. Was geschieht mit unsere Kameraden? Es ist eine Schmach dass die CNT nicht auf ihre Befreiung besteht. Die Einteilung von "würdige und unwürdige" Kameraden ist einfach Blech. Es wird von jeder Regierung gebraucht. Dass es die CNT auch macht wo sie in 36 zur Wahl griff um die politische Gefangene zu befreien ist wirklich unverzeihlich. Alle diese Sachen machen es fast unmöglich mit leicht Herzen für die CNT-PAI zu arbeiten. Ubrings scheint die PAI weiter keine Bedeutung zu haben. Durch ihre blöde legalisation hat sie wohl ihre wertvolle Arbeit kaput gemacht. Es ist dieses sehr traurig.

Ich kann es sehr gut verstehen dass unsere Inhaftierte ver zweifelt sind. Ist es den gar nicht möglich einem Menschen wie Vazquez klar zu machen dass es ihre verdammte Pflicht und Schuldigkeit ist für diese Leute zu sorgen die von Anfang an gekommen sind um den Genossen zu helfen und für sie zu kämpfen. Es ist geradezu ein Verrat an die Ausländische so wohl wie die Russische Genossen was die CNT bis jetzt unterlassen hat. Mir ist so weh ums Herz über ~~ganze~~ hundeschnautzige Art mit Genossen zu verfahren.

Es freut mich dass Bernard wieder gewählt worden ist für das ~~Sekretariat~~ Sekretariat, auch Rosa ist der rechte Mann. Gut dass Galve weg ist. Ich fürchte die Genossen werden noch sehr unangenehme Erfahrungen mit ihm machen. Der Erzengel lässt ihm alle Schnitzer zu.

Ja ich habe schon bemerkt dass der Combat nicht mehr polemisch ist. Deswegen wird er auch von den Leuten on Torre Libre so angegriffen. Dass ist ubrigens ein schauderhaftes Blatt. Solche Steinkerein, solche unerhörte Sprache. Na ja die Leute meinen wirklich Spanien mit ihrer sogenannten Whargeit zu nutzen.

Ich finde Abe's jetzige Stellung sehr oberflächlich. Der arme Junge wird aber in America wenig Glück mit dieser Stellung haben. Unsere Genossin Rose Pesatta hat mir geschrieben dass Abe den Genossen einen Bericht gegeben hat hat aber damit sich viel ~~sympath~~ Begeisterung hervorgerufen. Ubrings soll ihm Brand gesagt haben dass was auch die Spanier jetzt tun man muss sie stützen. Die kleine Mollie schrieb mir einen begeisterten Brief über Abes Stellung, man hatter ihn eine gute Stellung offeriert wenn er nur in Paris bleiben wurde. Aber er hatte es stolz abgelehnt weil er nicht "zum kaufen ist". Du versteh hoffentlich den Wink.....



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werden, wird weiss ich nicht, Jedenfalls nicht viel. Aber der Versuch muss gemacht werden die Leute aufzurütteln für den Kampf in Spanien. Unsere Spanier sind komische Menschen. Vazquez schreibt man soll die Kommunisten und die Negri-Regierung ja nur auf an fassen

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junior to date

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

870930342

[Letter] 1938 Feb. 10 [London to Nemesio Galve, Paris] / [Emma Goldman].—  
1 p.; 28 x 21 cm.  
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19148

10 de Febrero de 1938.

Estimado caradura. Salud:

He recibido tu carta y mucho te agradezco el favor que me has hecho, enviando la que te mandé para Vazquez. Adjunto encontrarás más correspondencia para él, que te ruego le mandes tan pronto como te sea posible.

Desde luego que tu no comprendes que un publicista inglés sea mas pedante que un español; pero es así, y no se puede conseguir nada hasta que tenga en su poder las pruebas completas. Así, pues, envíame cuanto antes el resto, que habrá que retócarlo, pues la traducción no es perfecta y habrá que revisarla. Si tarde mas tiempo "Proceso Historico" va a estar fuera de actualidad. Dale mucha prisa al traductor.

Te acompaño nuestro folleto en relación con la S.I.A. y el suplemento especial que apareciera en SPAIN AND THE WORLD.

Un fraternal saludo de,

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Feb. 10 [London to Mariano R.] V[á]zquez, [Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman].— 1 p.; 26 x 21 cm.

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19275

10 de febrero de 1938.

Estimado camarada Vazquez. Salud:

Muchas gracias por tu carta con el informe presentado por Rugider en el Congreso de París, el cual considero muy importante. Sin embargo, no se si convencerá a los camaradas que han criticado los métodos seguidos por la C.N.T.-F.A.I. No porque no deseen convenirse, sino porque viven lejos de vuestro radio de acción, y, por tanto, ven las cosas a través de otro prisma. Otra de las razones es que vuestros métodos, aun que dictados por la actualidad española, tienen que ser extraños a nuestros camaradas y trabajadores que no se encuentran amenazados por la misma desesperada situación que vosotros. Por otra parte, no cabe dudar que vosotros habréis de actuar en la forma que creáis indispensable, de acuerdo con las circunstancias del momento.

Me agradó ver en el último Boletín de Información, en alemán, que ha sido necesario llamar la atención acerca de los designios reaccionarios del Gobierno y como abandonan al pueblo en sus deseos de afianzarse en el poder. Fue eso precisamente lo que yo escribí y lo que te explicaba en mi carta que te envié vía París. Confío que la habrás recibido y espero tu contestación.

De momento estamos la mar de ocupados con el trabajo de la S.I.A. y adjunto te envío varios ejemplares de la literatura que hemos preparado. En cuanto a la C.N.T., hemos recibido otro lote de direcciones de "Trade Unions", que te mandamos con la presente, vía París. Es de saber que vuestros "aliados" también se preocupan mucho por obtener estas direcciones.

Me agradecería saber lo que piensas acerca del servicio de prensa de que te he hablado anteriormente. Me harían falta noticias breves y constantes, que al menos lleguen a nosotros con la misma rapidez que las reciben en París, pues de otra manera no servirían y se harían gastos inútiles. No te olvides de esto y comunícame lo que se decida cuanto antes.

Fraternalmente,

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Feb. 10 [London to] Ben [Capes, St. Louis? Mo.?] / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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17547

10th February 1938.

Dear Ben,

It seems such a long time since I had heard from you. I thought of all kinds of things troubling you. ~~That~~ you had never kept silent so long. Of course I see that you also complain of not hearing from me; but there was a reason in this madness. As you have received my card from Barcelona, you will have known that I was in Spain absorbed in observations and impressions, there was no time for correspondence. I may have received your letter you are speaking about; but so many things happened since I have been in Spain, I really cannot remember. Inasmuch as I always keep letters until I answer them and the only one I have is of January 4th, I do not think the letter you mention ever reached me. Anyway lets not bother about the past. Lets rather keep in closer touch again as we always have for so many years.

I am glad you follow my contributions in *Freie Arbeiter Stimme* and *Spain & The World*. It saves endless repetitions. Of course there are a lot of things which unfortunately cannot be given to the public. Never in my life did I imagine that I would entertain two different opinions - one for the comrades and one for the public. Spain has taught me many things I never imagined possible or that I would consent to them. Unfortunately our comrades in Spain are in such a desperate state that I cannot add fuel to the consuming fires.

I am enclosing a copy of an address I gave at the Extraordinary Congress of the I.W.M.A. in December. It will show what I mean and where I stand. I am also sending you a copy of a letter I wrote to a young comrade Abe Bluestein who was in Spain. Very enthusiastic at first and then suffered a slump. In any event you will know that while I appreciate the justice of the criticism of a number of comrades against the many concessions of the CNT-FAI. I feel I cannot come out in public against them. It is enough that the whole world, Fascist, Monarchist, Communist, Democratic and what not are against the CNT-FAI for me not to join the howling pack.

ing  
I think all the time what ~~hash~~ would have done. Could he have refused to have worked for the CNT-FAI? I admit that it is inconsistent on my part and I sometimes doubt our dead comrade ~~who was~~ such a stickler to every iota of our ideas that he would have joined me in my stand, and yet I rather think he would. Believe me it is not with an easy heart or mind that I go on trying as much as I can to support the cause of our Spanish comrades. To do otherwise would seem a betrayal of them and I simply have not the heart to do it.

## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Feb. 10 [London to] Ben [Capes, St. Louis? Mo.?] / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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2.

17598

I dare say you Dear Ben we have all been childlike in our faith. We never considered cruel reality. Never considered the possibility that the Spanish comrades, who had created the only worth while anarchist movement in the world, would have to fight on all fronts against their enemies, from within and from without. We spoke and wrote very glibly about the general strike as a revolutionary means, paying no attention to the possibility where the general strike would be of no consequence. Certainly it is unthinkable in Spain, where the people are attacked by German and Italian men and arms. Suppose all the Anti-Fascists were to declare a general strike, how would that effect the people on Franco's side. How would that prevent him attacking the civilian population, maiming and killing hundreds of people in every raid. Yes reality is cruel and merciless and we have to face it whether we like it or not.

Together with the few comrades who co-operate with me we have taken new offices in the center located part of London. We are having an exhibition and later on a reading room as you will see by the enclosed printed matter. There is much to do and very few to help. We have barely begun with the exhibition and circularising its opening, when we must start a literary and musical event for the S.I.A. The first one who promise to participate is Rebecca West. With her to start on I think we shall get some good artists.

I am moving to the place I used to live two or three years ago, Lisa Koldofsky. Her husband died last year and she is quite alone and broken. He too was a great friend of mine. I could not wish for more devotion and care I have always received from Lisa. My address there will be 6 Sneath Avenue, London, N.W.11. Write me there.

Love to Ida, to Hardy, to Florence and her family. I hope her son is flourishing.

Love to you my dear old friend.

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 Feb. 10, Vence [France to] Emma [Goldman, London] / [Martha Gordon Crotch]. — 2 p. ; 30 x 23 cm.

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28981

Vence

10/2/38

Dearest Emma,

The electric iron belongs to the Company it was hired with the other things. Poor Winne and that dear little lad. It quite upset me what you wrote, I must send her a line. I do hope you have taken whatever you want, curtains - what does it matter? Being with Mrs Koldofsky should be more practical for you at the moment, you must need someone to prepare a meal. The weather here has been and still is wonderful - although today is colder but hot in the sun. Stella left Tuesday. I was sad to see her go she had perfect weather and said she felt a lot better for the change. I wish she could have stayed longer Norman and she got on splendidly together. She will tell you all about it when she sees you. I had a long letter from Ann Sedwick today written on board ship en route for England after being in America. She will be in England now and asks me about you. Her address is 36 Broadwater Down, Tunbridge Wells Kent. She seems to have split with her fiancé - I am very glad, I did not take to him at all and there is no doubt they have fleeced poor gentle Ann - now she has very little money left, only what her husband allows her, which he cut to half when he heard she was engaged.



## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 Feb. 10, Vence [France to] Emma [Goldman, London] / [Martha Gordon Crotch].— 2 p.; 30 x 23 cm.

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23982

She is with some people engaged she says "in a big international movement for peace and goodwill in the world—no passive but constructive etc" It is a Mrs Bailey with whom Ann is working but she gets no pay..... I should think she could help you Emma .... her sweetness and refinement would ~~make~~ appeal to many. Poor Ann she has no luck with her men - she seems to give all and get nothing in return, not even loyalty.

Last night I had the maddest letter from Amy written from the Pasteur hospital. After telling me she was there awaiting an operation which she does not know when it will take place she goes on to tell me some garbled story of how she recounted the history of my operation and my having scissors in my inside for 8 years and it seems the people did not believe her and ~~she~~ really offended her by their attitude to the story. NOW she want ME to write a history of the operation and testify to the length of time I kept the scissors and send it to an address she encloses. She implores me to do it. But you will understand Emma darling how I should hate to write about my private affairs to strangers. really I cant do it. "Write in French" she says. Really she is impossible. I have just answered the letter and told her if it were a matter of life and death I would do it without hesitating, but I feel a positive repugnance to write to strangers as she asks..... She is surely trying to say the least.

All for now. I have N.D. for dinner. It

*late.  
Lump of love  
Auntie.*

# The Emma Goldman Papers

870929253

[Letter] 1938 Feb. 10, New Milford, Conn. [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Stewart [Kerr]. — 2 p. ; 27 x 20 cm.

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17940

R.F.D. #3, New Milford, Conn., U.S.A.

Thursday, Feb. 10, 1938

My Dear Emma:

You may wonder what has come over me when you get two letters a day apart, tho you may as a matter of fact receive them at the same time.

Well, the enclosures will tell the story. The Times had another column on the Carlo Tresca matter. There will not be much more on the subject till the beginning of the week when ~~the~~ the case will be taken up by the grand jury. I'll send you whatever appears in the Times.

How important the whole thing is something else. I don't know. You see I am living in the country alone, and outside of the mail man I meet few people, indeed I am very much out of touch with the crowd in the city--- Greenwich Village, for instance, a place which the inhabitants think is the center of the universe--- quite a delusion, of course.

At week ends lately I have been having visitors. One of them, Jim Waters, is continually telling me about the strife between the Communists' two factions, the Stalinites and Trotskyites. Jim has rooms in Dr. Luttinger's house--- you remember Luttinger in the early days of the Ferrer Association. Luttinger is a Trotskyite, and his house is over run by that faction. What it all amounts to I don't know, and I am inclined to think there is little to pick and choose between them. However, they are fighting like Kilkenny cats, and having a great time. Carlo is a Trotskyite, having been on the Committee which held its meetings in Mexico to investigate the Trotsky side of the case. A tremendous amount of energy is being expended which might be better directed to other things, I think.

.....

In you last letter to me you took issue with me with regard to the feeling of the people in this country on the question of peace and war. Now, of course, from my isolated position in the hills, I am not ready to say definitely, getting my information from the papers and the radio. I should say, however, that the feeling against this country being involved in the quarrels of Europe is very strong. The president has asked for a large increase of the navy, and it has given rise to very pointed questions. Asked whether there is any understanding



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[Letter] 1938 Feb. 10, New Milford, Conn. [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Stewart  
[Kerr]. — 2 p. ; 27 x 20 cm.

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1794  
between this government and England on the question of united action when the next war breaks out, the answer has been given that there is none. It was not expressed in the pompous language of the British parliament --- "The answer to the empty-ump gentleman is in the negative," by but by the simple word "No."

That is a great relief, of course, but it has not been altogether convincing. The rather cryptic answers of Admiral Leahy to some of the questions put to him by the Congressional Committee --- taken back in a few days--- made a lot of people suspicious, and these suspicions have not been quite removed since Gilbert Murray's remarks of a day or two ago. The enclosed clipping from the Times by Arthur Krock will interest you, I think. Krock takes the ground that there probably is no definite agreement, but only a Wink or a Nod understanding. Only time will tell. But coming back to the feeling in this country, I think that the stories of bombing cities in Spain and China are producing a definite revulsion against such atrocities. I should say, unqualifiedly, that the feeling is one of horror, and I am inclined to think that if Japan were as close to America as Britain is to Spain Japan would have its hands full. As it is, the American fleet is nearly all in the Pacific now. About the atrocities in Spain, opinion is not so general. The Catholics are, for the most part, I think, siding with Franco, tho there is not so much unquestioning unanimity as one might suppose. What may happen when propaganda begins in earnest is not certain.

I cannot write more just now, as the postman will be here in a moment. So I'll close with best wishes and affection as always,

Stewart.

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Feb. 10 [London to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Douglas Goldring. — 3 p. ; 20 × 13 cm.

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17802

03 Frobisher House  
Dolphin Square  
S.W.1.

Tel. Victoria 9800.  
Rm. Frobisher 03.

Feb 10<sup>th</sup> 1938

Dear Emma Goldman

Please forgive me for not having answered your letter sooner. I have been laid up until recently with various illnesses and all my correspondence has got neglected as a result.

I have of course the greatest sympathy <sup>with</sup> interest in the S. I. A. & hope it will have much support. I wish I could help financially but with small means as my wife & I can spare so to funds already established, which are

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[Letter] 1938 Feb. 10 [London to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Douglas Goldring. — 3 p. ; 20 × 13 cm.

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in great need. I am not giving  
my name to anything, at the  
moment — it has no importance,  
anyway — because I am anxious, if  
possible, to go to Barcelona in  
March or April & don't want  
to have any labels pinned on  
to me in advance. My general  
left wing outlook and anti-  
fascist convictions have been  
clear enough in everything I've  
written for the past 20 years or  
more. The opening scenes of  
my novel "The Black Curtain",  
published in 1919 (when every other  
English novelist was sitting on the fence  
& watching his or her step) was  
laid in Barcelona. Set itself to

## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Feb. 10 [London to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Douglas Goldring. — 3 p. ; 20 x 13 cm.

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17504

63 Prebster House  
Delphin Square  
S.W.1.

Tel. Victoria 2000.  
Rm. Prebster 63.

Send it to you if she has a copy (I haven't, alas.) It will show you what I am not anxious for publicity with the fashionable Bloomsbury sets. In my younger days, as in yours, we got rotten eggs & burn bailiffs, not increased sales!

With best regards to Auntie & yourself. I am yours sincerely

Douglas Goldring.

I wish you & Mrs Gordon-Croft would drop in to see us one afternoon about 6 p.m. Is Tuesday Feb 15 any good?

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 Feb. 11 [London to Robert Sandström, St. Tropez] / [Emma Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 24 x 19 cm.

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17989

Feb 11th 38

My dear good Friends. I have been beastly busy all this time fixing up a new office or I would have answered your good letter of weeks ago. I am again in the midst of moving. It seems I am not to escape that. True the moving here is not as painful as the one in St Tropez. I have no great attachments to anything here. But the confusion is the same and the hardships are the same especially as I have to move to two places. As you will see by the now address I have taken offices for my Spanish work. I inclose some new material so you will see what it is all about. Then I have given up my flat and am moving to my old dear friend Mme Koldofsky. Her husband who was a devoted friend of mine died six months ago and she is very lonely and so am I. It will therefore be easier for both of us to be together and it will be cheaper which is a great item just now. My private address is 6, Sneath Avenue London N.W.11. But I will also receive mail at the above address.

Dear friend it seems I always have to bother you. But there is no let up in the St Tropez demands on my purse. The latest is the inclosure. Actually Bon Esprit was sold in Sept so I should not be asked to pay for electricity after that. But in as much as the place did not get into the hands of the new owners until Nov. I am quite willing to pay for the use of the meter until then. In other words, 48 25 and the extra 1,50 for the collection I suppose 49,75. I inclose a check for 58 francs because you had some excess postage pay on the letters I wrote. I hope the balance from the electric bill will cover it. I did not get to St Tropez until Sept. and I paid one bill while I was there. Whether that included the 43 25 for August I don't know. I cannot get at my electric receipts now with everything packed up. If you will be good enough to ask them when you pay the inclosed bill I will appreciate it very much.

How have you been my dear friends, Eugenie and yourself. and how has the weather been? It was exceptionally mild in London and not much rain, fortunately. I do love to hear from you dear Robert. You two represent all the pleasant memories I have of St Tropez. Perhaps before I sail for Canada next autumn I may come to St Tropez for a short visit if you will have me. Meanwhile do keep in touch with me.

I embrace you both most affectionately



## The Emma Goldman Papers

870930392

[Letter, 19]38 Feb. 11 [London to Pedro] Herrera, [Barcelona (fragment?)] / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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19281

Feb. 11th 38

Dear comrade Herrera. About three weeks ago I wrote you direct to Barcelona and another letter to you and comrade Vazquez via Paris. I have received a letter from comrade Galve saying the letter and material which I sent had been sent at once by someone who left for Spain. Yet I have no word from you or Vazquez. I wonder why? Yes, I know you were all in Valencia attending the Congress. But that has been over some time so you should have written. In my letter to you direct to Barcelona I asked for those lovely posters you had in connection with the week for the child. I asked the same of Galve when he talks with V. or you by phone to urge you to send me posters. But there was no reply and no posters.

Well, I could not wait any longer so issued a supplement to ~~SPAIN AND~~ **SPAIN AND THE WORLD** which we will distribute instead of posters. I inclose a copy also of our folder and the letter about the SIA. I will send you under separate cover a dozen copies of each. This reminds me that you should make it a rule to send me not only one copy of posters or photos you get out for the SIA but a number of copies. Also the photos of the victims of Franco's raid two Sundays ago. We can use them here to advantage. Why then be so economical with such material?

In my letter I asked you to let me know at once whether the expenses of the meeting we held a month ago and where we collected £75 for the SIA should come out of this collection or does comrade V wants me to pay it from the CNT fund? I must know it to make up our accounts until the end of Jan. so V should know exactly how much was already spent from the money he received through Roca in Paris. Another thing I wrote you about was the support of orphans in the Durruti Ascasio Colony gathered by appeal in **SPAIN AND THE WORLD**. Comrade Recchioni who is responsible for the appeals and the money sent to Paris for the Colony has at my suggestion written you the inclosed letter. He is willing the fund he is raising should go for a colony you will organize if possible under the care of comrade Werner Drostaher who is in Hogar Luis Vives Barcelona Calle Angli 39 Barcelona Saffria. I have written you about him that he was here last year and that he is a most serious and dependable comrade just suited to take care of children. **SPAIN AND THE WORLD** would charge itself to support forty children either through the ~~English~~ English Section of the SIA or direct to you. So be sure to write me about this proposition.

To day we are sending out thousand letters with our folder and Supplement. Sunday there is a large meeting about Japan and China

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 Feb. 11 [London to Pedro] Herrera, [Barcelona (fragment?)] / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

I am sending Scotland for the CNY and the CIA.  
They are doing the utmost to make the real balance  
CIA and CNY known in England. This is the more necessary  
there is a regular conspiracy of silence in this regard.  
the CNY-MI. The CIA is not yet known at all.

Please dear comrade do not keep me waiting  
so long. Every day counts in the work here. Please  
send greetings to the your Secretary. I will write to you.

Fraternal greetings to all the comrades.

Salut.

TELEPHONE: FULHAM 6829

LONDON, W.14

WEST KENSINGTON

18 CASTLETOWN ROAD

London Office

London

C.N.T. A.I.T. F.A.I.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Feb. 11, Barcelona [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Mercedes [Composada]. — 2 p. ; 14 x 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

20591

**mujeres  
libres**

SECCIÓN NACIONAL DE PROPAGANDA

Plaça Catalunya, 4 - Tel 18349

BARCELONA 11 fevrier 1938.

Chere Emma:

Des que tu est partie, j'attendais quelque nouvelle directe de toi. Seulement de temps en temps, les camarades me disaient quelque chose de ta part. Est-ce que tu m'as écrit, peu-etre, quelque lettre que je n'aie pas reçue?

Maintenant, Ilse m'a dit que tu est bien portante et que tu travailles toujours par notre cause avec l'enthousiasme magnifique et l'activité qui te sont habituels. Elle nous a appris aussi que tu as le beau projet d'organiser une exposition Mujeres Libres. Nous en sommes enchantées et nous nous donnons déjà a la tâche de preparer tout le medilleur materiel que nous pouvons reunir. S'il va, comme nous croyons, un camarade, nous t'enverrions avec lui ce materiel, ou par quelque autre moyen adecué. En tout cas, j'attend tes indications et conseils au respect, ainsi que la date a peu pres. Nous voudrions profiter ce materiel pour repeter leur exhibition a divers lieux, en Espagne et en dehors.



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Feb. 11, Barcelona [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Mercedes [Composada]. — 2 p. ; 14 x 21 cm.

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20592

J'aimerais beaucoup, chère Emma, de recevoir bientôt quelque mot de toi. En attendant, je t'embrasse très affectueusement. ...

Mercedes

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Feb. 11, Madrid [to] Emma G[oldman], London / J.A. Olmos. —  
1 p.; 27 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

PRO MONUMENTO A DURRUTI

*To the Commission*

Madrid a 11 de Febrero de 1938.

Compañera Emma G. Colton

18, Castletown Road

L O N D R E S.

Estimada compañera. Salud:

En el mes de Noviembre pasado, el pueblo madrileño en masa, asistió al Homenaje que en el primer aniversario de su muerte, se dedicó a la memoria del Compañero muerto heroicamente en la Ciudad Universitaria, BUENAVENTURA DURRUTI. A raíz de este homenaje el periódico madrileño La Libertad, lanzó la idea de levantar en Madrid un monumento a su memoria. La idea fue acogida con júbilo por todos y es la que hoy está canalizada en una Comisión presidida por el heroico General D. José Miaja y de la cual forman parte representantes del Consejo Provincial, Consejo Municipal y de diferentes Organismos.

Nuestra idea es alzar en Madrid un monumento, que si bien su figura central es la de DURRUTI, simbolo de tantos y tantos héroes, cobije también los nombres de todos los caídos, de todo nuestro sacrificio, de todo nuestro trabajo, y España entera ha acordado con entusiasmo esta idea haciendo aportaciones valiosas.

Adjunto os enviamos un ejemplar del Manifiesto lanzado, en el cual vereis reflejado todo nuestro pensamiento, con la idea de que procureis vuestra aportación, bien en la reproducción traducido a vuestro idioma del mismo para ser lanzado por vuestro país, como así mismo si creis conveniente el formar en esa, Grupos de simpatizantes con esta idea que en continuo contacto con nosotros sirvan de camino por donde puedan venir a este Madrid heroico las aportaciones de los antifascistas del mundo entero.

Aprovechamos la ocasión de saludaros, quedando vuestros y de la Causa Antifascista.

Por la Comisión.  
El Secretario



Firmado: J.A. Olmos.



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 Feb. 11 [London to Emma Goldman, London] / F.E. Davies.—  
1 p.; 17 × 13 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17950  
42 Satterthorn Road  
South Park  
Fulham East  
11. 2 38

Dear Comrade

Regret was unable to  
get to your meeting, but enclose 1/6  
I owe you for those Spanish Bulletin  
of Information.

I trust that you had a good  
attendance. Have received my copies  
of Spain and World from Com Reckner

I am

Yours Sincerely  
F.E. Davies

P.S. am at present local up  
with Bronchitis

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 Feb. 11-15, London [to] Rose [Pesotta, Boston] / Emma [Goldman]. — 3 p.; 27 x 22 cm.

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S I A

SOLIDARIDAD INTERNACIONAL ANTIFASCISTA

(International Anti-Fascist Solidarity)

Mr. W. H. AUDEN  
Mr. THOMAS BURKE  
Dr. STELLA CHURCHILL  
Miss NANCY CUNARD  
Mr. HAVELOCK ELLIS  
Mr. LOUIS GOLDING  
Miss SIDONIE GOODES  
Mr. LAURENCE HOURMAN  
Mr. BRIAN HOWARD

Sponsors—

Mr. C. E. M. JOAD  
Mr. MILES MALLISON  
Mr. GEORGE ORWELL  
Dr. C. V. PEARSON  
Mr. JOHN COWPER POWYS  
Mr. LLEWELYN POWYS  
Mr. HERBERT READ  
Mr. REGINALD REYNOLDS  
Miss REBECCA WEST

Rev. JAMES WHITTLE

ETHEL MARRER  
Hon. Treasurer  
EMMA GOLDMAN  
Hon. Secretary

London Office

21, FRITH STREET,

SHAFTESBURY AVENUE,

LONDON, W.1.

Telegram: OBRAND 2434

Dearest Rose  
I have kept a moment to let you  
know I got your letter. I am  
very glad to share names of  
your interesting group of  
people to organize the I.A.  
It was a joy to hear me.  
Aldous Huxley made a  
New Mexico a beautiful letter  
that he had come to the  
discussion that he only  
at a same future are these  
you have caught for. Do you  
see I have made a discovery  
an English anarchist and  
all the years I have dredged  
here. I will write you

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

880520003

[Letter, 19]38 Feb. 11-15, London [to] Rose [Pesotta, Boston] / Emma [Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 27 x 22 cm.

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a decent letter said. I am  
sorry to hear you are now  
not the "Christian"  
In haste and with  
love Emma  
Coming to the  
delay of the printing  
they will not be mailed  
until over next. Please see what  
you can do with the enclosed  
letter. ch ch

Tuesday  
Dearest Rose  
This is just as well I kept her until  
to day. A letter from Stella with  
one of Mr. B's secretary enclosed  
arrived this morning.  
Of course the lady is too busy to  
recieve Stella or can do nothing  
else but send the letter to Perkins  
It may now be more difficult to  
make that strong creature sign before  
the original idea of a Committee has  
been correct. So will you proceed

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 Feb. 11-15, London [to] Rose [Pesotta, Boston] / Emma [Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 27 x 22 cm.

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S. I. A.

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Mr. THOMAS BURNETT  
Dr. STELLA CHURCHILL  
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Miss EDONNE GOOSSENS  
Mr. LAURENCE HOBMAN  
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Rev. JAMES WHITTLE

ETHEL MARSH

Rev. Thomas

EMMA GOLDMAN

Rev. Thomas

London Office

21, FRITH STREET

MANCHESTER AVENUE

LONDON W.1

Telephone: 4942 and 4943

with that. If you could succeed  
in getting people whose name  
carry weight & they will  
send a delegation to go  
as a lawyer she might be  
moved. It is the last resort  
and it should be worked  
to the limit.  
A letter from Harry Wein  
berger tells me he had been  
nothing from you. You may  
had you called. He can be  
of very considerable help.  
Please get in touch with  
him.  
With love  
eg

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Feb. 12, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / M[ariano] R. V[á]zquez [and] P[edro] Herrera. — 1 p. ; 25 × 17 cm.

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Institutional Location: Confederación Nacional del Trabajo Archives.

Barcelona, Via Durruti 30.68  
12 th of February 1938

Nº 182 E

Delegación CNT-FAI en Inglaterra  
Emma Goldman  
21 Frith street, Shaftesbury Avenue  
LONDON W.1.

Dear Comrade:

enclosed we are sending you copy of manifesto, issued by the Peninsular Committee of the F.A.I. and treating the recent meeting of the Spanish Parliament.

We are sure that the document will interest you and we recommend its publication.

With fraternal greetings

For the National Committee  
of the C.N.T.

For the Peninsular Committee  
of the F.A.I.

M.R. Vazquez

P. Herrera



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 Feb. 12, Esbjerg [Denmark to] Emma Goldman, London / Walter Gube. — 1 p. ; 22 x 18 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Walter Gube  
Esbjerg, Jyllandsgade 98.

Esbjerg am 12.2.38.

Emma Goldmann, London.

Werte Genossin.

Deinen Brief mit den darinliegenden Diskussionsbeitrag habe ich dankend erhalten. Wenn ich lese wie sehr Du beschäftigt bist dann muss ich Dir noch einmal extra danken, dafür, dass Du Zeit finden konntest mir zu schreiben.

Mit gleicher Post sende ich einige Nummern der Wochenzeitung "Arbeit". Leider ist diese Woche keine Nummer gekommen, so es schaut aus als ob das Blatt wiedereinnal am Eingehen ist. Das wäre sehr schade da es ja die einzige Propagandamöglichkeit ist die wir hier haben. Ich habe Dir ~~schon~~ nicht früher geschrieben da ich verreist war und erst jetzt wieder zurückgekommen bin.

Es schaut ja so aus als ob Ihr in London ~~sehr~~ sehr aktiv seit. Das kann man leider von uns hier nicht behaupten. In letzter Zeit habe ich etwas sagen nicht getan. Das ist eine Folge der Isolierung der ich zum Opfer gefallen bin. Hier gibt es ja weiter keine Anarchisten und wenn sich irgendwo ein einziger zeigt so fallen die Kommunisten in Massen über diesen Armen her so als ob sie damit die Revolution retten könnten. Na ich nehme das nicht so tragisch. Unsere Zeit wird auch noch kommen.

Ich lese das Ihr in London eine Ausstellung von Kinderzeichnungen veranstaltet. Mir fällt da ein das man diese Sache vielleicht auch hier arrangieren könnte. Willst Du so freundlich sein und mir mitteilen ob ~~man~~ und unter welchen Bedingungen man diese Ausstellung leihen könnte, und wieviel Platz dieselbe beansprucht. Ich würde dann mit einigen Freunden verhandeln und wenn ich die ökonomische Seite der Sache sichern könnte dann würde ich versuchen hier in Esbjerg diese Ausstellung ~~anzu~~ durchzuführen.

Leider glaube ich nicht dass wir hier eine Abteilung der S.A.I. aufmachen können. Du musst Dir klar sein das alle gegen uns sind. Aber wenn es Dich interessiert dann kannst Du mir vielleicht einiges Material senden und ich kann versuchen dasselbe an verschiedenen Adressen zu senden vielleicht kann man doch einen Anfang machen. Das schwerste ist bei so einer Sache die finanzielle Seite. Denn wo soll man das Geld für den Start aufbringen. Meine persönliche Stellung ist ja sehr schwer da ich als Emigrant natürlich nur stark begrenzte Möglichkeiten habe.

In einem Brief werde ich einige meiner Arbeiten an ~~Sie~~ schicken. (Ich bin ja leider Maler und zwar ein schlechter Maler) Vielleicht könnt Ihr einiges davon in Eurer Zeitung verwenden und wenn ihr wollt dann bezahlt mich mit einem Abonnement. Ich habe leider kein Geld um Bar ~~meine~~ Zahlung zu leisten.

Wenn Du Zeit hast dann opfere einmal einen Brief an die Genossin Bachmann. Das ist eine ausserordentlich intelligente Frau und Du wirst sicher mit ihr zufrieden sein. Die Adresse die ich Dir letzthin mitgeteilt habe hast Du scheinbar missverstanden und ich wiederhole sie deshalb. Bibliotekar, Ida Bachmann, Maribo, Boulevarden.

Vielleicht findest Du Zeit die Sache mit der Ausstellung zu überlegen und mir meine Frage zu beantworten.

Mit freudlichen Grüßen

In den Packet mit den Zeitungen liegt auch ein Blatt der schwedischen Trozkisten. Nicht weil ich mit ihnen sympathisiere, nein, ~~sondern~~ nur um Euch daselbe zu zeigen.

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938] Feb. 13 [London to] Paul [Robeson, London] / [Emma Goldman].—  
1 p.; 21 × 17 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

18094

Feb 13

My dear Paul: You will probably think me a pest; but you will not be too impatient with me for clinging so tenaciously to a precious friendship of yours; I have written you twice, the last time an express letter; in your vast mail mine may have been overlooked; I prefer to believe that than that you have cast me out; but what over your change towards me; if there is a change I am writing this in behalf of the above organization launched by a few people to help the Catalonian victims of Franco's dreadful bombardments; Outside of the exhibition we are announcing we are planning a combination Evening of the arts; letters, drama music and some talks about Spain; It is to take place the last days in March; Rebecca West, Ethel Manning, Laurence Olivier have already consented; we have asked a few more; but primarily we want you; Please Paul dear say YES, you always have in the past and no reason whatever it maybe should ~~interfere~~ interfere in your help for the suffering women and children of heroic Spain; I know, I know you are doing significant work already; but having been in Spain you will realize that one cannot do enough for a people so determined to crush freedom and to organize a new social order; Please say dear do not refuse;

With my old love;

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 Feb. 14 [London to Pedro Herrera, Barcelona (fragment)] / Emma Goldman. — 2 p. ; 30 x 21 cm.

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*Copied in carta dirigida a I. G.  
Barcelona el 12-3-38.*

CARTA de EMMA, 14-2-38. — página 3.

944

En tu segunda carta del 9 de febrero, de contestación a la mía del 27 de enero, me sorprende ignoraras que Volin hubiera escrito una contestación a la obra de Yaroslavsky (no un folleto, sino un libro) sobre los anarquistas en Rusia. Creo que fue a solicitud de Vázquez que Roca pidió a Volin una réplica. Cuando yo estuve en París, al Congreso, entendí que Volin había terminado ya su manuscrito y que el Comité Nacional lo leería tan pronto fuese terminada su traducción al español, y que luego podría yo empezar la traducción al inglés y buscar un editorial en Londres para su publicación. Era muy necesario porque el libro infame de Yaroslavsky producía muy malos efectos. Sería lástima, si la exposición de este miserable se mantuviera, por razón de existir en España ciertas tendencias en favor del régimen soviético. Espero que te ocuparás del asunto y me escribirás donde ha parado la contestación de Volin.

Otra cosa importante que me gustaría pudieras tu tratarla con Vázquez, es el balance de la traducción inglesa del libro de Cervantes. He escrito dos veces a los compañeros que están en París para que me manden el resto de la traducción. Les he explicado que el Editor inglés quiere tener en sus manos todo el libro antes de decidirse a publicarlo. Por eso es urgente el tenerlo completo, ya que si tardara mucho más quizá entendería inoportuna la publicación de esa obra de valor histórico. No quiero quejarme de los compañeros de París, seguramente tienen mucho trabajo. Tan solo que como el asunto es de mucha importancia, pienso que se ocuparán más de él si el Comité Nacional trata del mismo.

Estoy contenta de haber finalmente aclarado que la Delegación de París no tiene comunicación telefónica con vosotros. No me explico porque me dieron a entender en París que esa comunicación era posible.

Me alegra ver que el Boletín inglés ha mejorado. Martín Gudell me escribe que ahora cuenta con un profesor que ha sido maestro en una Escuela inglesa durante diez años. Los profesores no siempre saben traducir, como puede comprobarse por la traducción del libro de Cervantes hecha por un profesor la cual necesita mucha corrección. No obstante el último Boletín inglés está muy bien.

Si tuviera mas tiempo te mandaría mi discurso del mitin del 14-1. No puedo hacerlo esta noche, tengo demasiado trabajo. Tal vez mas adelante, si es que te interesara mucho. En Spain & The World hay un buen extracto que puede servirte para un artículo en la prensa española.

De interesarte una copia de mi discurso a los delegados del Congreso

## The Emma Goldman Papers

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extraordinario de la A.I.T., tengo copias y puedo si lo deseas mandarte una.

Salud.

Firm. E. Goldman

Adjunto copia de mi carta al Director de Correos de Ginebra. Un telegrama no hubiera tenido éxito. He mandado copia de esta carta a varios periódicos. Hay muchas mas cosas para decir, me gustaria escribirte mas amplio, pero esta noche no tengo tiempo.

Emma.

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Feb. [14, London to Pedro] Herrera, [Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman]. — 4 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

19046

14th February 1938.

Dear Comrade Herrera,

I now wish to answer your two letters of February 9th. I have already stated in my joint letter that I received all the material you sent and your short note dated January 29th. Also your receipt for £75. You are of course right that it would be foolish to send you the pounds, and then for you to send pounds for the work for the S.I.A. I must however beg you dear comrade to see to it that the money actually collected here is replaced at your end. You know that very little was done for the refugee children with the money we collected last year. I was bitterly disappointed on my second visit to Spain to find the refugee homes, with the exception of those managed by the Basque comrades, in such a deplorable condition. It really took all the spirit out of me for their work. It was only your promise that with the launching of the S.I.A. the children would receive adequate care and attention in properly organised homes and colonies which encouraged me to take up the work for the S.I.A. on my return to England, so you will forgive me if I repeat again I want you to be sure to use every penny which I collect here and which you replace at your end for the purpose for which the funds are made. I don't want us to be like all the other organisations who collect tremendous amounts of money and use the largest part for their expenses of paid officers, travelling propagandists etc, leaving a small percentage for suffering Spain. I am sure you will not mind my stressing this point. One must have a clear conscience to be able to awaken interest in people, especially when they are expected to contribute money. I therefore want to be able to assure the names who are working with me and helping with the appeals that every penny collected here is actually being used for the care and attention and support of the unfortunate victims of Franco. I know you will understand.

Yes we have organised an exhibition which will open on Thursday 17th. As I have already mentioned in the other letters we have sent out 1500 letters with enclosures to all sorts of people. At the meeting last night I have already referred to our S.I.A. Supplement was widely distributed. Next Thursday evening there is a big met



## The Emma Goldman Papers

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4 p.; 25 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

19017

2.

against the persecution of Jews in Roumania. Our comrades will be there with our Supplement - so you see that nothing is being missed that will raise attention to the S.I.A. and the Exhibition. A friend of ours has succeeded in getting a letter into the New Statesman, a pseudo intellectual magazine. We are hoping also to get a notice in the News Chronicle, though we are not sure. A photographer is coming tomorrow to photograph our Exhibition. Naturally I will send you photos. This of course is not all we are doing for the S.I.A.

The next undertaking will be an event of the Arts, writers, poets, dramatists and musicians, combined in solidifying support of International Solidarity. We shall hope to have it the end of March. Unfortunately the Theatres we have approached are all taken for March and April, so we are not sure yet where it will take place. Several artists have already promised to contribute, and I hope to get more. This meeting will be entirely devoted to the S.I.A. and will of course appeal for funds and members. In addition we will keep the S.I.A. before the readers of Spain & The World.

Thank you for the photos you sent. They have not yet arrived. Please always send us photos and posters. Everything you do in Spain will be valuable in our work for this country.

I see you are surprised why the S.I.A. concentrates on Catalonia alone. It is because there are at least fifty Spanish Aid Societies in England who are gathering in people and money. Any additional Society for Spain would have been a complete failure. Not only that, but we would have been charged with sabotaging the work of this help for Spain groups. It is for this reason that we are stressing Catalonia. We do however at our meetings and on other opportunities emphasise the fact that the S.I.A. is not only international but that it covers all Anti-fascist Spain. You know yourself how slogans and titles effect the mass psychology. The friends I had invited for the purpose of organising the S.I.A. all agreed that the venture would be useless if it were merely another Spanish Anti-fascist Organisation. For this reason we are centering on Catalonia. There is no other reason that has decided us in this step.

Of course dear comrade, I understood why you wanted us to attempt to get the I.L.P. to work with us. I appreciated that you wanted to reach the workers through the I.L.P.; but I have already told you in my letters it is impossible to do so because the I.L.P., though calling itself a Revolutionary Party is ultra political and opposed to us except for a few members and then they have lately withdrawn to some extent. Thus Fenner Brockway, the General Secretary of the I.L.P., would not even join the list of sponsors. I don't mean to say that he himself was not willing; but unfortunately the Party decided against it. He told me he would have to submit it to the Executive Committee to conclude with the Party and get with them. I have heard nothing since in the work of the English Section. Actually I am not surprised because the I.L.P. is allied with the Co-Operative movement, and now that the Labour Party has begun activity for Spain it is but natural that the I.L.P. should keep aloof from an organisation like the S.I.A. However just as we are reaching the organised workers by means of the Trade

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3

19018

Union Lists we will also reach the members of the I.L.P. because all of them belong to the Trade Unions.

Instead of a Special Number of Spain & The World as we had originally planned we gave gotten out an S.I.A. Supplement.

Dear comrade, I am very glad, and so is our young Editor comrade of Spain & The World that you are willing for us to take charge of a special colony of children. Enclosed you will find a letter from comrade Rodiquex's colony and also the address of comrade Droeschner.

Please let us hear from you soon that the many arrangements can be decided upon.

In your second letter of February 9th in answer to mine of January 27th I am surprised that you did not know that Volin had written an answer to Yaroslavsky's work (Not a pamphlet but a book) about the anarchists in Russia. It was I believe at the request of Vazquez, submitted to comrade Hocker that Volin wrote a lengthy reply. I understand when I was in Paris at the Congress, that Volin had completed the manuscript, and it would be read by the National Committee after it had been translated into Spanish, and that I could then have it for translation into English with a view to getting a publisher in London to publish the reply. It was extremely necessary because of the evil effects of Yaroslavsky's infamous book. It would be a great pity if the exposure of this miserable man would be withheld because of certain tendencies at your end towards the Soviet Government. I hope that you will look into the matter and will let me know what has become of Volin's reply.

Another thing of importance which I would like you to take up with Vazquez is the balance of the English translation of Carmentae's book. I have written the comrades in Paris twice for the rest of the translation. I explained to them that the English publisher who had been contemplating the publication of the manuscript, insists that he cannot give a definite answer until he will have the entire manuscript in his hands. It is therefore very urgent to have the balance of the English translation; because if it is delayed much longer it will be too late altogether for this valuable historic work to appear. I don't want you to think that I am complaining about the Spanish comrades in Paris. No doubt they are overburdened with work. It is only that the matter is of the utmost importance and I rather think that they would get after their translator if the enquiry came from the National Committee.

I am glad that you finally explain to me that Paris has no telephone communication. Naturally I would not have bothered you so many times had I known this before. I cannot understand why the comrades in Paris made it appear that they do talk with Barcelona.

I am glad to see that the second English Bulletin is a great improvement on the first. I see by the letter of Martin Cudell that reached me together with yours that you now have a Professor, who

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Feb. [14, London to Pedro] Herrera, [Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman]. —  
4 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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has been in an English school of Barcelona for over ten years. He should certainly know English and solve your problem of the English bulletin. Professors do not always know how to translate is proven by the "Professor" who has translated Sarventas book. His is simply fantastic English which will need considerable revision; but of course a book is not a bulletin. At the same time the last English bulletin was very good.

About the details of my talk at our big meeting on January 11th. If I had the time I would overlook my notes and send you the whole speech; but I cannot do it tonight. I am simply swamped with work. Perhaps later on I may be able to do it if you still think it of importance. The symposium in Spain & The World gives the gist and should be enough for a little article if you wish to use it in your Spanish paper.

Would you care to have a copy of my address to the delegates to the Extraordinary Congress of the A.I.T. I have enlarged on that and can send you a copy if you wish.

SALUD.



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Feb. 14, London [to Mariano R.] V[á]zquez [and Pedro] Herrera, [Barcelona] / Emma Goldman. — 3 p. ; 24 × 18 cm.

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C.N.T.

A.I.T.

F.A.I.

Representing—THE NACIONAL CONFEDERACION OF LABOR  
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21 FRITH STREET  
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LONDON, W.1

London, 14th February 1938.

TELEPHONE: GERARD 3636

949

Dear Comrade Vazquez and Herrera,

This morning I received your joint letter of February 3rd.— also letters from you dear comrade Herrera dated as follows, January 29th and two letters dated February 9th, and also the material of the activities of the Sections of the S.I.A. I have not had time to read the report as we are opening our exhibition Thursday, and we have got a tremendous amount of work to do until then. Once the exhibition will be running I will be able to go over your report and tell you what I think of it. To day I particularly want to answer your joint letter dear comrades.

I confess I am at a loss to understand the contents. You again repeat that if in my lectures and writings I speak of the reactionary tendency of the Negrin government I would give the impression that you were non-existent any more. At the same time I find very severe criticism of the Negrin government in the German bulletin which I know must be a literal translation of the Spanish, and therefore have your complete approval. Again I see in last weeks issue of Libertaire and Le Combat Syndicaliste a campaign for an amnesty for political in Anti-Fascist prisons and a frank and unflinching attack on the reactionary government and their connection with the communists. Inasmuch as the Libertaire is entirely with you in your struggle and Le Combat has also come over to your side without further published criticism, I take it that the campaign has your approval, and that the language used in these papers is accepted by you as correct. I therefore am confused with your letter which again repeats the necessity of being careful in the way I handle your government and your so called allies the communist party. I wish you would give me a clearer idea whether you agree with the campaign in Paris for political amnesty and the language used against those who have dared to disgrace the Anti-Fascist struggle by filling their prisons with revolutionists. I must have this explanation for two reasons — first because I will then know how to proceed at this end. Secondly, because I consider it absolutely necessary that we in England should join the comrades in France who have started the Amnesty campaign. I cannot impress upon your minds sufficiently dear comrades that we are confronted here with the everlasting question why are there political prisoners in Anti-Fascist Spain and what are we doing against this reactionary measure!! Now we must be able to answer adequately.

We do not miss explaining that the CNT-FAI are not responsible for political persecution in Spain. That both have protested to the Government, and that both are trying to get an amnesty; but you must know that English people are not convinced by evasive answers. If we hope to ever get the sympathy of the British workers we must absolutely speak straight and frankly



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2

from the shoulder. Once it becomes known that there is an ~~agony~~ <sup>unneeded</sup> campaign in France we shall have to answer a thousand questions why there is no such a thing here, so you see dear comrades, I am not stopping or unwilling to do everything in my power to plead your cause. It is only that I know the British character, and I know what will arouse their sympathy and what will leave them cold.

Of course our propaganda in England is guided by as much objectivity as the necessity of plain speaking will permit. I confess it is not always easy for me to remain objective or "be careful" when I am face to face with open or underhand misrepresentation, and lie <sup>about</sup> <sup>the</sup> <sup>heroic</sup> <sup>struggle</sup> <sup>of</sup> <sup>the</sup> <sup>CNT-FAI</sup>; but as I said in my last letter, I have so far held myself in check far beyond what is good for the peace of my mind and my conscience. Perhaps I would not feel my inner contradiction if I were sure that "objectivity" brings greater results than passionate protests against the continued difficulties put in our way by our enemies. Whatever objectivity may do in other countries I do not think it works here quite as effectively. Anyway I use my best judgment always, motivated by my intense desire to plead your cause.

Thank you dear comrades for your continued faith in me. You need never have any apprehension about my devotion and my passionate desire to make the outside world see as I see you - as I see and value your marvelous stoicism and fortitude. As I have repeatedly stated I feel our deep tragedy in England of neither movement or sufficient comrades who would be of help to rouse the English masses to take direct and effective action.

That there is an interest in the Anti-Fascist struggle I have convinced myself once more last night at the huge meeting in behalf of the Japanese boycott and the support of China. There is no doubt that the affair was organized by the communists, no matter what name their organisations go by. The Opera house was packed from top to bottom, and the only passionate response any of the speakers received was when Spain was mentioned. Alas, the speakers were the dearest of Englishmen; - their energy sapped by their respect of government and what is "legal." Nevertheless it was very gratifying to me to see the response and enthusiasm whenever the Anti-Fascist struggle was mentioned. This leads me to believe that there is a tremendous feeling for Spain; but how to organize that feeling into direct action - that is the problem. I am as certain as I can be that it will continue to be a problem until we have created some kind of Anarcho-Syndicalist or Anti-Fascist movement here. As far as the Anarcho-Syndicalist side is concerned you will remember that I told you that a very small organisation was formed here last year. We are now trying to re-organise it and make it more effective. We may succeed in creating a live and active Anarcho-Syndicalist Group, or as it is called Anarcho-Syndicalist Union; but that cannot be of much comfort to you dear comrades; because the Anti-Fascist war cannot wait until this Group can grow up.

The next move that gives me hope is the English Section of the S.I.A. I have been disappointed so many times in England that I have not

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3.

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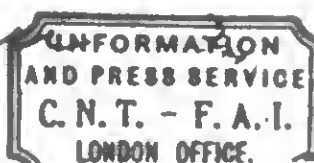
Dear comrade Vazquez. Saturday I sent off to you via the Spanish Delegation in Paris a long letter to you, together with a long list of Trade Councillors who compose the Trades Councils formed in nearly every town in England, and our folder as per enclosed. All these Trade Councillors are being circularised with your folder representing the structure of the C.N.T. and a covering letter. This is in addition to the Delegates to the Trade Union Congress held last year who have already been circularised. In addition to this we have been fortunate in getting two valuable Trade Union publications giving the names and addresses of the Secretaries of all their local branches. The Trade Union concerned are the Woodworkers and the Iron & Steel Workers. These are being typed now so we can send you copies. One is 2000 addresses alone. We are doing our utmost to get others, and have every hope of succeeding. We will circularise them to with the Structure. We will circularise all the other branches as soon as we can obtain them. In this way we hope to reach 15,000 branches, of the different Trade Unions in this country. Of course this will involve a large expense for printing and postage; but I find this to be the only direct method of reaching the organised workers in your behalf. Meetings are too expensive and do not reach the masses. Every meeting costs about £20 with a seating capacity of 700. We have convinced ourselves that this is a useless expense. That does not mean, however, that we will not hold meetings on some special important issue in Spain. For general propaganda the circularisation of organised workers seems to us more direct and will in the end prove more profitable. To give you but one example. As a result of sending our Structure with our letter one organisation has already approached us for a speaker to explain the aims and ideals of the C.N.T. and we have also learned that the Structure was brought up for discussion in some of the Trade Union Branches and we are sure it will be more so. I hope therefore that you agree with this method of propaganda.

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SALUD.

Emma Goldman



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12222

14th February 1938.

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3.

1938

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SALUD.

Ed. G.

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Feb. 14, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / Mariano R. Vázquez [and] Pedro Herrera. — 1 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

BARCELONA, 14 de febrero de 1938

A la Oficina de Propaganda C.N.T.-F.A.I. en Inglaterra.  
London

Estimada camarada Emma Goldman:

Adjuntamos a la presente el número de "TIERRA Y LIBERTAD" del día 12 del cte., para efectos de información y para que extraigas de él, el material útil para la reproducción y propaganda.

Te saludan fraternalmente,

POR EL CTE. PENINSULAR F.A.I.

POR EL CTE. NACIONAL C.N.T.

Pedro Herrera

Mariano R. Vázquez

COMITÉ PENINSULAR  
Relaciones Exteriores

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Feb. 14, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / Mariano R. Vázquez [and] Pedro Herrera. — 1 p. ; 18 × 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

BARCELONA, a 14 de Febrero de 1938

A la Oficina de Propaganda C.N.T.-F.A.I. en Inglaterra.  
London

Querida camarada Emma Goldman:

El presente es la presente el manuscrito hecho público en  
esta forma por el Comité Nacional de la C.N.T., para su  
conocimiento.

Se saluda fraternalmente,

POR EL CTE. PENINSULAR FAI.

POR EL CTE. PENINSULAR FAI.

Pedro Herrera

Mariano R. Vázquez

COMITÉ PENINSULAR  
F.A.I. PENINSULAR

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[Letter] 1938 Feb. 14, Paris [to] Emma Goldman, London / N[emesio] Galve.—  
1 p.; 27 × 20 cm.

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Comité Nacional del Trabajo

Federación Anarquista Ibérica

Ediciones Bataillon

Délegation en France

RECEIVED  
FEB 15 1938

Paris, el 14 de Febrero de 1938

Emma GOLDMANN

37, Old Compton St W.I.

LONDON

Querida Goldmann,

Recibida la tuya fecha 10 de Febrero y en este mismo correo, sale tu carta para el Comité Nacional.

Debemos notificarte que el mismo ya nos acusó recibo de la anterior enviada por tí. Como puedes ver, no demoramos el envío de las mismas a España.

Pasado mañana, te enviaremos el resto del original del libro "Apuntes históricos" que desde luego, convenimos contigo que ya se hace demasiado largo. Pero bien sabes tú lo que cuesta traducir un libro tan largo como éste.

Desearíamos, si ello no es ningún inconveniente, que nos enviarais vuestro semanario "SPAIN AND THE WORLD", que no lo recibimos. Si es posible, enviarnos toda la colección para nuestro archivo.

Hemos recibido copia de las cosas que habéis publicado del "S.I.A.". Lo que te agradecemos.

Sin más por el momento, se despide con un fraternal abrazo amigo y compañero.

POR LA DELEGACIÓN PERMANENTE DE LA C.R.T. EN FRANCIA



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Feb. 14, Paris [to] Emma Goldman, London / [Katia Landau].—  
1 p.; 26 × 19 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

11 Landau

Paris, den 14. Februar 1938.

Liebe Genossin Emma Goldmann,

Ich bin nun zwei Wochen in Paris und wenn ich Ihnen sage, dass ich buchstäblich nicht eine Stunde Zeit fuer mich gehabt habe, so uebertreibe ich nicht. Wenn ich Ihnen konkret sagen wollte, was ich getan habe in all diesen Tagen, so kaeme wenig dabei heraus. Alles ist vorlaeufig nur Kontakt aufnehmen und sehen, mit wem man arbeiten wird koennen. Es gibt viele Ansatzpunkte, aber keine systematische, enge Zusammenarbeit zwischen denen, die meiner Meinung im Grund die selbe Zielsetzung haben.

Wie gesagt, alles ist nur Vorbereitung und wir wollen sehen, was dabei herauskommt. Als konkrete Aufgabe hatte ich vorlaeufig die Vertretung der Roten Hilfe der POUM uebernommen. Ich kenne die Schwierigkeiten, in Frankreich Geld fuer einen so eng begrenzten Zweck aufzutreiben, aber ich will den Versuch dennoch wagen. trotzdem die Genossen mich nicht gerade ermutigen. Ich werde auch Ende dieser Woche Gelegenheit haben, mit englischen Genossen der I. L. P. zu sprechen und hoffe, dass sie, angesichts der schwierigen Lage der Roten Hilfe der POUM, ihre Pflicht gegenueber den spanischen Genossen erfuellen werden. Ich moechte nicht etwa eine neue Organisation aufziehen (es gibt schon zu viele), sondern im Augenblick nur eine Hilfskampagne organisieren. Wenn rasche Hilfe not tut, ist, meiner Erfahrung nach, jeder burokratische Apparat, eher ein Hindernis als eine Erleichterung der Arbeit. (Wenn meine Genossen diese Zeilen lesen wuerden, dann wuerden sie sagen: "Du bist doch eine richtige Anarchistin." Na, der Vorwurf ist zu ertragen, nicht wahr?)

Ich freue mich, Ihnen mitteilen zu koennen, dass wieder vier Genossen frei gekommen und bereits in Frankreich sind. Einer von den vier ist Tietz, die anderen Namen habe ich leider nicht in Erinnerung bringen koennen, weil die Genossen noch nicht in Paris sind. Ein anderer Genosse ist vorgestern hier angekommen, illegal ueber die Grenze gegangen. Das ist eine wundervolle Sache; wir hatten viel Angst um den Jungen. Ueber Sundeleviton kann ich Ihnen leider heute nichts Konkretes sagen. Ich habe zwei widerspruchsvolle Informationen: einerseits, dass er in Freiheit und unterwegs nach Frankreich ist, andererseits, dass man sich gewarert hat, ihn freizulassen und die Anklage gegen ihn (wegen Hochverrat und geplanter Ermordung Stalins, sagt man) weiter aufrechterhaelt.

Wir hatten bisher noch nichts ueber unsere Erfahrungen in Spanien, bzw. mit der spanisch-russischen Technik veröffentlicht. Wuerden Sie mir bitte sagen, welche Veröffentlichungsmoeglichkeiten in der anarchistischen Presse dank Ihrer Intervention bestehen.

Sobald ich Material habe, das Sie interessieren koennte, werde ich mir erlauben, es Ihnen einzuschicken.

Sehr herzlich

Ihre

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 Feb. 14 [Paris to Emma Goldman, London] / E[dgar G.] Newman.—  
1 p.; 19 × 20 cm.

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10001

Liebe Genossin,

14.2.38.

Zunächst mochte ich bemerken, dass Katja mir anl. Brief zum Aufgeben gegeben hat und natürlich nicht weiss, dass ich etwas dazu schreibe.-

Meine Frau und ich hätten eine brennende Bitte an Sie:

Katja steht ohne einen Centime da, ausgenommen die Committees haben nur ganz winzige Beträge, die sie den aus Sp. zurückgekommenen Genossen zur Verfügung stellen können. Katja hat nichts mehr, alles wurde ihnen von den Stalinisten gestohlen.-

Nun wissen Sie ja, dass wir soviel für den Fall Kurt und Katja getan haben, dass es weit über unsere Verhältnisse ging und wir es einfach nicht schaffen, Katja so zu unterstützen, wie es nötig ist.

Wir wollten Sie nun fragen, ob es Ihnen möglich wäre, eine Sammlung zu veranstalten, um Geld für sie aufzutreiben. Es ist sehr schwer, Katja zu veranlassen, Geld anzunehmen, aber wenn es sich um kollektiv gesammelte Beträge handelt, wird sie es nicht ablehnen.-

Katja hat sich bewundernswürdig, nach aussen trägt sie auch ihr persönliches Schicksal sehr, sehr mutig und sie arbeitet mit grosser Energie von früh bis spät, um vieles, was sie erlebt hat, aufzuklären.

Ich hoffe, dass Ihre Genossen einen Beweis von Solidarität bringen werden, selbst wo es sich nicht um ein Mitglied der eigenen Partei handelt, ~~sondern~~ denn Katjas Verdienste als antifaschistische Kämpferin kennen Sie ja.-

Mit freundschaftlichem Gruss Ihr

E. Newman

## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938 Feb.? 15? London to] News Chronicle [et al.] / [Emma Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 24 × 18 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.  
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

News Chronicle.

Daily Herald.

New Statesman.

*Manchester Guardian*

Sir,

Enclosed you will find copy of a letter sent to the editor of "Le Reveil" published for many years in Geneva.

This paper has been doing splendid work for Anti-Fascist Spain. It has collected a great deal of money, coming from the generous contributions of workers primarily. As you will see the Swiss Government has held up the funds for Spain.

I have been asked to communicate this breach of democratic institutions, particularly claimed by the Swiss Government, in depriving the unfortunate victims of Franco of the generous contributions made by the workers in Switzerland.

I am therefore writing to you to ask whether you would mention this in your paper, or send a protest to the Post Office Director.

Yours truly.



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938 Feb.? 15? London to News Chronicle, *et al.* (enclosure)] / [Emma Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 24 x 19 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.  
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

## THE INTERVENTION OF THE "NEUTRALS" IN THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR FOR SPAIN.

### URGENT DECISIONS OF THE SWISS STATE.

The Swiss newspaper "Nouvel", organ of the Swiss Anarchist Movement, has published the following letter in its issue of January 15, 1938.

Newspaper "Le Nouvel",  
rue des Savoises 3, Geneva.

Dear Sir,

We have the honour to inform you that by decree of August 14th, 1936, the Federal Council has ordered that by no means can be supported or favoured the hostilities in Spain throughout Swiss territory; only such collections, of beneficial character will be tolerated by the Federal Authorities. Notwithstanding and to make quite sure that the collected funds are destined for relief purposes and so that all those using the postal service with equality, it has been decided to block the funds which are reaching the interests by way of postal cheques, until an agreement has been established between the Ministry to whom the postal cheques are addressed, the Federal Authorities and our Administration.

Considering the appeal you made in "Nouvel Anarchiste", No. 100 of November 29th, 1937, in favour of the revolutionary libertarian fighters in Spain, and applying the preceding, we have to inform you that all the funds deposited on postal Cheques No. 1.4662, will be blocked until further notice.

Consequently, we ask you to please inform us as detailed and as soon as possible about the destiny of the funds in question, addressing your information to the Direction of the Post Office in Bern, so the end to find a decision about said funds.

We want to add that "L'Oeuvre" Swiss for the Workers help, Kongstrasse 80, Zurich, has already gotten into contact with the authorities about its collections in favour of the Spanish Government party. Considering that your beneficial collection is destined to this party, the simplest would be if you deposited your own funds with the postal cheques of "L'Oeuvre" No. VIII.5420, which would meet the wishes of the donors as to the destiny of their donations.

Awaiting your informations, we greet you attentively,

The Post Office Director

Sincerely,

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Feb. 15, London [to] H[arry] Weinberger, [New York] / E[mma] G[oldman].— 3 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Yale University Library. Institutional Location: Harry Weinberger Papers, Department of Manuscripts and Archives.

C.N.T.

A.I.T.

F.A.I.

Representing—THE NACIONAL CONFEDERACION OF LABOR  
AND REGIONAL COMITE C.N.T.-F.A.I.—BARCELONA  
INTERNATIONAL PRESS SERVICE

London Office:

21 FRITH STREET  
SHAFTESBURY AVENUE  
LONDON, W.1

15  
London, 15th February 1938.

TELEPHONE: GERRARD 2636

H. Weinberger,  
70 West 40th Street.

Dear H.W.,

I have written you and also sent you a Xmas Card. I don't know whether you received them.

Your last letter to me was dated September 23rd which I did not get until I came out of Spain in November.

I am now using new offices and do not have my file of letters at hand, and therefore I cannot say what date I have written you in answer to your letter of September 23rd. In case it did not reach you, I want to tell you that I have been in Spain for another seven weeks, and on my return to England have immediately plunged into a tremendous amount of work - of ~~greater~~ rumifications of ~~work~~ I had last year. *Wider* For one thing I have taken offices in the center of the city for the CNT-FAI and the new organisation of which I am also the representative in England, called the International Anti-Fascist Solidarity, or S.I.A. I am hoping to be able to send you with this letter our folder and other material dealing with the aims and purpose of this new venture - though started in Spain, already has sections in a number of countries. I understand that the one in America is bringing excellent results. I hope I will be able to say the same after a while; but as you know I am not very optimistic about any results in England, though I must say that the people I have asked to sponsor the S.I.A. have responded much readier than anything else I have asked them to do. Some of the people we have are outstanding in the world of letters, literature and art.

In connection with all this we are having an exhibition of childrens drawings from constantly bombarded Barcelona schools. Certainly the Spanish children show the fortitude of their race at a very early age. I do not think children in other countries could so concentrate on their work under such terrible duress of approaching bombardments. Franco's latest human slaughter is too appalling, and yet the world remains indifferent to it except for everlasting jabber in the House of Commons. It does not go any further.

Of course I have not given up my plan of going to Canada some

## The Emma Goldman Papers

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[Letter] 1938 Feb. 15, London [to] H[arry] Weinberger, [New York] / E[mma] G[oldman]. — 3 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

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2.

time this year though I have lost every hope of re-entering the States. The latest word from Morris Ernst forwarded to me by Harry Kelly repeats what Roger has told Stella, namely, that Perkins is adamant in refusing me a visa. I think it was a great mistake on the part of Roger to approach the woman before a notable committee was organised. It is one thing to whisper a refusal to a private person - it is another to stand out against a committee of people whose names are known and who carry considerable weight. Well my sailing for Canada is yet a long time. Many things may happen in between; but if I should fail to get to America, I will hope you will pay me a visit in Canada, for I certainly will want to see you again.

I enclose copy of a letter to Professor Dewey that will interest you.

You will see our new address given on the letter head.  
I am also changing my private address to 6 Sneath Avenue, London, N.W.11. My personal mail will go there.

I hope to hear from you soon.

With my old affection.

EG

is sorry to  
be delayed in the  
printing this  
will not leave  
until next Wed. EG

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Feb. 15, London [to] H[arry] Weinberger, [New York] / E[mma] Goldman].— 3 p.; 28 x 22 cm.

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time this year though I have lost every hope of re-entering the States. The latest word from London is that I am not to be by any Kelly request what I have told you, namely, that I am not to be in the States. I think it was a great mistake on the part of Kelly to expect the woman to make a public commitment - it is not to stand out against a committee of people whose names are known and who carry considerable weight. Well my darling for God's sake is yet a long time. I will hope you will pay me a visit in London, for I certainly will want to see you again.

I enclose copy of a letter to Professor away that will interest you.

You will see our new address in the letter head. I am also in London, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100.

I hope to hear from you soon.

With my affection,

Dear Harry  
Will you buy your  
luck work of the  
included list...

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Feb. 15, London [to] H[arry] W[einberger, New York] / E[mma] G[oldman]. — 2 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.

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S · I · A

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(International Anti-Fascist Solidarity)

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 EMMA GOLDMAN  
 Hon. Secretary

London Office:  
 21, FRITH STREET,  
 SHAFTESBURY AVENUE,  
 LONDON, W.1.

15th February, 1938.

Dear H.W.,

I held up my letter to you with the enclosures because the printing was not done in time to leave England last Saturday. It is just as well that the delay had taken place. I can now add a few lines re your letter of February 9th. It is so long (since I have seen your handwriting that I find it extremely difficult to decipher it. I realise that I have no right to complain, for my handwriting is abominable, but at the same time I have not been able to make out the letter except in a general way. I know you will forgive me. One thing I did get, and that is your reference to the time when the efforts for a visa should be made. Yes, it should be done in the spring, although I will not be able to sail for Canada until late in the autumn.

I have heard from Steall. Her effort to reach the first lady of the Lord has failed. My Secretary was good enough to say that Mrs. Steall is busy but that she would send down Steall's letter to the department of labour. Inasmuch as the

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306



## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Feb. 15, London [to] H[arry] W[einberger, New York] / E[mma] G[oldman].— 2 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

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2

Minister of Labour has already refused to consider a visa for me. I fear that it will add fuel to her smouldering fires against yours truly. I feel about Stella's approaching Mrs. R. as I do about Roger Baldwin's application to Perkins. It should not be done until a committee, whose names carry weight, has been organised. However, one must go on trying.

I have just written Rose Pesetta impressing on her the need of getting in touch with you personally or by letter. I hope she will do it. I know that you will be helpful in every possible way.

You will see by the enclosures that I am again busy on a new venture. While the response so far has not been very great, it is encouraging. In any event I am not one to give up easily.

Cordially,



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307

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Feb. 15 [London to] H[arry] W[einberger, New York] / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p. ; 19 × 16 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17387

15th February, 1938.

Dear H.W.,

I held up my letter to you with the enclosures because the printing was not done in time to leave England last Saturday. It is just as well that the delay had taken place. I can now add a few lines re your letter of February 8th. It is so long since I have seen your handwriting that I find it extremely difficult to decipher it. I realise that I have no right to complain, for my handwriting is abominable, but at the same time I have not been able to make out the letter except in a general way. I know you will forgive me. One thing I did get, and that is your reference to the time when the efforts for a visa should be made. Yes, it should be done in the spring, although I will not be able to sail for Canada until late in the autumn.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

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Cordially,

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Feb. 15 [London to Aldous] Huxley, [Rhinebeck, N.Y.] / [Emma Goldman].— 1 p. ; 24 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.  
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

12 copies

3571

15th February 1938.

Dear Mr Huxley,

Thank you very much for your kind letter of the 29th of January, and also for the enclosed cheque. I cannot begin to tell you what your kindly expression about the "libertarian ideal" I have stood for all my life means to me. Next August it will be half a century since I entered the Anarchist ranks. During that long period I repeatedly came to England, threetimes before the war and many times since. I have lived here off and on for two years at a stretch. I have tried desperately to discover an English man or woman who either understood or cared for the libertarian ideal that meant the one raison d'être to me. Only very recently I actually came to know an Englishman who admitted to being an Anarchist and took pride in sharing my ideas. This was Mr. Herbert Read; and now you, dear Mr. Huxley, write that the "libertarian ideal for which you have fought so long is the only satisfactory and even the only realistic political creed for anyone who is not a Conservative reactionary".

Without wishing to be gushing, I cannot refrain from assuring you that this statement of yours is an event in my life of first-rate importance; indeed, I feel that it was worth fighting for fifty years to be able to call one a comrade who is so outstanding as a creative artist and who comes from a family of libertarians. Really you have given me much encouragement which one needs fighting for an ideal in this country. Thank you again.

I understand your dislike of adding your name to my list of sponsors because you are so far away, but I wonder whether I am asking too much if I plead for a letter to the literary and musical evening I am arranging for the 21st of March. The venture is of course for the S.L.A. and the children this organisation is taking care of in Barcelona and many other parts of Spain. Miss Rebecca West, Mr. Laurence Houeaman, Miss Ethel Mannin, among the literary people, have kindly promised to participate. Of the musicians we already have Miss Sadie Gossens and we hope to have a number of others who will help to make the affair a success. I am sure a few words from you that might be read on the occasion would be very impressive indeed.

I do hope we may keep in touch. There are so few kindred spirits of a libertarian nature that one needs to keep in close touch.

Sincerely.



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Feb. 15 [London to] Martin [Gudell, Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 20 x 16 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

1938 1

15th February 1938.

Dear Martin,

I was lucky today. I got a letter from you dated 9th of this month, and two letters from Herrera dated the same date, besides a letter from Vazquez and Herrera dated 3rd.

I was very glad indeed to learn that you had received my letter of the 19th January; but inasmuch as the delay in the direct mail is as great as our other address, I will stick to your suggestion and always write you via our friend in Perpignan. If there is anything important I want of you I will do so through Herrera or Vazquez, both of whom seem to receive my letters fairly regular, and with not too much delay.

I am enclosing copies of letters which I have written to Vazquez and Herrera in reply to theirs. That will save me the job of repeating some things which would be interesting to you, and deals with some of the points you touch in your letter.

You will see that both Vazquez and Herrera still harp on the necessity of being careful of what one says in criticism of the Government and the Communist Party. At the same time I refer them to *Libertaire* and *Le Combat*, both of which do attack the question of political persecution, the Government and the Communist Party, and without kid gloves. The fact is it was Domínguez who started the amnesty campaign in the name of the Regional Committee and the language used against the Government is by no means so very mild. Don't think I regret it, on the contrary. I am delighted to see that our people are finally speaking out and I am overjoyed with the campaign for an amnesty. Naturally we here want to join in with that campaign. It would be disgraceful for us to keep silent much longer. Well, I explain that all in my letter to Vazquez and Herrera, so you will know what our intentions are.

All material you sent has arrived except some photographs which Herrera tells me he sent registered. I hope we will have no trouble with the Customs about the photographs, for we have already lost the cuts sent us by the Spanish delegation, because they had not been declared at the Customs at the other end. Please bear this in mind that it is necessary for you people to declare if you happen to send cuts. In fact I must ask you dear Martin, to send me all the photographs or cuts that is being made in your activities. We need them here badly. The album "Boy" looks beautiful. I am taking them home tonight to read to read some of the contents.

Give comrade Alexis my warmest greetings and congratulate him

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Feb. 15 [London to] Martin [Gudell, Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 20 x 16 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

2

1938

for me on the get up of "Hoy". Its far the best that has come out of Barcelona with the exception of Mujeres Libres. That was very striking last year. We have also received the two booklets, Rudiger's pamphlet and the Teruel information.. In fact this is the second time you have sent it. About the English bulletin I have written Herrera that the first was atrocious; but the second one was very good. I am so glad that you have got the "Professor" who is a teacher in a English school and ten years in Spain. Surely he should know how to get up an English Bulletin. I will have to see his translations before I can judge whether they are good. The fact that one knows languages does not make one a good translator. Literal translations are never any good. One therefore has to have someone of literary ability to be able to render intelligently from one language to another. As I said the second Bulletin was very good I hope it will improve as it goes on.

The little Bulletin you have received edited by "The Revolutionary Youth" in England; comes I believe from Meltza, the same man that sent you that nice letter full of charges against me. There is no such Youth Movement in England. There are Youth Sections in the British Labour Party, the Socialists and the I.L.P. In fact I had a letter from a Spanish comrade in Paris who asked me for the address of the Youth Movement with whom she could get in touch. I will look up her letter before this is mailed and give you the name.

As regards Meltza, when on my return the comrades became aware of his silly letter, they were naturally opposed to him. He probably felt it and "resigned" from the A.S.U. (Anarcho-Syndicalist Union). He then went over to the old comrades of Freedom Group, who have not yet raised a finger to help with our work for the CNT-FAI or the S.I.A. Most of them are living corpses anyway. Still one would have expected that they would have felt the necessity of helping the struggle all of you are making in Spain; but none of them does the least thing. That is all I know about this so called "Revolutionary Youth of England". Believe me dear Martin, anybody would be the beginning of such a movement; but so far it is barren ground in this country. The only sign of life, and that very little, comes from the few youngsters in the A.S.U. We are hoping to make Anarcho-Syndicalists out of them; but for the present they are not clear in their minds, and they still are afraid of the name Anarchism. I am to address a group of them before the month is over; but they have already told me that perhaps the name Anarchism should not be used, which of course is nonsense; because my name has stood for 50 years for nothing else.

That is all for the present dear comrade Martin.

You will get a good deal out of the enclosed copies I am sending you. I am also enclosing some more of the folder and our Supplement.

With fraternal greetings. Give my best regards to your comrade and your secretary.

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Feb. 15 [London to] Post Office Director, Geneva / [Emma Goldman].— 1 p. ; 24 × 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.  
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17680

15th February 1938.

The Post Office Director,  
Maire,  
Geneva, Switzerland.

Sir,

In the name of the above Society, who are outstanding men and women in British letters, I protest against the blocking of the funds for Anti-Fascist Spain gathered by "Le Reveil". It is rather astonishing that Switzerland, who until very recently has stood out as ultra-democratic and liberal, should suddenly deny its great traditions and hold up the contributions for orphan children in Anti-Fascist Spain. You are probably not aware that the money collected by "Le Reveil" comes from the poorest of the poor, workers who deny themselves many necessary things in order to help the tens of thousands of victims of Franco and his allies, the German and Italian Fascist Governments.

From your letter to "Le Reveil" of January 15th, you presume to decide where the money collected by this old and reputable paper should go. That is rather strange for a Government which claims neutrality and still insists, in theory at least, on its liberal tenets. No attempt whatever has been made by the British Government to block funds collected for Anti-Fascist Spain, nor has His Majesty's Government presumed to say how that money should be used or to whom it should be sent. We therefore protest most emphatically against the arbitrary measure on the part of your Government which is depriving "Le Reveil" of the right to continue its splendid help for Spanish evacuated women and children, and to block its funds.

Yours truly.

# The Emma Goldman Papers

870926055

[Postcard] 1938 Feb. 15, N[ew] Y[ork to] Emma [Gold]man, London / H[anna] S[keehy]-Skeffington. — 2 p. ; 7 x 11 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

1. Feb. 18172. Sold 18172. N.Y.C.  
It was nice hearing from you again & I hope  
you are well & doing such fine work. I am out here  
with heart. I am in a hurry to get out here  
for some time on lecture tour & shall not  
be home in Dublin till next summer. I am  
already home, as I told you, a little local  
group. Friends of Emma, help me the more  
in the Brigade from Britain doing publicity  
& so on. So I doubt if another group would  
be either feasible or useful as we have at  
least only a very small band & find it  
hard to carry on. Thanks for the literature &  
recognition — I am always yours & Emma's  
Hanna Skeffington

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314



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Postcard] 1938 Feb. 15, N[ew] Y[ork to] Emma [Gold]man, London / H[anna] S[heehy]-Skeffington. — 2 p. ; 7 × 11 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.



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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Feb. 16, Paris [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / H[elmut] Rüdiger. —

1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

18894

Secretariat AIT  
4 Square Jean Jolok  
Paris 19

Emma Goldman

Am 16. Februar 1938

An alleektionen der IAA und die Mitarbeiter der "INTERNATIONALE"

Werte Genossen, das Sekretariat der IAA hat Stellung genommen zur Verwirklichung des Kongressbeschlusses über Schaffung einer Diskussionszeitschrift unserer Bewegung. Im Sinne der auf dem Kongress gegebenen Anregungen hat das Sekretariat hiernach Folgendes beschlossen:

In Wiederaufnahme der Tradition des früheren Organs der IAA, und da dieser Name in allen Sprachen fast gleich lautet, wird der Titel der Zeitschrift sein: DIE INTERNATIONALE. Sie erscheint vorläufig jeden Monat im Anfang von 24 Seiten. DIE INTERNATIONALE ist nicht zur öffentlichen Verbreitung, sondern nur für die Militanten der Bewegung bestimmt und hat u.a. auch die Aufgabe, in den kommenden Monaten schon die Diskussionen des ordentlichen Kongresses der IAA einzuleiten.

Das Sekretariat wünscht, dass die Zeitschrift einen doppelten Charakter trage: den eines Diskussionsorgans und gleichzeitig eines allgemein theoretischen Blattes zur Erhaltung und Fortbildung unserer Ideen und Vermittlung wichtiger Materialien und Dokumente. Ein solches Blatt fehlt uns seit Jahren und ist dringend notwendig. Für Mitarbeit in allgemein-theoretischen Sinne und zwecks Beschaiffung dokumentarisch wichtigen Materials wird die Redaktion auch einen gewissen festen Mitarbeiterkreis zu schaffen versuchen. Als allgemeine Normen für die Mitarbeit sollen gelten:

1. Nur Militanten der anarcho-syndikalistischen Bewegung können Mitarbeiter sein. Mitarbeiter, deren Personen als beim Sekretariat unbekannt vorausgesetzt werden muss, müssen ihre Zugehörigkeit zur Bewegung (nicht den Inhalt ihrer Arbeiten) von einer Zentrale der IAA beglaubigen lassen.
2. In den Artikeln hat jeder Aufsatz u. Personen und Organisationen unserer Bewegung zu unterbleiben. Die interessierende Prinzipien- und taktischen Streitfragen usw. sollen, wenn auch unter Heranziehung der Praxis, auf ein allgemein-theoretisches Niveau gehoben werden.

Das Sekretariat glaubt, dass bei Einhaltung dieser Regeln eine interessante Entwicklung der Zeitschrift gewährleistet ist und diese eine Form erhält, die unserer Sache würdig ist.

Zum Redakteur der Zeitschrift wurde der unterzeichnete Genosse HR. bestimmt.

Mit kameradschaftlichen Grüßen,  
die Redaktion der INTERNATIONALE

i.A.

H. Rüdiger

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316

# The Emma Goldman Papers

881027067

[Letter] 1938 Feb. 16, St. Tropez [to Emma Goldman, London] / R[obert]  
Sandström. — 2 p. ; 30 x 23 cm.  
Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.  
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

24086

R. SANDSTRÖM

E. P. G. I.

INGÉNIEUR-CONSEIL

VILLA CÔTE DES CARLES  
SAINT-TROPEZ (Var)

16 février 1938

VOTRE RÉPONSE

MA RÉPONSE

Chère Annie,

J'ai reçu de votre lettre du 11 et, j'ai fait aussitôt le nécessaire auprès de la Compagnie d'électricité de St Tropez. Incluse, veuillez trouver les quittances d'août et septembre 1937. Pour la consommation de courant électrique à partir d'octobre 1937, c'est le nouveau propriétaire qui paiera.

Voilà même une affaire réglée, espérons que ce sera la dernière.

Fortefois, il est très possible que vous recevrez encore cette année les feuilles d'impôts pour 1938, car le percepteur n'est guère averti de suite de la vente des immeubles. Vous n'aurez qu'à envoyer ces feuilles à M. Delat pour qu'il les remette au nouveau propriétaire qui les paiera lui-même.

Je voudrais bien ne plus avoir d'autres soucis que de recevoir, moi aussi, mes feuilles d'impôts au nouveau propriétaire de "la Côte des Carles".

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

881027067

[Letter] 1938 Feb. 16, St. Tropez [to Emma Goldman, London] / R[obert] Sandström. — 2 p. ; 30 x 23 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

24007

Malheureusement, jusqu'à présent, je n'ai pas encore trouvé d'acheteur.

Moi, continue, ma femme et moi, à mourir d'ennui, seuls à St Tropez.

Si nous ne revions pas, nous partirons quand même d'ici cette année, et nous n'y serons plus en automne, certainement.

Je ne sais encore où nous irons; peut-être à Paris, peut-être à Marseille, tout dépendra des possibilités que je trouverai pour gagner ma vie en travaillant, car ici je ne puis trouver aucun travail à faire.

Notre santé est toujours bonne, heureusement. Mais la vie devient de plus en plus chère en France, surtout à St Tropez, et, sans argent, le problème pour vivre devient tragique.

Faudra-t-il mourir pour être enfin débarrassé de la tristesse de la vie actuelle?

Mais nous espérons toujours en bonne santé, et suffisamment occupée par notre travail en faveur des malheureux Espagnols, pour ne pas nous ennuyer à Londres. — Je souhaite ardemment que finisse bientôt la guerre fratricide entre les deux moitiés de l'Espagne, car trop d'innocents ont victimes de la folie des

heureusement, et surtout les vivraient à la fois les souffrances de la guerre, et la tristesse de la vie actuelle. — Les souffrances de la guerre, et la tristesse de la vie actuelle.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Feb. 16, New Milford, Conn. [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Stewart [Kerr]. — 1 p. ; 27 × 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17239

R.F.D.#8, New Milford, Conn.,

Wednesday Feb. 16, 1938

My Dear Emma:

I am enclosing the clipping about Treasa that appeared in the Times of yesterday. The article is mostly given to the case of the "Robinsons" who were arrested in Russia, and about whom there is some mystery.

Three or four times every day the radio brings news of the doings in Europe, and a mixed up mess it is. War was never so close, one fellow says, and the next one contradicts him. All that is certain is that armies and navies are growing bigger all the time. The old saying that war is a rich man's war and a poor man's fight still holds good. I wonder how long it will be for the last clause of Lincoln's epigram "You cant fool all of the people all of the time" will come true. The first and second clauses about some of the people "all of the time" and "some of the time," are not open to question.

I am reading a book by Hogben, the biologist. It is a reprint of his 1937 lecture before the Moncure Conway annual meeting. He handles a lot of people without gloves, Hegel, Marx and Hitler among them. It is hard reading, at least for me, on account of the big words he uses, quite unnecessary in the main, I think. If translated into plain English, it would be more effective. However, it is some satisfaction to find that a few scientists are taking interest in human affairs, and not confining themselves to their microscopes and test tubes.

Affectionately,



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Feb. 17, London [to] Emma Goldman, London / Fenner Brockway. —  
1 p. ; 25 × 18 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Published by Emma Goldman  
Telephone: 2222, 2223, 2224



Secretary: A. J. ...  
25 St. Mark Street,  
London E.C.4.

17th February, 1938.

Emma Goldman,  
S.I.A.,  
81, Frith Street,  
Shaftesbury Avenue,  
London, W.1.

Dear Emma,

I have your letter and you will see that we have  
a paragraph in this week's "New Leader" announcing your  
Exhibition.

Unfortunately I am going to Paris today for a  
week, but when I get back I will, of course, come and see  
the Exhibition.

I have now heard from the members of our National  
Council that they are quite ready that I should associate  
myself with the International Anti-Fascist Solidarity Fund.  
When, therefore, you are printing more material perhaps you  
would like to add my name.

With all good wishes,

I am,

Yours fraternally,

*Fenner Brockway*  
Secretary.

# The Emma Goldman Papers

870929011

[Letter] 1938 Feb. 17 [London to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Douglas Goldring. — 1 p. ; 20 × 13 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

88 Frohisher House  
Dolphin Square  
S.W.1.  
Tel. Victoria 8888.  
Rm. Frohisher 88.

17508

Feb 17<sup>th</sup> 1938

Dear Emma Goldman,

I felt so ill when I struggled  
to reply to your letter of Jan 19<sup>th</sup>  
that I am sure I wrote a  
rambling & incomprehensible  
answer. I have the warmest  
sympathy with the aims &  
objects of the S/A & hope it  
will have large support. I am  
much better & if the spring  
comes I hope to be in form  
again.

I wish most again to see you  
in London. With a pleasant  
greeting

Cordially

Douglas Goldring

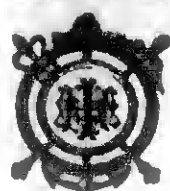
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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Feb. 18, Dubrovnik, Yugoslavia [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Ethel [Mannin].— 4 p. ; 22 x 18 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.



TELE. IMPERIAL  
TELEPHONE  
No. 1 & No. 222

( a Jew  
P.S. Reg has just come in & says he has written to a wealthy man/in  
Prague enclosing the SIA leaflet hoping to interest him & get him to  
send some money. Reg also says would you send him the nos. of Spain &  
the World with those anti-Arab articles in (letters,  
rather; they were run in two instalments) as he'd like to

## GRAND HOTEL IMPERIAL

write a reply hoping the young editor will continue his  
policy of heging 'all sides' and run it. Send me  
DUBROVNIK YUGOSLAVIA

Feb. 18th 1938 another leaflet, too,  
we will send it to a well off politically-left  
woman we know in Copenhagen...

Dearest Emma,

I was very glad to get yr letter today, with  
enclosures, readdressed by the post-office here (so no time was lost  
on receiving it) We left the Villa Mara at the end of a week as  
the weather turned very cold and the house was inadequately heated;  
also it was up 120 steps, and as we had to go out for all our meals  
those steps became too much for us. We came here, which though its  
very big and rather grand and 'English', is not too bad at 'winter  
prices' and demi-pension; we lunch in the hotel and go out for a  
cheap evening meal. But we are finding Yugo-Slavia altogether much  
less cheap than France, and we shall not stay on in Ragusa after the  
end of next week, for we have explored the other possibilities of the  
town as to living, and there is nothing suitable - either too dear or  
not heated, or they don't do meals - and the place is too small to  
eat out satisfactorily twice a day; as it is we eat regularly every  
evening at the same cafe, even at the same table (we'd much sooner  
vary our tables, but the management seems to think that regular cust-  
omers must have their own reserved tables !)

Well, my dear, I wrote you from here as soon as ever I had an address  
I could give you, which was on the Monday that I got yr letters and  
fire sent poste-restante, and as we only arrived Sat. night you'll see  
we lost no time in getting ourselves fixed up with a semi-permanent  
address & notifying our friends. It took us nearly a week to get here -  
I didn't bother to write en route except to Jean and Barbara, but I  
told B. to tell you how I cherished yr orchid and got it safely to  
Vienna, and assumed you'd be seeing the child and that she'd tell you  
how far we'd got on our journey.

I recently wrote her with some messages for you - this change of  
address, that Thomas Burke was well known, that I should positively  
be home by March 25th... I told her to ring you up and give you these  
messages; I didn't want to write you again till I'd heard from you  
again, as I hate letters crossing.

I was beginning to think you had abandoned me and taken Rebecca unto  
yourself in my place (and becoming positively quite jealous in the  
process) when yr most welcome letter arrived today....

Well, dear, Reg says its useless wiring Housman ; he knows H. so well  
and the old boy will simply be flustered and bewildered and in a 'state  
about getting a wire he doesn't understand, and he says I simply must  
write a letter and explain what its all about, in detail. I don't in  
the least mind spending 7/6 or ten bob or even a quid on a useful wire,  
but there's no sense in sending a wire that's not going to serve its  
purpose, so I am writing a letter and sending it by this mail, and can  
only hope you won't frown and say I should have wired... Houseman will  
get the letter at the same time as you get this, which will be Tuesday  
at the latest, and I have asked him to let you know at once.

I don't understand the urgency though, dear, if the affair is not to



# The Emma Goldman Papers

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- 2 -

17151

be ~~fill~~ April 1st. I know these things take a time to organize, but dammit, we're not half way through Feb. yet !!

But oh Emma my dear why why why did you have to fix on April 1st of all days ??? I suppose you know its All Fools' Day, and if that's not asking for trouble from our enemies and critics I don't know what is? Even asking people to come and perform on April 1st is liable to make them wonder if its not just a practical April joke !! Lets hope they're all too serious-minded for such an idea to occur to them !.

I wonder what you think Joad could do for the affair? He's the most pompous bore ever, and not a 'writer', I mean doesn't write stories or poems or plays that he could read... and if you let him make a speech (which anyone wouldn't fit into a concert program) he will simply send the audience to ~~sleep~~ *sleep!*

If only we can get Paul, as you say ! But if we do, dear Emma, he surely must come at the end of the program - it was cruelly unfair to the other artists last time asking them to perform after so great an artist. Apart from which a lot of people who had come chiefly to hear Paul went after he had sung.

I will, of course, gladly preside for you (introduce each item and performer, I suppose, it would mean - a sort of chairmanship ?) and will also make the appeal if you cannot get Rebecca to, though failing Rebecca I would suggest Stella C. as an alternative - I thought she did very well at the last affair .

House  
Friends ~~XXX~~ is a charming hall, and, as you say, has excellent acoustics - one does not even need to raise one's voice to be heard right to the back of the hall.

am hoping that  
I ~~hope~~ Laurence will agree to read one of his plays.

The trouble about VICTORIA REGINA is that they have only produced the plays which show her in a favourable light; not all of L's playlets of her are so kind to her by any means ! I disliked the play as produced intensely, because it causes people to go away feeling sorry for the old queen, makes her seem rather pathetic and pitiful, and is ~~xxxx~~ unintentional pro-royalty propaganda.

I am surprised you got Auden as sponsor as I understand he is very mixed up with the Communists, if not actually one himself. I wish we could get a poet to read something, but don't know any of the Left poets, and have an idea that Stephen Spender, for example, is also mixed up with the Communists.

Yes, I do think its splendid about Huxley's letter to you, and very encouraging - the sort of encouragement we so much need and get so terribly little of ! I am sceptic, I am afraid, of any notices or photographs of the exhibition appearing in the News C. or Herald, but one can but hope. I saw Stella C's letter in the New S. and rejoiced I can tell you !

Before I forget, Housman's address is LONOMEADOW, S T R E E T, Somerset. ((Street is the name of the Village)

I wonder if Elizabeth Schumann would sing for us ? She's Viennese. It would be aiming high, but why shouldn't we try ? Perhaps Harriet Cohen or Sidnie Goossens could get in touch with her ? She has an international reputation and the most heavenly sweet voice. *She would be a great draw!*

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GRAND HOTEL IMPERIAL  
DUBROVNIK

DUBROVNIK  
(Yugoslavia)

17192

TELEGRAM: IMPERIAL  
TELEPHONE: INTERURBAN No 8

-3-

By the way, Epstein never replied to my letter.... I am now convinced that he saw and recognized us both at the ~~Avy~~; I was surprised he did not nod to me as he usually does, but I assume he didn't do so because you were with me and he couldn't acknowledge me without you. I think it quite contemptible. And it grieves me the more because he is a great artist who should be above such pettinesses and meannesses.

Does Rebecca still dislike me? She used to intensely. She thought what I first wrote about her in my Confessions offensive, though I never thought so myself, nor meant it to be so, for I admired her; any how some years later when preparing a new edition I took out the ref. to herself and wrote her a letter telling her I had done ~~and~~ and apologising for ever having written what she did not like, and (quite sincerely) regretting that I had not made this alteration years earlier.. She wrote me a friendly letter in reply, thanking me. But I have never met her in these later years

Write me again when you get this, dear, if you have the time, as I long to get the news about Paul- yr letter should reach me before we leave Ragusa, but even if it doesn't do so we shall probably be only a little further up the coast and yr letter will be forwarded with no more than ~~some~~ a post's delay, a matter of a few hours.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

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tory' ; that's a bit 'touchy' & easily put out , & so busy that if he didn't take it all in in a wire he'd just dismiss the whole matter. Reg thinks the letter I've now written excellent and 'just right'.

Are you happier in yr new home than at that rather grim flat ? I do hope so. You will have company, and be looked after as to meals and so forth. 17193

I have got the proofs of my novel off, and done a few stories to make some ready money (I am not forgetting the cheque I promised the SIA by the way) and have now started a new novel.... *I work all day. 'office hours' most days.*

Reg is so much better that I think there will be no difficulty about him resuming normal life when we return to London, and then, apart from a week with Jean in May I shall 'go no more-avroing' till the end of the year... thank goodness (For one does get very tired of living in hotels, I must say '. There is such a difference in coming to these lovely foreign places for a holiday, and trying to live and work in them ! It's what so many of these people who say 'how lovely' when they hear I am abroad simply do not realise !

We are both glad you like Peter, for he a dear person - and a man of considerable culture and breeding - though he completely identifies himself with the 'lower classes' and never mentions his background, does his best to disown it , in fact !

I must close now, my dear, if I am to catch the post with this and the letter to Housman. Oh dear I do hope you won't think I am doing a wrong thing in writing instead of wiring him !

Are you well, dear ? Are there no monies for the SIA come in ? How does the children's exhibition look ? And are people coming to it ?

*Very much love to you, my dear, from our always loving and devoted pps. Reg further says Housman wire-that he'd feel it far too 'peremp-*

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Feb. 18, New York [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Mark [Mratchny].— 2 p.; 30 x 21 cm.

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and Weekly Since 1899

Telephone CHelsea 3-4447

## Freie Arbeiter Stimme

NEW YORK WEEKLY

45 WEST 17th STREET

New York City

February 18, 1938

Dear Emma:

Yes, Emma, you are right. I sinned a lot and one of my worst sins is that I did not write you. Before it was easier for me when you did not mind reading my Russian letters. Unfortunately I cannot write English well...can't use the typewriter...so be an angel and excuse me. Johanna is so busy with her kindergarten and college that she has no time to become my secretary and between you and me I need a secretary because the correspondence is growing and I am getting older.

It was very interesting for me to read your answer to Vasquez and Abe. You know Abe well enough. You sized him up correctly although it is possible that you exaggerated his qualities. Sometimes I think that it will take him many years before he will grow up. He is a fine speaker but that is not enough. He needs someone to lead him. Our circle is so poor in leadership.

Helmut wrote me about your fine speech which you delivered in Paris. I mention this in the paper several weeks ago.

I absolutely agree with your stand regarding the C.N.T.-F.A.I. They are blundering. They make many mistakes, but after all, they are the one and the first in our modern times to fight Fascism and in their efforts to build Socialism. Appropos, you should read Leon Trotsky's "Pitch Sheet" and about the raincoat which leaks when it rains. It isn't enough, I think, to have nice ideals for quiet times. ~~Even while~~ In Russia we find out that a program is necessary for us for such a period of transition which our comrades in Spain are living through now. There is much to say about it and I am glad that Helmut is in Paris. In my opinion he is one of the best heads of the younger generation. He is starting to see things in the ~~same~~ light.

Although you left the U.S. so many years ago, you know well the situation here. You are right when you say that the SIA is unfortunately nothing more than a strictly Spanish affair. We here and around the U.S.A. who are a small group and have to attend to many worthy causes. First of all, edit the F.A.S. which takes a lot of time and energy. We can't and won't give it up as long as there are a few thousand readers who find it interesting. We have the "Spanish Revolution", in which the people of the F.A.S. take a great deal of interest and devote their time to it. Then there is the Vanguard. The Internaid Fund is necessary for the benefit of the comrades here and abroad. We are issuing from time to time various pamphlets and doing our bit for Spain. And don't forget, dear Emma, that our people have the silly habit of growing older so our movement is becoming more and more shrunken. Sometimes I wonder at myself. What am I doing with all these old folks? In

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20 or 30 years from now I'll look back at  
which I acquired in years bygone.

Tonight Rudolf is lecturing in Passaic, N.J. He will stay with us overnight. Tomorrow evening, we have arranged a banquet in his honor. Rudolf and I talk of many things, especially of you, Emma.

When I feel very bad I call up the bad boy, my good friend, Max Nomad and a quarter of an hour cursing helps me to forget many a thing. So please be sure that you are still my sweetheart as I am more or less faithful and please don't think I'm neglecting you willfully. As for myself I have to do a great deal for the F.A.S. Translating, rewriting, proof reading -- and meetings. These meetings will drive me crazy. The only consolation is that we have no more prohibition and a few drinks of liquor makes one forget two meetings and even 1 Banquet.

Affectionately,

*Mary*

P.S. Love from Johanna and regards from all the comrades.

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Feb. 18, Scarboro Bluffs, Canada [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Dorothy [Rogers]. — 2 p. ; 27 x 17 cm.

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18194

Chine Drive  
Scarboro Bluffs  
Ontario, Canada.

Feb. 18th. 1938

Emma Dearest;

At last I am going to try to write you a letter. The longer one puts it off the harder it is to get started. Even now I don't know how to start; there is so much I want to say.

I am not going to bother you with all my personal problems. You know that my home life is not even comfortable let alone happy. I have tried to obtain work, but as I have no particular training, and am no longer young it seems impossible to get any kind of a job that would support myself and Roger. If I was alone I would not hesitate to make the break as I could always manage for myself. But I assumed the responsibility of Roger when he was a baby and now I must see it through until he is a few years older ~~say~~. We are poor, desperately so, but we have three meals a day and, as we are out in the country, Roger can get all the fresh air and sunshine and out door exercise necessary to build up a body strong enough to carry him through the not too easy time he will have when he has to buck the world himself. The longer I live the harder I find it to determine the line of demarcation between the mental and the physical. I think that a good healthy body helps straight thinking when problems have to be faced. I am trying to be as rational as possible in bringing up my boy and in that I have to combat not only society in general but my husband in particular. But here I am drifting into a discussion of my own problems and I didn't want to. Suffice it to say that I am terribly lonely and not any too well physically. I have quite a bit of inflammatory rheumatism in my arms and hands and legs. These Canadian winters have got me down. I feel the cold so very much, it makes me sick. It seems to take all the vitality I can command to keep myself warm.

Then after telling myself, and you, all this I wonder how much of it is excuse for mental laziness. I know I am not giving to the movement all that is needed to keep it moving here in Canada. I don't make much headway with either writing or speaking. And now Thorn has gone to New York just as he had become such a good speaker for us. Arthur's English is improving rapidly and last Sunday he was splendid in a debate with the L.R.W.P. The group is still alive but we are not reaching the Canadians. The only difference since you were here is that we have definite and active contacts with the few I.W.W. boys here in Ontario. I feel inadequate and ineffectual.

Then there was the matter of the fund for your return. I have made no further progress in that. The Free Society Group promised you \$50.00 outside of that there will be about \$25.00. I only received two replies (Mrs Laddon, and Mr Herlick) to the thirty letters I sent. I received a letter from Comrade Starrett of New York, answered it, but have had no further word from him. The ~~members~~ members of the Free Society Group do not like me, and seem to resent my advances. They certainly do not give their co-operation to the English speaking group (when they do give it) very graciously. I have written on different subjects but never once have they answered my letters or communicated directly with me.

Lately we tried to gain co-operation in forming a branch of the S.I.A. here and sent out many letters two going to Judkin and Mrs Seltzer. The letters were from Joe Desser's address and I had signed them Dorothy Rogers because my husband is beginning to show a little resentment at the use of his name & Mrs Seltzer (before going to the meeting of their own group) rang Joe up and got particulars from him re the letter and the S.I.A. Judkin did not take his letter to the meeting although he admitted having received it when questioned. Mrs. Seltzer said that she had received a letter but did not know what it was all about. We know this because Maurice Cohen has recently become an interested member of our ~~group~~ group while still attending the meetings of the Jewish group. Please Emma dear, I don't want to appear petty in this matter, but when occasionally we do meet either Langbord, or Seltzer or one or the other of them they express absolute ignorance of what we are doing and complain that we do not keep in touch with them or that we only contact them if we want any money. ~~we~~ we ask them to co-operate in a meeting as we did on Nov. 11. If we ask their co-operation it is only to widen the scope of the affair. The only one who does

*See last  
page  
and nothing was done re  
S.I.A.*

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[Letter] 1938 Feb. 18, Scarboro Bluffs, Canada [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Dorothy [Rogers].— 2 p.; 27 x 17 cm.

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18195

help is Simkin in the way of printing. We owe him a bill now. I know that they have perfect right to not as they see fit, but it is not true that we have not kept in touch with them. They are notified of every affair and public meeting we have. However enough of that.

We have not got very far with the organization of a Canadian branch of the S.I.A. I have written to Spain asking for Letters and Circulars in English. We have to have more convincing credentials than those supplied in Spanish. We have no Spanish comrades to translate. A little friend of mine who studied Spanish at university recently is translating Fedrica Montseny's appeal to the American women for me. But as she is no way interested in the movement I have to wait her pleasure. You said in your letter that you would send some of your English leaflets. I hope they come soon I think they might be a great help.

We have received, during the last few months lists and letters from Paris asking for aid for the victims of the Spanish Counter revolution. Through the Italian comrades we get particulars of the dire need for help among the German and Italian refugees now in France and we have collected what we could and sent it on. In the last copy of ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ GUERRA DI CLASSE which I have been receiving from Barcelona there was an article which surprised us all, the enclosed letter which I sent to Spain will explain our reaction to the article. We also wrote to France and sent them a copy of the letter.

I was glad to receive your letter and enclosures. If you are discouraged and heartsore, I am not to be blamed for feeling a gloomy myself. But your wonderful fighting spirit puts new heart into me and will help me to carry on with the small efforts of which I seem capable.

I am enclosing some clippings from the "Star". They may give you an idea of the way things are going in Canada. We seem to be very cleverly being steered towards Fascism. The Canadians (British or otherwise) do not want to think for themselves. They are wholly politically minded, they want to be told what to do. They do not want to be bothered, to work things out for themselves. It is so much easier to put a piece of paper in a box and then, when the politician does not keep his promise, to curse him and at the stated time put another piece of paper in another box. It would be better if hope did not spring so eternally.

There may be a strange situation in Ontario at least. The fascist movement of Canada was born of course in Quebec province, of the Roman Catholic church. Anything Roman Catholic and French is anathema to the Orange Men. So the Quebec Fascists are likely to meet fanatic opposition from a body of men just as imperialistic, authoritarian and intolerant as themselves. But the clippings will probably give you a better idea of how far Fascism has advanced, than anything I can say.

Please don't take my grumble too seriously. Now I have got it off my chest it doesn't seem so very important. Spring will be here in about a month. And I shall probably feel a great deal better. By the way Dein's health is not at all good. Either a year's semi-invalidism or an operation are necessary to heal her. In the meantime her life is not very comfortable as far as health is concerned. Fortunately she and Tom seem to be growing very close to each other. He loves her above all others and she appreciates him and loves him in return. She is very happy in her personal life. I believe her mother is coming from Holland to visit her this summer. I wish her health would improve.

I was glad you sent your letter to Abe Bluestein to us. I heard from him from Barcelona re aid for a Canadian stranded there. I wrote to the man. Then I heard through Mollie Steiner that A.B. had returned ~~XXXX~~ to New York and she advised us to get in touch with him and obtain his views of his experience in Spain. If we had heard from him first it would probably have been quite a blow. Now we are prepared. We in Toronto feel as you do that unless the CNT go as far as an open co-operation with the two international, we cannot withdraw our support or attack them. It is hard sometimes to understand the reason for some of the different moves in Barcelona but we try.

Remember me to Comrade Barr. I am writing to him to acknowledge the receipt of the "Estados" the last of which arrived on Wednesday. They came through without me having to pay sales tax.

All my love, I will not be silent for so long a time again.  
Dorothy.

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 Feb. 18, Bristol [England to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Chris [Lewis]. — 1 p. ; 22 x 17 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.  
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

37 Chandos Road  
Redland, Bristol. 6

18. 2. 38

Dear Emma,

A line in haste. Many thanks for your packet. Very interested in copies of letters herewith returned.

I am trying to get you a meeting here in April. I will also endeavour to help S.I.A. But it will not be easy. So many appeals here for Russian Children. We have a home in Bristol now.

I inclose P.O. for 7/6 <sup>being</sup> a sub. of 2/6 from me to S.I.A., and 5/- to Ralph Barr proceeds from sale of 1 lge. 2 small hanks.

Please send me 3 copies at least of S.I.A. Want them for friends.

I hope to get subscribers. Don't disappoint me.

Just off to meeting  
Love from us both Chris



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 Feb. 18 [Bristol, England to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Ernest [Taylor]. — 1 p. ; 20 x 14 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.  
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

18078

18. 2. 38

My dear Emma,

I thank you very much for your letter. I am very glad that you are more or less settled down, you will be much more free now that you are free of domestic worries which are often a curse for people who really do things. I should like to have paid you a visit and may do so yet. I am just off to S America on a smallish ship (not the Lusitania type) and shall not be home before the end of next month. There is a great deal I should like to have talked over with you, but I am frightfully pressed for time and hope you will forgive these few hurried lines. I believe the Street Children are going on well and Bristol has now a reduced number. We are trying to raise fresh funds, as we have exhausted all we received from the first appeal. I am sending you a cheque for your special work and you can tell me how things are on my return. Margaret is very well, but does not like my going away, she cannot stand to see

My love and all the best to you

Ernest

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Feb. 18, Paris [to] Emma Goldman, London / N[emesio] Galve.—  
1 p.; 27 x 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Confederación Nacional del Trabajo

Federación Anarquista Ibérica

Delegación en Francia

Delegación en Francia

GC/NO  
394

Paris 18 de Février 1938.

Emma Goldman

41 Frith Street  
Shaftesbury Avenue  
London.

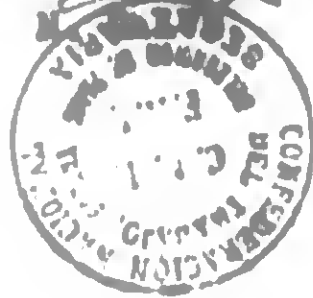
Querida Camarada,

Las presentes líneas tienen por objeto de remitirte el  
ultimo pliego de la traducción inglesa de "Apuntes históricos"

Creemos que ahora ya estaras tranquila, y tu editor podra  
determinar de una vez. Acusamos recibo de ello, porque para  
nosotros es muy interesante. No tenemos nada mas que una copia  
de el y en papel muy fino, y por supuesto casi ilegible.

Nos agradeceriamos si es que tuvieras tiempo, que hicieras  
hacer en esa una copia y nos la enviaras para poderla guardar  
en nuestro archivo.

Te saluda fraternalmente, por la Delegación permanente  
de la CNT-FAI en Francia.



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Feb. 18, Stockholm [to] Emma Goldman, London / John Andersson. —  
1 p. ; 29 x 22 cm.  
Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.  
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

1078

## S. A. C.

Sveriges Arbetares Centralorganisation

Postadress: Box 418, STOCKHOLM 1

Telegraphisch: Arbetscentral

Telefon: 11 00 14

Postgirokontonummer: 66448

STOCKHOLM den 18 de febrero

Genossin Emma Goldman,

L o n d o n.

Wir haben Deinen Brief empfangen sowohl als deine Rede vom internationalen Kongress der I.A.A. in Paris. Dasselbe ist jetzt erschienen worden und in den Mitteilungen abgedruckt, welche die S.A.O. veröffentlicht. Ich sende Dir mit Kreuzband zwei Exemplare davon. Es ist eine halbjährsschrift, die an unsere angeschlossenen Organisationen verteilt wird.

Ich habe den betreffenden Expeditionen aufgefordert, Dir diese Mitteilungen zu senden.

Wir sind eben damit beschäftigt, die Arbeit in der S.A. zu beschleunigen. Durch die S.A.C. wurden zwar bereits mehr als 200,000 Schenkungen an die C.N.F. übermittelt. Die S.A.O. setzt diese seine Arbeit fort, aber jetzt werden wir auch mit der S.I.A. versuchen. In Zukunft werden wir eine Mehleinsammlung eingangsetzen.

Mit Grüssen.

Genosse Arbetares

Centralorganisation

John Andersson

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Feb. 19 [London to] Ethel [Mannin, Dubrovnik, Yugoslavia] / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p. ; 19 x 16 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17196

19th February 1938.

Dearest Ethel,

I sent you a letter by Air Mail Monday. I had hoped to have heard from you in reply. Barbara called me up Thursday night to say that she had received a card from you, and to give me two messages. First that you would be definitely back by the 25th March, secondly that you would write me just as soon as you will have your proofs read. Inasmuch as the card was written last Saturday, I believe Barbara told me, you could not have had my letter at that time. I am now very anxious awaiting your reply.

My letter asked you to either write or wire Laurence Roussan to make sure whether he would participate in the affair we are planning. I hope you have done so, and that I will hear from you soon.

We have scoured every Theatre we could think of for a literary and musical evening. Only one we could have gotten for March 27th, the Phoenix. Unfortunately Rebecca is not free Sunday. She has consented to accept Friday April 1st instead of March 31st, so we are having the affair in Friends House. The platform is quite adequate for a grand piano, and also a Spanish dancer which I am hoping to get. We simply must go ahead with Friends House. The expense will not be so great as a Theatre, and we cannot undertake a big expense without having Rebecca or Paul to draw the audience.

If I had any doubt at all about the change of Paul, I am sure now. Last Sunday at the big meeting in the Covent Garden Opera House by the awful Peace Society the son of Sonia Clemente carried my letter to Paul and gave it to him personally. I was on the platform, and when he passed, he usually greeted me and promised to answer the letter. It was a last appeal to him; but here it is Saturday, and there is no answer. I therefore come to the conclusion that it is not Jessie's fault. She evidently gave him the letters, and the poor soul is so captivated by his new alignment that he will have nothing more to do with his former friends. It is a wrench I can tell you to lose Paul; but it cannot be helped. I am sure he will have a rude awakening one of these days. It may prove too late for his future career; but that is his lookout.

We will try for other artists of course. Sonia Clemente



## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Feb. 19 [London to] Ethel [Mannin, Dubrovnik, Yugoslavia] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 19 × 16 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17197

2

—e Sidonie Uocseens, who is I understand a great Harpiet, and who  
-might play for us. Through her she may also succeed in getting other  
talent. We will do the best we can.

Both Sidonie and Rebecca asked Harriet Cohen to play. She  
refused on the grounds of her Jewish name as likely to do us harm. That  
of course was only an excuse. After all when you lick the King's hand,  
you cannot support a plea for the unfortunate victims of France.

Affectionately

335

# The Emma Goldman Papers

870929291

[Letter, 19]38 Feb. 19 [London to] Katia Landau, [Paris] / [Emma Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 24 × 19 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.  
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17997

Feb. 19th 38

Liebe Genossin Katia Landau.

Danke für Ihren lieben Brief. Ja ich weiss aus Erfahrung welche Muhe und Arbeit es kostet um Verbindungen anzuknupfen. Ich habe hier seit langer Zeit, tatsächlich seit 24. als ich für die Opfer der Soviet Regierung arbeitete versucht die Englischen Massen und so genannte radikale Elemente für die politische Gefangene in Soviet Konzentrations Lager zu interessieren. ~~Ich~~ Un seit der Spanischen Revolution arbeite ich Tag und Nacht Interesse für the CNT-FA zu erwecken. Aber mit ausserst wenig Erfolg. Ich kann also sehr gut verstehen und mit Ihnen empfinden in Ihre Schwierigkeiten. Immerhin scheint mir dass Sie in Paris viel eher Erfolg haben werden als ich in England. Das Frazosische Volk ist doch eher aufgeweckt und revolutionär eingestellt als die Engländer die durch ihre Kalte einem das Blut in den Adern erfrieren lassen. Ich hoffe es wenigstens dass es Ihnen eher gelingt für die Genossen in Negrins und der kommunistische Gefangnisse ~~xxx~~ Leute in Frankreich zu erreichen.

Die Anarchistische Zeitung LIBERTAIRE hat eine Kampagne angefangen für eine Amnesty für alle anti-Bolschewistische und revolutionäre Gefangene in Spanien. Und auch wir hier haben in der letzten Nummer von SPAIN UND DIE WORLD diese Kampagne unterstützt. Ich sende Ihnen eine Nummer der Zeitung. Ich würde Ihnen daher raten sich mit dem LIBERTAIRE in Verbindung zu setzen. Ich bin sicher sie werden froh sein wichtiges Material das Sie eventuell haben im LIBERTAIRE ~~ANZU~~ abzudrucken. Von sogenannten liberalen Zeitungen ist nichts zu wollen, sie bringen keine Zeile welche ~~in~~ auch nur im geringsten die Kommunisten und die Negrin Regierung blossstellen würde. Sie konnte mir wenn Sie wollen Material senden. Vielleicht kann ich es für SPAIN/ AND THE WORLD verwenden oder an die Anarchistische Presse in Amerika senden. Es ist wenig aber alles das ich tun kann.

Mit kameradschaftliche Grusse.

336

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 Feb. 19 [London to Edgar G. Newman, Paris] / [Emma Goldman].—  
1 p.; 24 × 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.  
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Feb 19th 38

Dear comrade. I have your letter which also contained the one by comrade Landau. I wish I could do something for her in a material way. But I have no authority whatever to give out money for anyone's personal use. I would first have to get the permission of my comrade comrades of the SIA, or the CNT-FAI before I could do anything. In view of the fact that we have a great many comrades of our own in distress scattered all over Europe I really do not see how the CNT-FAI can very well also support revolutionists belonging to other parties even if kindred to them.

However I am inclosing a check for three hundred francs as my own personal gift for Katia. I only wish it could be more. Then when my dear friend Ethel Mannin comes back at the end of March I will ask her to let me have a contribution for Katia. I am sure she will.

Yesterday I learned that Fenner Brockway has gone to Paris for a week. You should get hold of him and tell him about Katia's plight. Fenner ought to be able to raise a special fund among the women of the I.L.P. I am sure he will do it if he knows how brave little Katia stands economically.

I am awfully sorry I cannot do more.

Fraternally.

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 Feb. 19 [London to] Peter [Addison, London] / [Emma Goldman].—  
1 p. ; 20 × 16 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

18088

Feb 19th 38

Dear Peter. Am I taking too much liberty with your name? I do so dislike the conventional address to people one works with or has something in common in ideas or purpose in life. I hope you will forgive me and please address me as Emma. That will be warmer than the conventional way.

As you see I have a lot of work this time for you. If you think it is too much ~~far~~ to do out of comradeship please be frank to tell me. I certainly do not wish to exploit you. I need the translation because I ~~will~~ shall probably get out a special GWT / FAI Bulletin, like the last one for the SIA. While I do not wish to press rush you I should be glad to get the translations during this week some day. If not all than part of it.

We must have tea together soon. And later you may not object to come for a real meal all the way to Golders Green.

Fraternally.



## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 Feb. 19 [London to] Fredric [J.] Warburg, [London] / [Emma Goldman].— 1 p.; 24 x 19 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17841

Feb. 19th 38

Dear Fredric Warburg.

At last I got the balance of the translation of Cervantes work. I am mailing it to you under separate cover. At least I hope it is the balance. You can compare it with the Spanish text as you have the copy. Please let me know as soon as possible if you intend to publish it and the conditions as I shall have to submit them to my comrades of the CNT-FAI.

The inclosed announcements were sent to your firm. I had intended to send it to you personally with a note. But since it left our office in the regular way I am sending another set of the folder and the special Bulletin we got out of the SIA. I do hope you can run up to see the Exhibition. It is nothing vastitious nor did it cost \$468. But the work of the children is very moving. English literary and art critics are strange enemies. The critic of the MANCHESTER GUARDIAN came to see the Exhibition. He then wrote in his paper that the "work of the children is no more remarkable than the drawings of other children. It does not reflect the horrors ~~of~~ surrounding them". It never ~~must~~ occurred to this ~~good~~ man that the work is remarkable precisely because of the horrors and danger surrounding the children. And that it is the extraordinary quality of the Spanish children as it is of their elders to be able to concentrate themselves on constructive work amidst ~~xxx~~ the ruins ~~of~~ left by Franco's raids. I hope you will come soon to see the Exhibition if only to see how very superficial a critic can be.

I wish Rockers book were out. I am going to Scotland for ten days to speak at Glasgow, Edinburgh and Aberdeen. I am sure I could sell quite a number of copies. Any likelihood of having it by the fourth of March. I heard from Rocker that you had sent him a check. Thanks a lot. Please send him the balance when the book is out.

Sincerely.

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 Feb. 19 [London to] Ernest [and] Margaret [Taylor, Bristol, England (fragment)] / [Emma Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 20 x 16 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

18079

Feb. 19th 38

Dear Ernest, Dear Margaret.

This is only to acknowledge receipt of your kind contribution for my "special" work. The lord if there is one knows I need to be encouraged by my friends. For, no matter what I undertake for my comrades in Spain and the splendid work they are doing I make very little headway. Take for instance the Exhibition. I worked like a beaver to organize that. The few people who have come to see it have been enchanted by the arrangement and the work of the harassed children in Catalonia. But so far there were no more than a dozen people. Yet we had adverts in the LANCET, THE GUARDIAN, REYNOLDS, the NEW LEADER, and we sent out 1500 letters with folders and cards beside the distribution of about five thousand bulletins. I simply cannot understand the lack of response unless it is my name which frightens people. The only other reason I can think of is the Communist boycott against anything that carries my name. I do not care for myself. But I do feel sad that the heroic Spanish people and their innocent children should suffer. I have not given up all hope that my Exhibition will not when it becomes known bring people, yet I feel disheartened and would feel more so if the few friends I have gained in England do not always were not always so responsive.

A few days ago we had a representative of the U.G. yesterday his impression appear in the paper. He was good enough to "damn" the Exhibition with faint praise. He said that the drawings "were not more remarkable than the work of other children because it did not reflect the horrors of the war and the dangers under which the children were working". How wouldn't you think that any intelligent critic would have considered the work remarkable just because the Catalonia children work under duress and daily danger? But such is the lack of psychological perception of the average reporter or critic whether of letters or art. However, the notice in the GUARDIAN may bring a few people to see the Exhibition and judge for themselves.

It is not only our dear Margaret who does not like your going away. I too regret it because if you were in Bristol there is hope that you might come to London. But South America. Well, if only you do not remain away longer than the end of next month we will put up with your going. Nice of me isn't it?

# The Emma Goldman Papers

870930228

[Letter] 1938 Feb. 19, Paris [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Helmut [Rüdiger]. — 2 p. ; 27 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.  
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Paris am 19. Februar 1938

Liebe Emma,

Dank für Deinen Brief vom 10.

Anbei ein Rundschreiben zur Mitarbeit an unserer Diskussionszeitschrift. Hoffentlich wird sie leidlich vernünftig. Viele haben mir schon ihre Mitarbeit "angedroht", und ich befürchte, dass sie ihre Gelüste gegen die CNT in einer unsachlichen Form austoben wollen... das einzige Gegenmittel ist Sicherung eines gewissen Quantum von Qualitätsmitarbeit auf jeden Fall! Denk mal darüber nach, ob Du auch gelegentlich mitarbeiten willst.

Du siehst, wir sind auch neu insgeheim, aus IAA. Allerdings ohne "General" — denn natürlich erlaubt die CNT, der gewählte Prieto, könne nicht kommen, sie offeriere uns Masorell... natürlich müssen wir erst wieder ein schnelles Referendum machen. Roa, der zweite unserer Spanier, ist, wie wir jetzt sehen, auch nur als "Ehren"-Mitglied des Sekretariats gedacht, denn er bleibt in seinem Konsulat und man sieht ihn selten, in den Sitzungen nur.

Ausser der Zeitschrift werden wir noch einen Pressedienst herausgeben, vorläufig.

In einigen Tagen schicke ich Dir eine französische Kopie einer Artikelserie von mir aus CS über das konstruktive Werk der CNT, zur freien ganzen oder teilweisen Verwendung oder Nichtverwendung, wie Ihr wollt.

Deine SIA-Drucksachen habe ich mit Interesse studiert. Die hiesige SIA macht jetzt ein Riesentreffen für die politischen Gefangenen in Spanien. Mit Rednern der Sozialistischen Partei, die ja hier in Paris in Händen der Linken ist. Einerseits vielleicht erfreulich, dass man Kontakt über die eigenen Reihen hinaus bekommt, andererseits wird jetzt die Angst wach, dass diese Leute die SIA an sich reißen könnten! Gewisse Spanier haben schon der CGTSR den Rat gegeben, sie solle die SIA jetzt erobern, aber natürlich betrachtet man die ganze, ohne Befragung der CGTSR und IAA aufgezugene Sache kritisch und befürchtet ausserdem, dass man, wenn man die SIA von Paris "erobert" hätte, man vielleicht nur das Riesendefizit zu decken und die Verantwortung für einen Skandal zu übernehmen hätte...

In der Revue werde ich auch wieder meine Kritik an der internationalen Linie der CNT aufnehmen. Neulich erst wieder habe ich Nachrichten aus Mexico über den äusserst negativen Eindruck den dort die "Reisenden" der CNT hervorgerufen haben, die es rundweg ablehnten, gemeinsame Sache mit unseren Kameraden zu machen und sich stattdessen den offiziellen Milieus und Arbeiterführern annähern wollten, wobei sie sich aber auch glänzend lächerlich machten. Ausserdem haben sie Äusserungen über internationale Dinge gemacht, die geradezu katastrophal sind. Jetzt eine neue Überraschung aus Spanien — schrieb ich Dir schon? Siehe ich da eine Broschüre, in spanisch, 55 Seiten: "H. Rüdiger, El Anarcosindicalismo en la Revolucion Espanola", und besinne mich nicht, sie geschrieben zu haben. Was war es? Mein Kongressbericht, veröffentlicht durch das Nationalkomitee, aber gekürzt. Da steht alles, was ich zur Verteidigung der CNT, alles, was ich kritisch über die ausländischen Genossen gesagt habe, aber es ist jedes Wort über die katastrophale Verhaltensweise der CNT gestrich-

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

870930228

[Letter] 1938 Feb. 19, Paris [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Helmut [Rüdiger]. - 2 p. ; 27 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Der der IAA und ihre falsche Ausienpolitik ~~antirichon~~.

Der die Möglichkeit einer Reise nach Deutschland ~~was~~  
ist entscheiden lassen, und da der "General" noch  
noch eine Zeit vergehen...

Der der IAA und ihre falsche Ausienpolitik ~~antirichon~~.

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Der der IAA und ihre falsche Ausienpolitik ~~antirichon~~.

Der die Möglichkeit einer Reise nach Deutschland ~~was~~



# The Emma Goldman Papers

870930406

[Letter] 1938 Feb. 19, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / M[ariano] R. Vázquez. — 1 p. ; 27 x 20 cm.  
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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

CONFEDERACIÓN NACIONAL  
DEL TRABAJO  
ESPAÑA

Barcelona, el 19 de Febrero 1938.

Emma GOLDMAN  
OFICINAS DE PROPAGANDA C.N.T.-F.A.I.  
LONDRES.

Estimada camarada,

Adjuntamos a la presente el folleto en que hemos recopilado los acuerdos del último Pleno Nacional Económico.

No dudamos observaréis la enorme importancia de los mismos.

Pueden servir para orientación y documentación sobre la marcha de los acontecimientos de España y, al propio tiempo, ser utilizados para la propaganda en defensa de nuestra causa.

Fraternalmente os saluda.

POR EL COMITÉ NACIONAL DE LA C.N.T.



M. R. VÁZQUEZ.

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938 Feb.? 20? London to Nemesio] Galve [and Manuel] Mascarell, [Paris] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

02187

19149

*Handwritten notes in French, partially illegible.*

*Handwritten notes in French, partially illegible.*

Galve ou Mascarell.

Chers camarades,

J'ai écrit à ces deux adresses, pour être sûr, un de vous, moins occupé que l'autre, me va répondre. La semaine passée je vous ai écrit une lettre, où je vous informais que je vais préparer une lettre importante pour camarade Vasquez, que je vous envoie, pour que un camarade de confiance, qui ira à Barcelone, la rende au C.N. Je vous ai envoyé cette lettre, hier, aussi un paquet contenant un livre avec des adresses des Trade-Unions, demandées de camarades Vasquez, enfin encore autres choses, le censeur en Espagne arrêterait. J'espère, chers camarades, que vous vous avez chargé de ces deux affaires, comme elles sont urgentes et importantes. Vous vous serez moqués de mes paroles françaises, que j'envoyais avec la lettre, destinée au C.N.

J'ai écrit aussi d'une autre chose importante, l'affiche de la S.I.A., représentant la "Semana del Niño", dont Herrera m'envoie seulement une. Comme nous préparons une exhibition de dessins d'enfants des écoles de Barcelone, nous avons besoin de cette affiche, pour nous aider dans la publicité. Je vous demandai de la communiquer à Herrera ou quelqu'autre vous parle par téléphone. Qu'on m'envoie cette affiche immédiatement. Ou si vous les avez de me les envoyer. Il est bien difficile de recevoir quelque chose directement d'Espagne, et toujours retardé, c'est pourquoi que j'étais vous demander de m'adresser, chers camarades. Je suis sûr, que vous avez toute sorte de fotos des collectives espagnoles, des écoles, du travail de la S.I.A. Envoyez quelques-unes, si il vous plaît. Si vous envoyez des clichés ou des matices, il est nécessaire de indiquer la valeur et les notifier à la

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938 Feb. 20? London to Nemesio] Galve [and Manuel] Mascarell, [Paris] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

e a r e :

19150

*Imane, entremet on le va confier, comme un objet  
avec votre dernier envoi.*

Nous travaillons beaucoup pour notre exhibition  
en faveur de la S.I.A., et nous avons le projet d'or-  
ganiser un grand meeting, peut-être combiné avec un  
concert. Pour le patronage j'ai à ma disposition plu-  
sieurs hommes et femmes, fameux dans le monde de science  
et d'art. En tout cas le travail est bien dur.  
Nous avons changé le bureau, comme vous voulez  
noter, nous avons direction spéciale pour la S.I.A.,  
pour la différencier du bureau C.M. 22-74-A-1.

Salutations fraternelles pour camarade Roda.  
Je n'ai plus entendu de lui. Mes affections pour lui et  
sa femme.

Salutations fraternelles  
Galve ou Mascarell.

Chère camarade,

Je vous envoie avec la lettre, destinée au C.M. 22-74-A-1, un petit paquet contenant un livre avec des adresses  
des Trade-Union, demandées de camarades Vassilov, Dulin,  
encore autres choses, le contenu en espagne est complet.  
Je vous envoie aussi un livre avec des adresses de  
camarades, comme elles sont urgentes et impor-  
tantes. Vous serez modus de mes paroles. Je vous envoie  
aussi un petit paquet d'une autre chose importante. Il s'agit  
de la S.I.A., représentant la "Semana del Niño", dont  
Herrera m'envoie le seuliment une. Comme nous préparons  
une exhibition de dessins d'enfants des écoles de la  
ville, nous avons besoin de cette affiche, pour nous  
aider dans la publicité. Je vous demande de la commander  
pour la Herrera ou quelqu'autre vous parlez par téléphone  
ou m'envoie cette affiche immédiatement. Ou si vous  
avez de me l'envoyer. Il est bien difficile de re-  
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répondre, c'est pourquoi je dois vous demander de  
l'envoyer. Je suis sûr, que vous avez un accès  
direct de l'Espagne, des collectives espagnoles, des  
du travail de la S.I.A. Envoyez quelques-uns, si vous  
pouvez. Si vous envoyez des affiches ou des lettres, il est  
nécessaire d'indiquer la valeur et les lettres.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 Feb. 21, London [to Mariano R.] V[á]zquez, [Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

London Feb. 21st 38

Dear comrade Vazquez.

I have received all your short notes, the *Tierra Libera* and the Bulletin giving information about the events since the elections of 36. Most of it will go into next issue of Spain and the World which will appear the First of March. I have also received the manifesto about the monument for Durruti I received to day. It will also appear in SPAIN AND THE WORLD. And it may bring some response from the comrades in America. You speak of organizing groups in England for the Monument, dear comrade I have been trying ever so long to make it clear to you and comrade Herrera that we have no groups in England except the newly formed Anarchist Syndicalist Union which consists of no more than a dozen people. And a group in one of the provincial towns not very active. That is our tragedy in this country and the reason why it is so difficult to achieve anything.

However I will get in touch with the Sect. of the I.L.P. just as soon as he comes back from Paris. He may induce his Party to participate with the Commission. Dear comrade please forgive me for seeming so critical but really the picture of Durruti you sent me is awful. It does not in the least do him justice, bring out his strength and his gentleness. I hope this is not the sample ~~of the one you plan to put on our dear comrades monument~~. When I was in Figueras I saw at the head quaters of the CNT-FAI a most powerful drawing of Durruti. Could you not get that one? I hope you will not mind my fault finding but I do feel very deeply ~~xxx~~ about having our Real Durruti on the planned monument.

I have also received a short note from you in German and German data about the Fall of Santander. It is out of date and can no longer be used for propaganda here. If you have some news material about Teruel please send it. The reports here are all misrepresentations and give the impression that our comrades are losing and Franco is gaining grounds. Please send me something if you have. Another thing you should make a habit of sending us are ~~photographs~~ photographs. For instance you sent me *Tierra* which has a powerful picture of a heroic figure. We should have liked to reproduce it in SPAIN AND THE WORLD. It is the same about some of the collectives ~~the~~ CAMPO is carrying we could do ever so much better propaganda if we had photos. Can you not give instructions that they should be sent to us regularly, also posters.

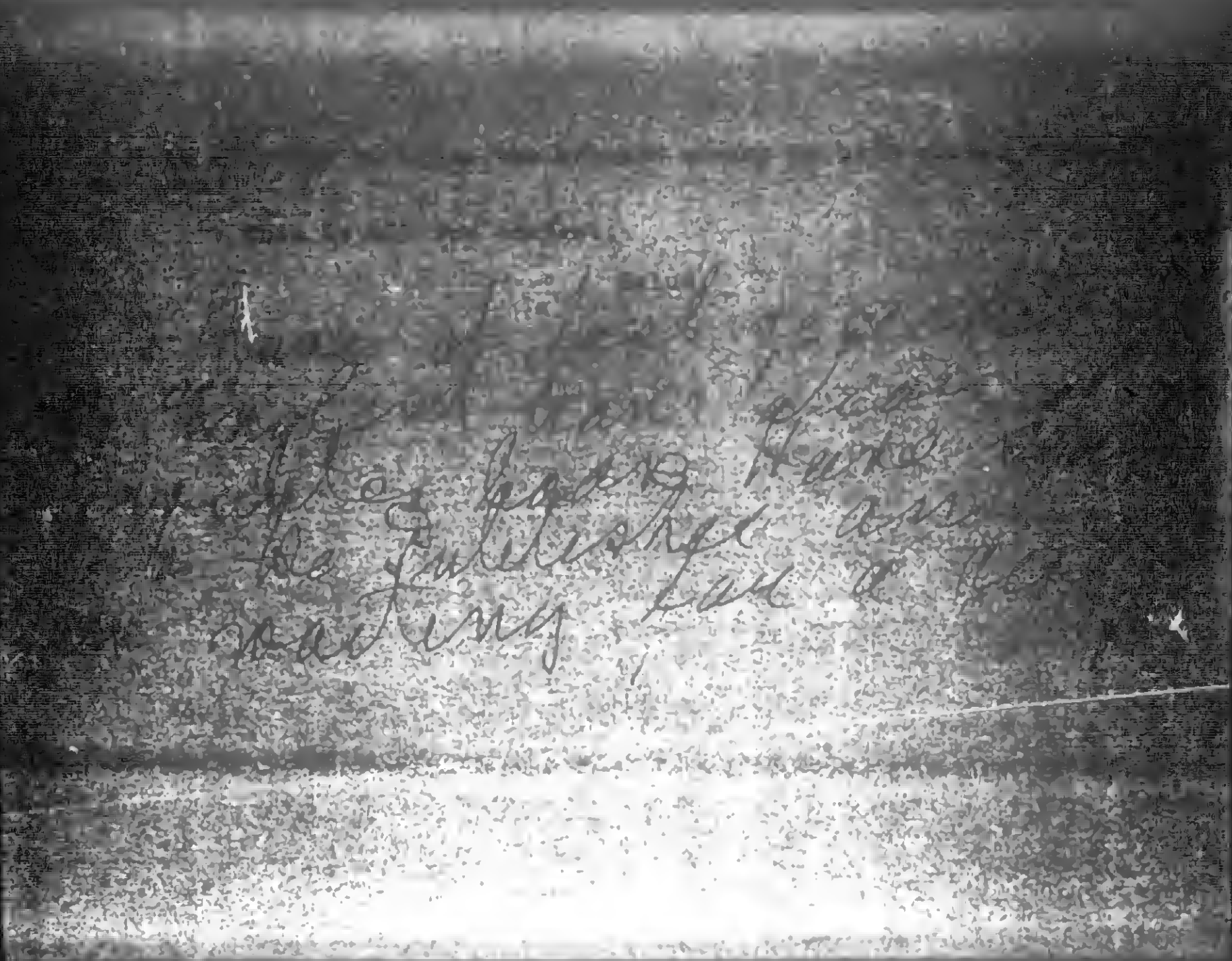
We are having satisfactory response to the structures we have sent out to trades councils. We have to print another ten thousand. Together with this we will send out the Bulletin you sent me in your letter and of which we will make a folder. We are very hopeful of reaching the workers in this manner. I am working on a manifesto calling for direct action and a boycott of the British workers. I will send you the text to see if ~~it~~ if you agree. It is



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## The Emma Goldman Papers

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2

the only way to rouse the British worker is by a strong appeal  
to them.

This is all for tonight.

Salud.

# The Emma Goldman Papers

870929409

[Letter] 1938 Feb. 21, Barcelona [to Emma Goldman], London / Mariano R. Vázquez. — 1 p. ; 26 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

CONFEDERACIÓN NACIONAL DEL  
TRABAJO - COMITÉ NACIONAL  
B A R C E L O N A

20590

Barcelona, el 21 de Febrero 1938.

OFICINAS DE PROPAGANDA C.N.T.-F.A.I.

L O N D R E S

Estimados camaradas,

Para vuestro conocimiento documental y propaganda a realizar, adjunto a la presente las bases que nos ha presentado la U.G.T. para elaborar un programa de unidad de acción y las contrabases que al mismo hemos presentado nosotros.

Debeis de utilizar nuestras contrabases en la propaganda para demostrar el enorme espíritu de transigencia que anima a la C.N.T. para llegar a la unidad de acción entre las sindicales y, al propio tiempo, nuestro deseo de colaboración entre todos los partidos y organizaciones, procediendo para ello a constituir el Frente Popular antifascista que a todos los antifascistas nos aglutine.

Debe ser bien utilizado este material que demostrará a quienes, en el exterior, tienen falso concepto de la C.N.T. que somos algo muy diferente en capacidad, deseo unitario y ansias, ante todo, de ganar la guerra.

No dudamos sacareis rendimiento a este precioso material.

Fraternalmente os saluda.

FOR EL COMITÉ NACIONAL

*Mariano R. Vázquez*

Mariano R. VÁZQUEZ.  
Secretario.



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## The Emma Goldman Papers

880726042

[Letter, 19]38 Feb. 21, Key West, Fla. [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / John Dewey. — 6 p. ; 25 × 17 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

1724 H. Hager Ave

Key West Fla Feb 21/38

Dear Emma Goldman

Many thanks for your  
most interesting letter which  
reached me here after  
some delay. As far as the  
general situation goes, I agree  
with you more than might  
have appeared to you.  
Neither I nor anyone on the

Commission was concerned  
to "indicate" Trotsky  
from anything but the  
special charges on  
which he was condemned  
in the two Moscow trials.  
One of the members, however

# The Emma Goldman Papers

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an old Revolutionary engaged  
in Public Antisemitism and  
him about the Cronstadt  
and other incident even  
while he was master-  
gating, and several members  
think he made his  
great mistake when  
he stopped criticizing  
Lenin's centralization  
policy & went over to  
Lenin's position. That  
Trotzky in power would  
probably have been  
more truthful about  
actual economic

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 Feb. 21, Key West, Fla. [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / John Dewey. — 6 p. ; 25 x 17 cm.

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<sup>3</sup> conditions than the Stalinists  
are, & money & hands been  
so bent on the merely  
personal side of power  
& personal appearance  
but I don't know as I would  
have gone further than  
that.

The truth about the C.P.  
working in Spain is gradually  
leaking out here, but of  
course not adequately.

Two or three C.P. people  
who went over & some  
who had been sympathizers

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Came back disgusted,  
but of course they don't  
get much chance at  
publicity.

Just at present there  
is a more general reaction  
among "liberals" against  
Bolshevik methods,  
the idea that the end  
justifies any means,  
than ever before in this  
country. The C. P. are trying  
to shield their position  
by claiming all they  
want is union with  
democracy — anti fascist



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5 elements, but this becoming  
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is simply military  
union to protect the  
U. S. R. what their  
democratic pretensions  
are only a pose. There is  
also a strong reaction  
against them because of their  
rule or ruin methods  
in the labor movement.

I thank you for the  
papers you sent me,  
as well as for your

## The Emma Goldman Papers

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valuable information. My  
good friend Cels Treca  
has kept me somewhat  
in touch with the real  
conditions in Spain—  
We can only hope  
the Spanish people—  
and the Chinese—will  
come through their  
awful tragedies—

My regular New York  
address is

320 E 72nd St  
New York City.

With warm personal regards  
Sincerely yours  
John Dewey

# The Emma Goldman Papers

811022046

[Letter, 19]38 Feb. 21, Key West, Fla. [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / John Dewey. — 1 p. ; 26 x 21 cm.

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COPY.

*ideas  
more to copies  
12 copies of this*

81-10-2246  
1724, Flagler Ave.,  
Key West, Fla.

Feb. 21/38.

*12 copies*

Dear Emma Goldman,

Many thanks for your most interesting letter which reached me here after some delay. As far as the general situation goes, I agree with you more than might have appeared to you. Neither I nor anyone on the Commission was concerned to "vindicate" Trotsky from anything but the special charges on which he was condemned in the two Moscow trials. One of the members, Wendelin, an old Revolutionary, engaged in public controversy with him about the Cronstadt and another incident even while we were investigating, and several members think he made his great mistake when he stopped criticising Lenin's centralisation policy and went over to Lenin's position. I think Trotsky in power would probably have been more truthful about actual economic conditions than the Stalinists are, and would not have been so bent on the merely personal side of power and personal vengeance, but I don't know as I would have gone farther than that.

*subject of this*  
The truth about the C.P. policy in Spain is gradually leaking out here, but of course not adequately. Two or three C.P. people who went over and some who had been sympathisers came back disgusted, but of course they don't get much chance at publicity.

Just at present there is a more general reaction among "liberals" against Bolsheviks methods, and the idea that the end justifies the means, than ever before in this country. The C.P. are trying to hold their position by claiming all they want is union with democratic-anti-fascist elements, but it is becoming clearer all the time that what they really want is simply military union to protect the U.S.S.R. and that their democratic pretensions are only a pose. There is also a strong reaction against them because of their rule or ruin methods in the labour movement.

I thank you for the papers you sent me, as well as for your valuable information. My good friend, Carlo Tresca, has kept me somewhat in touch with the real conditions in Spain. We can only hope the Spanish people - and the Chinese - will come through their dreadful tragedies.

My regular New York address is: 320, E. 72nd St., N.W. City.

With warm personal regards,  
Sincerely yours,

(Sgd.) JOHN DEWEY.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 Feb. 21, Key West, Fla. [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / John Dewey. — 1 p. ; 23 x 18 cm.

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Institutional Location: Solo Linder Archive.

0927.

Spain

1724, Flagler Ave.,  
Key West, Fla.

Lin

Feb. 21/38.

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358



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 Feb. 21 [London to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Miles Malleson. — 1 p. ; 17 × 13 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

27, BELSIZE SQUARE,

N.W.3.

PRIMROSE GROVE.

21.2.38

Dear Emma Goldman,

Thank you for your letter. I have been in Paris over some work - only got back a day or two ago.

Of course, certainly if my work permits, I would like to be present at the Evening you are planning, but I have a couple of films on hand and the wretched things are apt to demand all one's time while they are being made.

I won't undertake to perform at your evening! Because it is many years since I did and it would be silly to do something quite ineffective.

I'm out of touch with the Theatres at present and am afraid I can't make any suggestions about a Theatre - it is always a terrible problem but I hope you are solving your difficulties.

With very best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

Miles Malleson.

# The Emma Goldman Papers

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[Letter] 1938 Feb. 22 [London to] Ethel [Mannin, Dubrovnik, Yugoslavia] / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p. ; 19 x 16 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17194

22nd February 1938.

My dearest Ethel,

Your letter of the 18th reached me at 50 South Avenue this morning. You will see by the enclosed letter that I wrote you on Friday; but kept the letter here awaiting arrival of a word from you. Since I received nothing from you on Saturday and yesterday I could not bear the strain of waiting any more so I wired you to Ville Mars. I hope the wire reached you.

My dear, how could you think such a foolish thought, that I changed you for Rebecca - that could never happen. She is very charming; but she has not your revolutionary spirit, or your warmth - besides clinging to my friends is one of my conservative traits. I cannot give up anyone easily, although I would never raise a finger to prevent them going. It has always been a terrible wrench, as in the case of Paul. He has of course not replied to the letter that was put into his hands on the Sunday of the meeting at the Covent Garden Opera House. There is nothing more to do. I cannot go down on my knees before the man and I hate to become a nuisance. It is certain that he has become 100% Stalinist, and therefore cannot afford to continue on friendly relations with me. It is sad because he will have a rude awakening. At the same time it is terrible to me that Paul should be so blind to all the horrors that are going on in Russia. The shootings and killings are beyond belief. No one is any longer safe with his life, whether he is in Russia or outside of it. It looks as if Sidor, Trotsky's son, did not die of a natural death, and the other day one of the ex-diplomats was nearly killed going up the stairs of his flat. I tell you there was never such horrifying things done in the name of a political creed since the Jesuits ferreted out their opponents and destroyed them. Yet there is no way of getting people to see the crimes done in Russia - of emancipating them from the myth that Russia is the workers' fatherland. At a small meeting at Eastbourne on Sunday I was violently attacked by the communists and called every contemptible name one could think of; but the pity of it was that the I.L.P. Secretary, who was also the Chairman, made all kinds of apologies for having me to speak. You bet I will never again go to any such organizations. I have not the energy to go through with such things or the time.

To come back to our affair. You will see by my letter

# The Emma Goldman Papers

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17198

of Friday that we decided on the 1st April because we could not get anything, not even Friends House, for the 31st March, and Rebecca was not free on the 30th - nor could we postpone the affair until after Easter, because Rebecca made it quite clear that she could not tie herself for that time. She is going back to Yugo Slavia to finish her book. So there was nothing else to do but to have it on the 1st. I cannot imagine that people are so superstitious about the first being "Fool's Day" to be kept away from our affair. It simply has to take place then or not at all - so we must chance it.

You certainly did right in writing Housman. I don't know people in England and do not know their complexes. I am sure that Reg knew what he was doing about the wire. I do hope I will hear from Housman before the week is over, and that he will consent. So far we have only Rebecca and you. I think I will be able to get Miles Maleson. A letter from him tells me that he could not perform anything, and he is so occupied with filming. He is not very sure whether he can be with us but he would try. I don't know whom of the English poets we could reach. I am writing Brian Howard to ask him to suggest somebody. By the way it was he who sent me Auden's name, also Nancy Cunard. He wrote that he is responsible for both of them being on our sponsor list. I hear that Auden was mixed up with the communists. How far I do not know. In any event he is in China now, so we could not approach him; but I will try Brian Howard he may be able to help. I had a letter from Thomas Burke. He said his voice doesn't carry and he never spoke on platforms. I am glad you told me about Joad. You see I don't know any of these people, or what they can do. Fortunately I have not written him.

Harriet Cohen has refused to play on the cheap excuse that her Jewish name might do us harm. Too ridiculous for words.

Sonia Clements will see Sidonie Woossens to find out whom she can get in the way of musicians. I called up Sonia and told her that you had suggested Elizabeth Schumann; but I understand that she is away up in the school of fame, and probably will not want to mix up with our group; but there possibly Sidonie will try her.

I am sending this registered because of the cheques I am enclosing and please when you return them do so by registered post as well. I am sending a/o of the Grand Hotel Imperial, Dubrovnik. I don't know what you mean by Ragusa. Is it the same as Dubrovnik? My knowledge of Yugo Slavia has been sadly neglected. I am taking a chance in sending to you o/o the Grand Hotel Imperial, Dubrovnik.

As you see I have written that Barbara has called up. She has been to our place only twice since you left. She is on a new job as you know, and is probably doing other things, or is too tired to help. Since she didn't find it necessary to come I didn't call her any more. We are sending you leaflets under separate cover.

With a great deal of love.

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Feb. 22, London [to] Rudolf [Rocker, Crompond, N.Y.] / Emma [Goldman]. — 4 p. ; 26 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Rudolf Rocker Archive.



C.N.T.

A.I.T.

F.A.I.

Representing THE NACIONAL CONFEDERACION OF LABOR  
AND REGIONAL COMITE C.N.T.-F.A.I.-BARCELONA  
INTERNATIONAL PRESS SERVICE

London Office

21 PRITH STREET  
SHAFTESBURY AVENUE  
LONDON, W.1

London, 22nd February 1938.

TELEPHONE: GERARD 3636

Dear Rudolf,

It was a great treat to get your long letter knowing how hard you work, and how difficult it is for you to keep up correspondence when you are lecturing or writing. I doubly appreciate your most interesting and informative letter. Thank you my dear. Of course I knew most of the things you wrote to me. I made it my business to go in very deeply in all the motives which induced our people to make concessions and such compromises which I fear may cost them more than they realise. It is because I understood the terrific forces arrayed against them that I took my place at their side, and explained many things, which unfortunately the average hearer at the meeting cannot understand. Next to the Russian Revolution, the Spanish has for a time raised the spirit of some of the workers, if not the entire international proletariat. It is therefore not surprising when after the May events, and the gradual loss of vantage point on the part of the CNT, the workers outside of Spain drop back to their old lethargy and indifference. To be sure the main blame for that rests with the labour movements in every country. With the Labour Party and Trade Unions here and the CGT in France, as well as the gang that represented the Popular Front in Blum's government. Nevertheless the world outside cannot understand how it happened that so powerful an organisation as the CNT-PSI should have permitted itself to be robbed of its great power which had demonstrated on the 19th July and for a few months afterwards.

*small speech*  
Russia had by furnishing arms to the Anti-Fascist struggle - how it strengthened the superstition that it was a power which saved Spain from Franco, and it will take a long time to convince the masses that whatever Stalin did it was not till three and a half months after the 19th July - that he did nothing during the most critical months, and that it was a mere business deal with the central government, and also a trick to establish dictatorship of his kind in Spain. So far it has been impossible to convince anybody that this was the condition that moved Stalin. On last Sunday night at a small meeting arranged by the Independent Labour Party I saw once more that the audience simply did not credit my facts regarding the part of Stalin in Spain. I am telling you all this in order to reassure you that I am heart and soul with our people, and that I have stood with them, and will stand to the very last, unless as I have already wrote to you they consent to some kind of a deal with that corrupt gang of the Third International. No doubt he has a great influence on the National Committee. They certainly reckon with him and hold him in high regard. I could see that when I went on tour with him. He was everywhere received with open arms and given every help and opportunity to gather material and get about from place to place. No doubt it was he who put a bee in their bonnet regarding political alliances with the I.L.P. and with all the other rotten political parties; but in the last analysis it shows up in bold relief the utter ignorance of our people in Spain as to the



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[illegible][illegible]

If only you could have been in Spain, or at least near enough to be in constant communication with Vazquez and the others. I am sure they would have welcomed you and would have learned from making some of the many mistakes and conceptions they have made.

I am very glad indeed that you were able to deal with your last letter. I hope and pray that it has had an effect and that the idea of again making common cause with the C.P. will not come to pass. As you say yourself it would be sheer madness that there is a big change I see as by the campaign for an amnesty for political prisoners in Anti-Fascist Spain. Libertaire is bombarding in every issue for a political amnesty, and speaking straight from the shoulder about the so-called mischief makers. Inasmuch as the Libertaire has gone over to the defence of the CNT-FAI, I cannot imagine that it could have started a campaign without the consent of the CNT. As finally the campaign was begun by the Regional Committee through Domènec i de Segarra. In other words our people have as it seems chosen their attitude in regard to the CP. They will therefore not be taken in by the same with the same conjurers. Never the less I still feel much relieved that you agree with me that everything must be done to prevent our people from falling into the trap now laid for them by Stalin and his saboteurs. I hope we will succeed.

ACCORDING TO THE RECORDS OF THE NEW YORK STATE DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL SERVICES, THE FOLLOWING INDIVIDUALS WERE PLACED IN THE STATE OF NEW YORK IN THE YEAR 1954:

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Feb. 22, London [to] Rudolf [Rocker, Crompond, N.Y.] / Emma [Goldman].— 4 p. ; 26 x 20 cm.

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I am very sorry to hear that my prediction about Covici Friede has come true. I do not believe for a moment that either one of them has changed. You see that Sam worked for some crooked business methods, especially as regards the book. He left them because he would not be a part of that crooked bunch. Of course now it is too late to do that. Although you and I both know Covici Friede morally to give back the money. I am sure that he is among our friends and have his word that a letter every quarter he legally obliged to send the authors statement every three months. He is also obliged to permit authors representatives to go near the books. I hope you will not permit scribbles to stand in the way of setting with that crooked bunch.

With love to Millie and Herman.

Affectionately,

Emma

*Have been back to work for a while and the  
book is ready. I have signed it for the book  
it will be the same.*

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17500

22nd February 1938.

Dear Rudolf,

It was a great treat to get your long letter knowing how hard you work, and how difficult it is for you to keep up correspondence when you are lecturing or writing. I doubly appreciate your most interesting and informative letter. Thank you very dear. Of course I knew most of the things you wrote to me. I made it my business to go in very deeply in all the motives which induced our people to make concessions and such compromises which I fear may cost them more than they realize. It is because I understood the terrific forces arrayed against them that I took my place at their side, and explained many things, which unfortunately the average leader at the meeting cannot understand. Next to the Russian Revolution, the Spanish has for a time raised the spirit of some of the workers, if not the entire international proletariat. It is therefore not surprising when after the May events, and the gradual loss of vantage point on the part of the CNT, the workers outside of Spain drop back to their old lethargy and indifference. To be sure the main blame for that rests with the labour movements in every country. With the Labour Party and Trade Unions here and the CGT in France, as well as the gang that represented the Popular Front in Blum's government. Nevertheless the world outside cannot understand how it happened that so powerful an organization as the CNT-PSI should have permitted itself to be robbed of its great power which had demonstrated on the 19th July and for a few months afterwards.

You know yourself the effect of a superstitious and the native muscle had by furnishing arms to the Anti-Fascist struggle - how it strengthened the superstition that it was a power which saved Spain from France, and it will take a long time to convince the masses that whatever Stalin did it was not till three and a half months after the 19th July - that he did nothing during the most critical months, and that it was a mere business deal with the central government, and also a trick to establish dictatorship of his kind in Spain. So far it has been impossible to convince anybody that this was the condition that moved Stalin. On last Sunday night at a small meeting arranged by the Independent Labour Party I saw once more that the audience simply did not credit my facts regarding the part of Stalin in Spain. I am telling you all this in order to reassure you that I am heart and soul with our people, and that I have stood with them, and will stand to the very last, unless as I have already wrote to you they consent to some kind of a deal with that corrupt gang of the Third International. No doubt G has a great influence on the National Committee. They certainly reckon with him and hold him in high regard. I could see that when I went on tour with him. He was everywhere received with open arms and given every help and opportunity to gather material and get about from place to place. No doubt it was he who put a bee in their bonnet regarding political alliance with the I.L.P. and with all the other rotten political parties; but in the last analysis it shows up in bold relief the utter ignorance of our people in Spain on Euro-



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2.

17589

pean affairs. Not only on European affairs but also the standing and influence of some of our European comrades. Thus it is not only S but a man like Green, much less informed of our movement in Europe than S, he also made them think that his influence in America was far reaching and made a number of absurd and ludicrous propositions. It seems that our comrades are not the only naïf people in Spain. Green also made the propaganda department of the Generalitat believe that he was a great person, so much so, that they permitted him to translate an Album "De Luxe" which they published in Spanish, and which is made up in such awful English that it is impossible to make anything out of it. Heaven only knows how much they spent on the publication of the English version which that ignorant and boastful fellow made them do.

Their simplicity regarding foreign affairs seems to be getting them more and more into troubled waters. Yet I don't know what can be done about it. You say if the comrades of Europe had given them better understanding and real solidary help, the CNT-FAI would have been more amenable to reason. Dearest Rudolf, who are our comrades in Europe? With the exception of CH and Besnard and possibly Volin, there is not one of any consequence, and even these three are able to reach only a small number. So in the last analysis, although their criticism was harmful, it did not carry much weight. The rank and file of the comrades in France went with the CNT-FAI. As far as Sweden is concerned the comrades there absolutely stood by our Spanish people. They have actually raised two hundred thousand Swedish Krona, and have carried on an intensive campaign for the struggle of the CNT-FAI.

If only you could have been in Spain, or at least near enough to be in constant communication with Vazquez and the others. I am sure they would have welcomed you and would have refrained from making some of the many mistakes and concessions they have made.

to reach

I am very glad indeed that you were able to reach Vazquez with your letter. I hope and pray that it has had an effect and that the idea of again making common cause with the C.F. will not come to pass. As you say yourself it would be fatal. That there is a bit of a change I can see by the campaign for an amnesty for political prisoners in Anti-Fascist Spain. Liberteire is bombarding in every issue for a political amnesty, and speaking straight from the shoulder about the CP method mischief makers. Inasmuch as the Liberteire has gone over to the defence of the CNT-FAI, I cannot imagine that it would have started a campaign without the consent of the CNT. Actually the campaign was begun by the Regional Committee through Domenech the Secretary. In other words our people have as it seems changed their tactics in regard to the CP. They will therefore not be quite so opposed, dealing with the same conjurers. Never the less I feel very much relieved that you agree with me that everything must be done to prevent our people from falling into the trap now laid for them by Stalin and his entourage. I hope we will succeed.

After two months of effort to establish ourselves in central located quarters we are at last fixed. We have opened our Exhibition of the drawings of children and lace work by refugee women in Catal-

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3

J7590

his last Thursday 17th this month. You will want to weep when I tell you that though we have distributed thousands of folders and bulletins - sent out over one thousand letters and invitations and advertised in a number of papers, only a few people so far have come to see the Exhibition. It is heartbreaking; but there is nothing to do except grit ones teeth and hold on for dear life in the hope that when the Exhibition becomes known more people will turn up. The Manchester Guardian critic came on Thursday and then wrote a little notice about the Exhibition. He was good enough to mention the S.I.A. and to give the number and address of our office; but he declared that the works of the children in Catalonia is not more remarkable than of other children; because it shows no effect of the horrors under which they live and work. It never occurred to him that because of the horrors under which they live and work, their drawings are remarkable. Such is the lack of insight of the average literary and art critic; but we are glad to have the notice in the Guardian because it might bring people.

I don't know whether I ever wrote you that we printed the Structure of the CNT which we have since sent out - about 1200 of them together with a letter to Trade Union legates to the Congress and to members of the Trades Councils. We have had slight return in the request of some of the Trades Councils for more Structures which the Secretary promised to send out to their membership and which will be brought up for discussion. Perhaps in that way we may make the CNT, its work and structure known in England in the Trade Union and Labour ranks. That seems to me to be more direct and the most constructive propaganda. Meetings are not only a barren response, rarely covered by public collections, and speaking in England has become the bane of my life. I am sick of it before I start and the after effects through the lack of response of English audiences is awful. I don't want to speak if I can help it, although one is dragged into it against ones will. Thus I am going to Glasgow for ten days to lecture there, in Edinburgh and perhaps Aberdeen. In Glasgow there is another helpful thing waiting me - the fact between Guy Aldred's so called group and the comrades who are arranging my meetings. Perhaps that is enervating from whatever angle one considers.

Vazquez sent me a lot of material, part published in *Tierras Libres* and the other three papers - special bulletin about the election in 1936 and all that has happened since. It will appear in Spain & The World and we will make a folder out of a mass of it and send them to the Trades Councils and Trade Union Branches of which we have already received lists. One of them only the Woodworkers and the Iron workers represent 2000 addresses.

Last but not least we have begun to work on a literary and musical event for the 1st April. So far we have only Rebecca West and Kehl Mannin; but we expect to get Laurence Olivier, who is very widely known through his play *Victorie Regina*. Alfred Hitchcock, who is some outstanding musician. Rebecca will speak and make the appeal. You can see we are not losing time, though we are losing sleep in trying to think up new schemes that would make the work of the Spanish comrades known in this country and help us to raise funds for the S.I.A.

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4

J7591

I am glad Warburg has sent you half of the amount you are getting in advance royalties. Just as soon as the book is out, then I will see to it that he sends you the balance. I wish he would hurry up about your book. If I could only have it for Scotland I think I could sell quite a few. I am going to call up Warburg and see if I can have some copies before I go to Scotland.

Your work will be a great help to the small group of the Anarcho-Syndicalist Union. We are trying to make a living organisation out of it but it is a heartbreaking job. After nearly 50 years in the Anarchist movement and my repeated visits to England I have discovered two British energetic of the intellectuals. One of them is Aldous Huxley, who in response to a letter from me wrote me the enclosed which will interest you. He is now in America, in fact near New York. Another one is Herbert Read who has written a number of books and is a well known art critic. He is reading your work and I hope he will write a review for some of the papers. He has already told me that he is keenly interested in it and finds himself in complete agreement with your interpretation of raising a civilisation. If the papers review I will naturally send it to you. Mr Herbert Read thought it might help to induce publishers to get out a cheap edition or to import sheets. You bet I am working on that.

I am terribly sorry to hear that my contention about Coviel Friede has come true. I do not believe for a moment that either one of them has changed. You see that Saxe worked for them. He saw their crooked business methods, especially as regards authors. In point of fact he left them because he would not become a party to their shady dealings. Of course now it is too late to lament, although you can certainly force Coviel Friede morally to give you an accounting. See one of the lawyers among our friends and have him write them a letter. Every publisher is legally obliged to send the author a statement every three months. He is also obliged to permit authors representative to go over the books. I hope you will not permit scruples to stand in the way in dealing with that crooked bunch.

With love to Millie and Ferman.

Affectionately.



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18498

22nd February 1938.

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370



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3

10497

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With love to Millie and Herman.

Affectionately.

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373

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[Letter, 19]38 Feb. 22, London [to] Leon [Malmed, Albany, N.Y.] / Emma [Goldman].— 2 p. ; 24 x 17 cm.

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C.N.T.

A.I.T.

F.A.I.

Representing—THE NACIONAL CONFEDERACION OF LABOR  
AND REGIONAL COMITE C.N.T.-F.A.I.—BARCELONA  
INTERNATIONAL PRESS SERVICE

London Office:

21 FRITH STREET  
SHAFTESBURY AVENUE  
LONDON, W.1

London, Feb. 22nd 38.

TELEPHONE: GERARD 3636

My dear Leon.

I have not forgotten you. It is only that I work like a galley slave to rouse interest in the heroic struggle of our comrades in Spain. I was there again last Fall as you will have seen from the Freie Arb.Stimme. And I came back with greater determination to increase my efforts for our people. But it is hopeless in England. Every undertaking costs me no end of strength and heart ache and brings nothing. Often I want to give up and burry myself somewhere. But then again I am whipped up by the pressing need of the comrades in Spain, their appeals and their insistance I should not give them up. So I go on although I feel most discouragement.

You will see by the inclosures how I feel and what I think about the struggle in Spain and what I am doing here. I wish you could see the Exhibition I have arranged, the work of the children under daily danger of bombardment. It would grip your heart. But no matter what one does here there is no response.

I hear that your son married Bernsteins daughter. Is that true? I did not even know they had met. So pretty soon you will be a grandfather. Life is strange my dear and the years roll on.

I may sail for Canada next autumn ~~although~~ although I have no hopes of entering the States. ~~Friends~~ Friends are working for it. But it looks dubious. Well, at least I will be near enough to see my people and a few comrades yourself included. It is not certain though. It depends



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I.A.H

T.I.A

T.M.O

to a large extent on the situation in Spain. I may have to go back there again first. I will let you know in good time.

Write me dear Leon and tell me about yourself.

With my old affections.

*Emma*

The letter will not go until Tuesday but I have used the time while waiting for people to come to see the Exhibition.

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Feb. 22, London [to] Carlo Tresca, [New York] / Emma Goldman.—  
1 p. ; 14 × 22 cm.  
Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

## TRESCA ANTICOMUNISTA



NESSUNO più di Carlo Tresca difese con profonda passione e lealtà la Rivoluzione Russa e l'avvento dell'Unione delle Repubbliche Sovietiche Russe.

Nei primi anni della lotta antifascista in America collaborò sinceramente con i comunisti e fu un fervente propugnatore di alleanze, leghe e fronti unici antifascisti. Ma poi i suoi entusiasmi si raffreddarono e a mano a mano la ruppe con i comunisti e divenne uno spietato nemico della dittatura stalinista e della burocrazia sovietica, che, secondo lui, aveva avversati e distrutti gli sviluppi della rivoluzione ed aggiogato il popolo russo ad una nuova tirannide.

In questo suo atteggiamento trovò il plauso e l'incitamento di vecchi amici libertari, con i quali aveva combattuto le più belle lotte della sua gioventù.

Valga un documento solo per tutti:

Il 22 febbraio 1938, Emma Goldman scriveva a Carlo la seguente lettera da Londra:

Dear Carlo:-

You will be surprised to hear from me after so many years. I assure you I never could explain why you failed to get in touch with me all these years. I suppose we are both busy people and therefore take it for granted that we both would understand that though we do not correspond we have not ceased to be friendly. I said we are both busy people. I see that you have added a new job to the many, that is to show up the long arm of Stalin. Well, I do not

envy you! In the first place it will prove a difficult task because Russia has poisoned all the wells of decent public opinion and one cannot hope to get a hearing even in the so called liberal press. In the second place you will become a target for the rotten Communist gang not only to besmirch your character but also to endanger your life. For they are capable of murder open and underhand as they have proven for a very considerable number of years. Then too it's rather a disagreeable job to have to apply to a Capitalist Court to expose the Stalin gangsters. All in all I do not envy your job though I think you should go ahead to expose the disappearance of Miss Poyntz.

If I had any vanity I should now be in the seventh heaven for the very things Berkman and I wrote and said about the Moscow gang are being accepted as absolute fact by many people formerly denouncing me as a counter-revolutionary. The trouble is that most of the former Communists who now call themselves Trotskyists, I mean those who really go with Trotsky, not the kind whom Stalin designates as such, are really not much different than Stalin. I mean they would do exactly as Stalin does if they were in power. In point of fact Trotsky in power also exterminated his opponents. Only they happened to be Anarchists, and the Kronstadt sailors. However that is not the point now. What is important is that the masses should be made to see the betraying of the Russian revolution by the Communists, in and outside of Russia, and even a more heinous betrayal of the Spanish revolution and the Spanish people. I hope you are doing that.

from Omaggio Alla Memoria Imperitura di Carlo Tresca  
(New York: 1943)

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 Feb. 22 [London to] Brian Howard, [Paris?] / [Emma Goldman]. —  
1 p. ; 24 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.  
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Feb. 22nd 38

Dear Mr Brian Howard.

I had intended to inclose a personal note in the letter we sent out together with our folder and bulletin about the SIA. But I was frightfully busy arranging our Exhibition. I hope you received the announcement. Do you come to London occasionally? I would love to have you see the childrens drawings in Barcelona and other Catalanian schools. Then we could also meet.

To day I am taking the liberty to ask if you would kindly suggest some outstanding poet to read something at an affair we are planning for the SIA. It is to take place in Friends House April First. So far we have Rebecca West and Ethel Mannin and we are hoping to get Mr Laurence Housman. The affair is to be a combination literary and musical evening and we do want real talent to participate. I was very sorry indeed to learn that Mr Auden is in China or I should have asked him. Perhaps you can suggest some other one of his stand in the world of poetry. Please let me know soon.

Sincerely

I hope you do not have any prejudice about April First. It was unfortunately the only free date we could have. Rebecca West and Rebecca West is going away early in April.

## The Emma Goldman Papers

870929165

[Letter, 19]38 Feb. 22 [London to] Miles Malleon, [London] / [Emma Goldman].—  
2 p.; 27 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.  
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17799

Feb 22nd 38

Dear Miles Malleon.

I understood that you must be away because I called your house on the phone twice and no one replied. I am glad you are in town now so I can reach you quickly.

Well, we tried every theatre we could think of. But to no avail, either engaged or too expensive for our pockets. We could have gotten the PHOENIX for the 27th of next month but Rebecca West is not free Sunday. So we had to content ourselves with THE FRIENDS HOUSE and for April First. I have no feelings about that date but no doubt others have. Yet we had to take the Hall or give up the affair altogether. I did want to change it to March 30th. But Rebecca was not free then and not another date in April than the First.

It does not matter if you cannot perform we want you anyhow. Perhaps you will read something, or just say a few words for the SIA. Please say yes because we want to put you on our bill. If you should be stuck with your filming you can send us a letter that we might read at the affair.

Perhaps you could tell me of some known actress or actor who might be approached and asked to participate. It seems one cannot

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

870929165

[Letter, 19]38 Feb. 22 [London to] Miles Malleson, [London] / [Emma Goldman]. —  
2 p. ; 27 × 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.*

17800

not approach anybody in England unless one has connections or pull.  
And I have neither except a few friends like Ethel Mannin, Rebecca or  
yourself.

Please let me hear from you soon. Oh, yes could I have  
some names among your friends or acquaintance to whom our folder mig  
might be mailed.

Yours Sincerely

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 Feb. 22 [London to] D[ouglas] Goldring, [London] / [Emma Goldman].— 1 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.  
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Feb. 22nd 38

Dear Douglas Goldring.

I received your two letters the second one of Feb 17th. So the first letter was not "rabbling or incomprehensible" and it did not give me the impression that you were ill when you wrote it. I was sorry you did not feel that you cared to add your name to our list of sponsors but it was alright.

Mrs Gordon-Crotch has been back in Venice since last March. She comes to England only rarely and never remains long. Thank you for asking me to drop in some day when you and Mrs Goldman are at home. But I am so swamped with work for the above society and for the children in distress in Spain I really cannot spare the time ~~unusually~~ for visits. But I appreciate your invitation just the same.

I am glad to know you are feeling better, the weather in London is atrocious most of the time. Perhaps if a sunny day should happen you might care to come to the Exhibition. It is open from 10 to 5 P.M. every day except Sunday. Would you care to let me have a list of names of your circle whom the enclosed folder and bulleting might be sent?

Cordially,

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 Feb. 22 [London to] Louis Go[ld]ing, [London] / [Emma Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.  
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Feb. 22nd 38

Dear Louis Godling. Please do not think me a nuisance coming so often to you with all kinds of requests. My one excuse is is my intense desire to help the heroic people in Spain, and especially the children. I hope you received our announcements of the Exhibition and that you will find a moment to come to see it. But besides this I want your cooperation in an affair I am organising. It is to be a combination of evening of literature, poetry and music also for the SIA and the children in Spain.

So far we have Rebecca West, Ethel Mannin, Miles Malleson and we are hoping to have Laurence Hausman. Also we are trying to get some outstanding musicians. Will you participate in any way you like? We had hoped to have the affair in a theatre but those we approached were all taken for the dates we wanted. So we will have the affair in FRIENDS HOUSE, April First. I do hope you have no aversion to that date. Some people do unfortunately. But Rebecca could not give us March 30th and FRIENDS HOUSE ~~THAT DATE~~ is taken for the 31st. We were therefore obliged to have it April First or not at all.

Now be a good generous soul and do help us make the affair a great success. Just say you will be one of the writers who will participate.

If you are not too frightfully busy would you give me a list of names of your circle of friends to whom I might send announcements of our Exhibition and later of the literary evening.

Most sincerely

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Postcard] 1938 Feb. 22, Dubrovnik [Yugoslavia to] Emma [Goldman], London / Ethel [Mannin]. — 2 p. ; 7 x 11 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.  
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Grand Hotel Imperial, Dubrovnik. 22nd Feb. 1938  
Rec. yr wire this mornin', dearest Emma, but I  
wrote you a huge letter on the 18th (also one  
to Houseman) which must have arrived at latest the  
day after you wired me. You forget, dear, that  
letters take 4 days (5 if you count the day of post-  
ing) & no purpose is served in 'air-mailin', as  
all continental mails now go by air, also the near-  
est airport to here is Belgrade, & it has to come  
by train from there. I replied to yrs of the 13th  
the same day as I rec. it. We leave here for Split  
at the end of the week; I am writing Barbara & have  
asked her to let you know immediately (along with  
various other people) I don't know what's up with  
the kid—the only letter I've had from her was to  
the post-office awaiting my arrival here; since  
then — silence, & I've written her to date 4 times  
from here — apart from all the pos en route. Have you  
seen her? I really can't understand it, and he's  
& feel quite worried. My love to you. Love — (M)

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

870925488

[Postcard] 1938 Feb. 22, Dubrovnik [Yugoslavia to] Emma [Goldman], London / Ethel [Mannin]. — 2 p. ; 7 × 11 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.



17267



ENGLAND.

Mrs. Colton

6, Sneath Av.

LONDON. N.W.11.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938] Feb. 22, Bearsville [N.Y. to Emma Goldman, London] / Stella [Ballantine]. — 2 p. ; 22 x 17 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.  
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

18289

Bearsville - Feb. 22nd:

Dearest:

Yours of the 11th just came with enclosures. As I have one of my damned neuralgia attacks of the eye today, this must be brief, but the Queen Mary sails tomorrow and I don't want to delay matters. Not that I have anything new to write except a message from Ian which is significant. He went to Washington to see about a job last week, not very successful. He is at the crossroads, poor kid, and worried about the future. What he wants most is to have a year at the London School of Economics for his Master's degree. I finally got Teddy to consent to write Harry about it and see if we can raise the cash. But to come back to what he wrote. I quote:

"A friend of Saxs's, Miss Blackburn, got me a pass to the House of Representatives. There they were debating an appropriation for the Department of Labor. There were a lot of hard words about Frances Perkins, accusing her of overstepping her powers. There was even talk of impeachment. A chyeter member from Alabama got up and made an impassioned speech about Perkins letting all sorts of criminals into this country and giving names. Among those he cited was Emma's name?

I think I hardly need comment on the above. What a coincidence that Ian should be in the House at that moment. They are of course trying their damnest to deport Harry Bridges, head of the Maritime Workers on the Pacific coast, because he is an Australian. It worries me too that the clipping about Juliet Ppyntz was missing. This time I made sure I put it in. It either dropped out of the letter, or somebody sees your mail before you do. After this look for clippings among the Times and Nation, which never fails to go out to you every week.

The SAI sounds grand and what a splendid list of sponsors. I don't know why you want to come back here, when you succeed in interesting such people in a movement for Spain over there. I am sure there would be such a much heartache and disappointment over here and in view of the position Perkins is in at the moment, it looks hopeless to me. I have heard her attacked again and again on the radio and what could committees do with her in view of the uncertainty of her own position? She is disliked too by the CIO and the AFL, as well as the reactionaries and the only hope we seem to have is if she resigns and Roosevelt names a liberal or radical in her place. I should think Powers Hapgood, who stands very close to John Lewis, could do a million times more than all the liberal women on a Committee, appealing to Perkins ever could.

Essie may change but I am sure Paul won't, even if the Communists have convinced him that you are a mortal enemy of the masses at the present moment. So glad you got in touch with Rebecca West again. I have a most wholesome respect for the mind of that girl and her judgment. I think she is one of the clearest thinking women of our time.

I am sending your letter on to Ian and begging him to write at once.

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938] Feb. 22, Bearsville [N.Y. to Emma Goldman, London] / Stella [Ballantine]. — 2 p. ; 22 × 17 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.  
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

10290

Saxe has been quite ill, at first we thought it was his heart and I was terribly worried. Sol wrote Dorothy and got the enclosed from her.

Please look for an article in your papers about the Union of the CIO and UOI, I am sending among your papers today.

Nothing impresses Davy. He remains as simple and spontaneous and sweet as he always was. It even embarrasses him when I mention his high marks. He seems to have inherited his Dad's modesty without his inhibitions. Just now he has caught a skin disease, called impetigo prevalent around here. Bib says nothing serious, and prescribed, but is most uncomfortable and can't go to school. He is pining for Teddy.

I will see that the Mannin book is returned to you. Teddy and Davy send you much love, as do I, always and ever.

*Stella*

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938 Feb. 22, Bearsville, N.Y. to Emma Goldman, London (enclosure)] / [Stella Ballantine].— 1 p.; 27 x 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

TELEPHONE HANCOCK 2000

17644

PHILIP KRANER, MANAGER

## Joint Board Cloak and Dressmakers Union

REPRESENTING LOCALS 12, 33, 39, 40, 50, 73 AND 80

International Ladies' Garment Workers Union

A. F. OF L.

OFFICE: 29 LA GRANGE STREET  
BOSTON, MASS.

February 7, 1938

Dearest Stella:

Your letter of January 31 on hand. As you see I am now in Boston and shall remain here indefinitely. When things are established I expect to come into N.Y. very often.

While in Boston I spoke to both Senior and Junior Hapgood who are very much interested in getting some help for Emma. Powers will approach Josephine Roach when she comes to Washington, and the father intends to speak to Sherwood Eddy, who is also now in Washington, he may have some influence over our Madam Sec'y.

It seems to me that we will have to wait for a chance to meet Mrs Roosevelt. She is a busy person and is almost everywhere only one has to watch carefully the time when we can meet her. I understand that Nancy Cook, although a personal friend of Mrs Roosevelt is not very anxious to do any kind of work; she is by nature a lazy person and only a good politician.

Emma intended to move to Lisa while I was in London. She was not very happy in her flat (a cold and dreary affair) and made arrangements with Lisa to get a nice room with her. Lisa is now conducting a rooming house, and Emma will feel much better there where everything will be ready for her. I know the hardships she has to encounter with the Spanish comrades. They are now determined to win the war, and are not ready to criticize any action the U.S.S.P. is taking against them. This was the bone of contention at the Congress and it will come up every now and then. Emma thought, that if they persist in hobnobbing with Russia, she will have to sever her connections with them. And of course the only salvation was the entry into the U.S.A.

You are right—I am up to my neck in the work. They are renovating the Union Headquarters, painting, renovating etc. it keeps me busy all the time, but I expect to get through some day. As soon as I see my way clear, I shall make a trip to N.Y. expect to be there the week/ end of Washington's Birthday.

Greetings to the family,

Rose



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Feb. 22, London [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Fredric J. Warburg. — 1 p. ; 24 × 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.  
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

**MARTIN SECKER AND WARBURG LTD**

22 Essex Street, London, W.C.2

Publishers

February 22, 1938

My dear Emma,

Thank you for your letter of February 19 with the enclosures. Now that we have this new section of Cervantes book we shall hope to come to a decision within a week.

I shall certainly make an effort to come and see the exhibition, but I am so busy just at present that I can make no promises.

With reference to Rucker's book, we are planning to publish it on March 7 and early copies should be available to-morrow. We can therefore in any case let you have a specimen copy to show round but copies of the book cannot actually be sold until March 7.

Ethel Mannin's book is also nearly ready to appear and will probably come out about the 14th or 21<sup>st</sup>.

I am sorry I cannot give you a list of names to whom your folder might be sent, but we just have not got sufficient secretaries to get it typed out.

With kind regards.

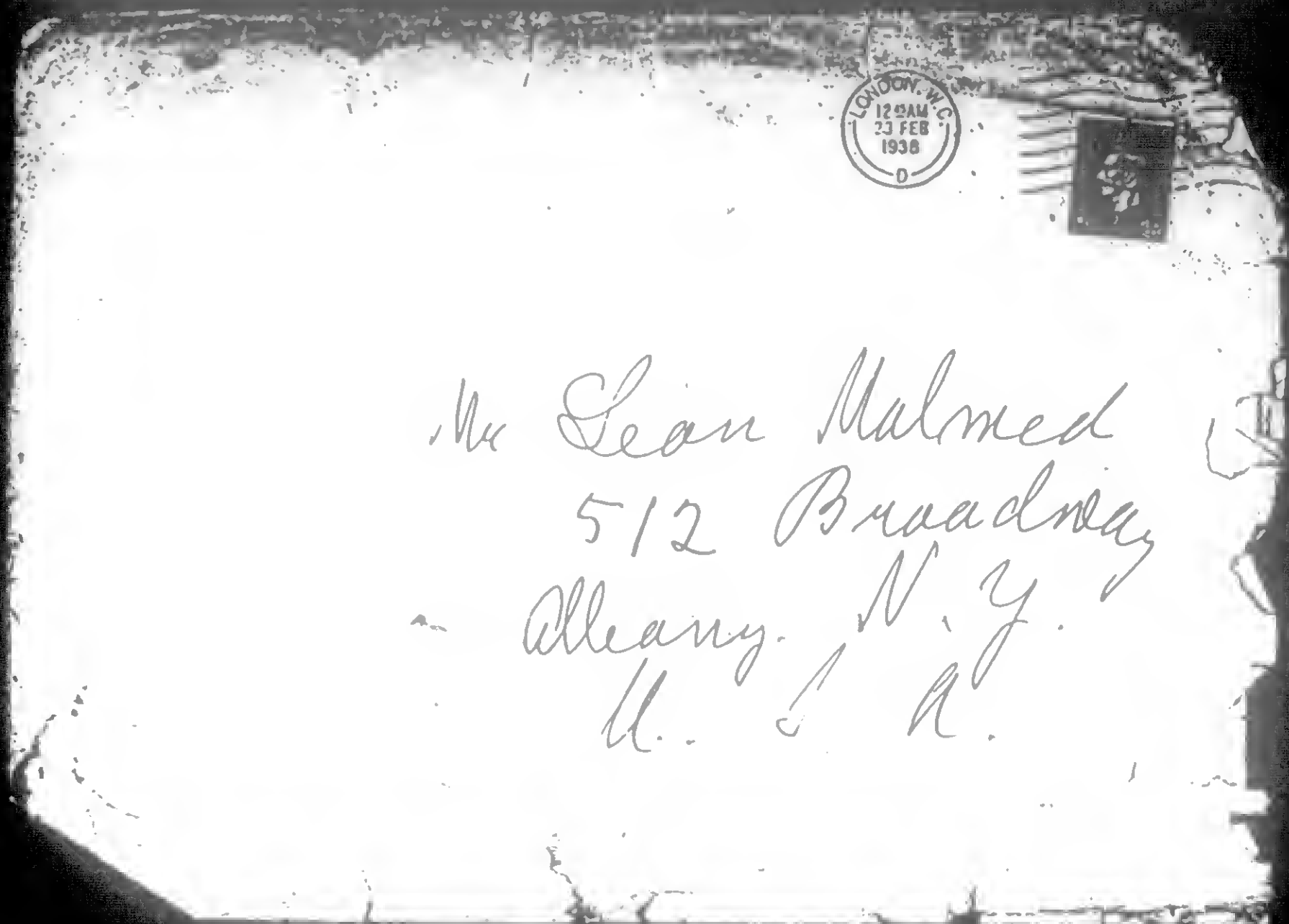
Yours sincerely,

*Fredric J. Warburg*

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Envelope] 1938 Feb. 23, London [to] Leon Malméd, Albany, N.Y. / [Emma Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 14 × 19 cm.

*Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe College.*



## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 Feb. 23 [London to] Monica Whately, [London] / [Emma Goldman].—  
1 p.; 24 × 19 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.  
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Feb 23rd 38.

Dear Monica Whately.

I am awfully sorry I won't be able to attend the next meeting of the SIX POINT GROUP. I am leaving the 4th of March for Scotland to be gone ten days. I am inclosing a small contribution, 5/ for my subscription and the other 2/6 as a contribution. I wish it were more. But my work for Spain leaves me very little for anything else.

I hope you will find a moment to visit our Exhibition we have arranged of the drawings of the children in Barcelona schools. They are very interesting. I am at the office and Exhibition every day from 130 to 7.30. I will be glad to see you. If you write Dr Moor please give her my kindest greetings. The best of success to your gathering the 4th.

Sincerely



## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 Feb. 23 [London to Sidney Vere] Pearson [Mundesley, England] / [Emma Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 24 × 19 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.  
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Feb. 23rd 38

Dear Dr Pearson.

Thanks a lot for your kind contribution to the ~~SEA~~. I wish there were more like you so willing to help. But really, the struggle to rouse interest for the unfortunate victims of France is beginning to be beyond my power of endurance. 1500 letters, folders and bulletins have gone out to people, four thousand bulletins distributed. The ~~TIME~~, ~~REYNOLDS~~, NEW LEADER, MAX NEW STATESMAN have had adverts the MANCHESTER ~~GUARDIAN~~ GUARDIAN had a nice notice. Wouldn't you think this would bring, if only a small percentage of people interested in the EXHIBITION. Actually not more than two dozen have come. I simply cannot understand it. However I do not intend to give up. Not so long as there are a few like you dear Dr Pearson.

I wonder if you would care to send out a few of our folders to your friends likely to be interested in the children's work? A personal note I am sure would help. Let me know and I will send you some folders and bulletins.

sincerely.



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Feb. 23 [London to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Louis Golding.—  
1 p. ; 20 × 16 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.  
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

10072

FROM LOUIS GOLDING. 10, HAMILTON TERRACE, N.W. 8

CUNNINGHAM 1994

MRS. EMMA GOLDMAN,  
Solidaridad Internacional Antifascista,  
81, Fifth Street,  
Shaftesbury Avenue, W. 1.

February 23rd, 1938.

Dear ~~Emma~~ Emma Goldman,

I am terribly sorry I can do nothing about April 1st. I am leaving for Paris on March 20th, and am quite vague when I shall be back. The only thing I am not vague about is that I shall be working very hard.

Lots of luck to the Exhibition and the literary evening.

Yours sincerely,

*Louis Golding*

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

870929267

[Letter, 19]38 Feb. 23 [London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Ruth [Craik?].—  
1 p.; 20 × 12 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

6

17961

33A, ST. PETERS SQUARE,  
HAMMERSMITH, W.6.  
RIVERSIDE 5492.

23/2/38.

Dear Emma

many thanks for  
the cheque, so promptly  
sent.

I'll be & get in touch  
with my dancing friend  
this weekend.

Yours in Love

Ruth Craik

P.S. - Saw "At Wildcove" by  
O'Neill last Saturday night  
with which you have  
accused. We thought the play  
excellent.

## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Feb. 23, Street [England to Emma] Goldman, [London] / Laurence Housman. — 1 p. ; 20 × 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Longmeadow,  
STREET,  
Somerset.

23rd. February, 1938

Dear Miss Goldman,

Ethel Mannin has written asking if I can take part in the performance you are arranging at Friends' House for April 1st. I am sorry I cannot, as on that date I am speaking for the P.P.U. at Croydon.

I enclose a donation for the organisation of which the performance is to be in aid.

Yours sincerely,

Laurence Housman

## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 Feb. 23 [London to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Miles Malleson. —  
1 p. ; 17 × 13 cm.

*Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.  
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.*

17793

27, BELSIZE SQUARE,

N.W. 3.

PRIMROSE GOSSE.

23. 2. 38

Dear Emma Goldman,

I have made a note of April 1st  
and if I have to be in a film studio, I  
could send you a line as you suggest.

As regards approaching actors  
and actresses, it might be a good thing  
to have a talk to the heads of Equity;  
they would probably put you in touch with  
the kind of people in the profession who  
are socially conscious.

Very best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

Miles Malleson.



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Feb. 24 [London to Nemesio] Galve, [Paris] / [Emma Goldman].—  
2 p.; 25 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.  
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

10039

24 février 1938

Cher camarade Galvé,

Je regrette de vous avoir fait tellement attendre pour acquiescer réception de la traduction anglaise du manuscrit Cervantès. Au moment actuel il est dans les mains d'un éditeur qui m'a promis de me donner une réponse définitive dans une semaine. S'il refusait de le publier je me rendrai chez un éditeur qui publie plusieurs livres sur l'Espagne. Le dernier est par Sir Peter Chalmers Mitchell qui habite Malaga quand les troupes de Franco se précipitèrent sur la ville. Je suis en train de le lire et j'espère de faire un compte rendu pour "SPAIN and the WORLD". Déjà j'ai pu voir que l'homme comprend très bien ce que c'est le C.N.T.-F.A.I. ainsi que les événements entre '31-'36 et depuis. Si je réussis à écrire un bon compte rendu je vous enverrai une copie pour l'ESPAGNE NOUVELLE ainsi qu'une pour les camarades de Barcelone pour Soli et d'autres journaux.

Je regrette de devoir constater que jusqu'ici nous n'avons pas réussi en attirant l'attention sur la lutte héroïque de nos camarades en Espagne. Nous avons espéré d'avoir plus de succès à travers la SIA ainsi qu'une exposition de dessins d'enfants dans les écoles de Barcelone. Nous avons une très belle exposition mais malgré le fait que nous avons fait beaucoup de publicité et distribué des milliers de copies ~~auxquelles~~ des feuillets ci-joint, très peu de gens l'en visité. C'est la même vieille histoire: l'Angleterre est une terre stérile pour intéresser les gens au travail de la C.N.T.-F.A.I. n'importe quelle initiative qu'ils soutiennent. Il y a sans doute un embargo contre la C.N.T.-F.A.I. parmi les différents partis dans ce pays. Ou ils ne mentionnent pas le nom de la C.N.T.-F.A.I. ou autrement ils ne leur montrent aucune sympathie. Croyez-moi cher camarade que vous ~~succédez~~ avez de la chance de pouvoir travailler en France. Après tout il y a là des mouvements anarchistes et anarcho-sindicalistes. En plus de cela les Français sont des révolutionnaires et ont un peu chaud. Tout cela nous manque en Angleterre. Et bien on doit faire le mieux possible dans les circonstances.

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Feb. 24 [London to Nemesio] Galve, [Paris] / [Emma Goldman].—  
2 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.  
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

18940

Et que dites vous des photos? cher camarade? Dans  
"l'Espagne nouvelle" vous publiez des photos de collectives  
etc. Je voudrai bien que vous nous en envoyér. Dans le  
prochain numéro de "SPAIN and the WORLD" il y aura beaucoup  
de matériel sur l'Espagne qui nous a été envoyé par le  
camarade Vazquez. Si nous pouvions seulement avoir quelques  
photos cela ferait ressortir beaucoup plus les articles. Je  
les ai demandées plusieurs fois à Vazquez et Herrera mais  
je n'ai rien reçu. Pourriez-vous nous en envoyer? Si vous  
le ferrez déclarez les à la douane. Nous n'avions pas reçus  
les clichés que camarade Mascarell a envoyés. Ils ont été  
retenus par la douane parce que, nous atte- a t'en dit, ils  
n'avaient pas été déclarés. Ça doit être la même chose pour  
les photos car Martin Oudell m'a écrit qu'il avait envoyé  
des photos par paquet recommandé. Elles ne sont pas arrivés.  
J'espère que vous pourrez nous en envoyer de votre collection.

Mes salutations bien sincères au camarade Rosa,  
il ne m'a jamais plus écrit, bien que l'année dernière il  
était toujours en contacts avec moi. Mes salutations aussi  
à la camarade Emillienne et Mascarell.

Salud.

## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Feb. 24, London [to Mariano R.] V[á]zquez, [Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.  
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Londres, 24 de Febrero de 1938.

19253

Estimado compañero Vazquez:

He recibido todas tus notas. Tierra y Libertad y el Boletín con la relación de los acontecimientos desde las elecciones de 1936. Casi y todo aparecerá en el próximo número de SPAIN AND THE WORLD que se publicará el 1º de Marzo. También he recibido el Manifiesto lanzado con la idea de levantar en Madrid un monumento a la memoria de DURRUTI. También será publicado en SPAIN AND THE WORLD y espero que los camaradas de América respondan con sus aportaciones.

En la carta desde Madrid, firmada por el camarada J.A. Olmos, en su calidad de secretario de la Comisión pro Monumento a Durruti, se habla de organizar aquí grupos simpatizantes con la idea, y sobre el particular he de hacer las mismas observaciones que a ti te he manifestado ya tantas veces así como también al compañero Herrera, o sea que en Inglaterra no existe ambiente para la formación de grupos con nuestros ideales. Lo único que se ha conseguido hasta la fecha es la recientemente formada Unión Anarco Sindicalista, que apenas si cuenta todavía con una docena de afiliados. Ya un pequeño grupo en una de las poblaciones de provincias de muy poca actividad. Esto es todo y esa falta de ambiente en este país es el obstáculo insuperable con que tenemos que contener y por lo que se hace tan difícil conseguir algo práctico.

No obstante, pienso dirigirme al secretario de la Independent Labour Party tan pronto como regresa de París, en donde se encuentra actualmente, y puede ser que consiga que su partido contribuya algo.

Ruégote me perdonas si mi crítica desentona; pero verdaderamente el retrato de DURRUTI que me has mandado lo encuentro pésimo. No se parece en nada a lo que él era y le falta aquella fuerza y al mismo tiempo bondad que su semblante reflejaba. Confío que no sea éste el que se vaya a poner en el monumento de nuestro malogrado camarada. Cuando estuve en Figueras, recuerdo haber visto en el domicilio de la CNT-FAI una soberbia fotografía de Durruti. ¿No la podríais conseguir? Esta estaría mucho mejor, representando con mayor fidelidad a nuestro verdadero compañero.

He recibido asimismo una nota tuya en alemán y datos en alemán acerca de la caída de Santander. Ya se encuentra fuera de actualidad y no puede ser usado el asunto aquí como propaganda. Lo que si deberíais enviarnos son fotografías para ser reproducidas en SPAIN AND THE WORLD, además de utilizarlas como propaganda en nuestro cuarto de lectura, mítins, etc. Igualmente se nos deberían enviar carteles para ser exhibidos en nuestras oficinas y otros sitios públicos. Sería muy interesante que nos mandaseis fotos y carteles de las Colectivizaciones.

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El folleto con la estructuración de la C.N.T. que hemos estado repartiendo está en gran demanda y se ha tenido que imprimir 10.000 ejemplares más con los que incluiremos el Boletín que he recibido últimamente. De esta manera me parece llegaremos a despertar la atención de los obreros.

Actualmente me ocupo de preparar un manifiesto en el que se pide a los trabajadores ingleses hagan uso de la acción directa. Te enviaré el texto para que me digas qué tal te parece.

Como en la presente carta me refiero a la recibida de Madrid con respecto al monumento a Durruti, te agradecería que una vez enterado de su contenido la envíes allí, o les pongas en antecedentes de lo que te manifiesto sobre el particular.

Por último me han mandado ya de París los pliegos que faltaban de la traducción inglesa de "Apuntes Históricos". He entregado todo al editor para que determine.

Sin más de momento te saluda fraternalmente tu amiga y compañera,



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Feb. 24 [London to] John Cowper Powys, Corwen [Wales] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

24th February, 1938.

My dear Good Friend,

I am always so very glad to hear from you and to get your understanding of the difficulties of my struggle and your friendly spirit. There are so few in this country I have been able to reach, although in the last couple of weeks I have had two surprises. Believe it or not, I discovered two full-fledged anarchists - Aldous Huxley and Herbert Read. I ought to be content, ought I not, to come across two such rare creatures in England after fifty years of activity on behalf of anarchist thought and ideals. Alas! there is the old saying that one swallow does not make a summer, neither will two swallows, and so the struggle goes on.

You will see by the names of sponsors that I succeeded better than last year when I canvassed everybody to sponsor the concert I organised. I would be content if the people appearing at the head of our stationery were not what Aldous Huxley calls "sleeping partners". Unfortunately most of them are. I am getting used to that, too.

After circulating four thousand copies of the enclosed bulletin, mailing fifteen hundred letters which contained the bulletin and the folder (copies of which I enclose) and the advertisements in The Times, Reynolds's, New Statesman, New Leader and Time and Tide, besides very favourable notices in the Manchester Guardian and the New Statesman, about fifteen people have come to see the Exhibition. I confess it is a riddle which I cannot solve. Fortunately the Exhibition did not cost very much. Two very great artist friends of mine have given their labour free. Otherwise I should feel too sad

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Feb. 24 [London to] John Cowper Powys, Corwen [Wales] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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I wanted so much to show the extraordinary work of the children in the Barcelona schools, working as they do under constant danger of bombardment. But what can one do when people are indifferent and care about their own little affairs much more than about the greatest and deepest tragedies in the world?

Have I ever told you that my friends in America used to say, "Emma is like a cat. Throw her down any height, she will always land on her paws". Actually that has been the case all through my life, so you will not be surprised that after the poor response to the exhibition, I am again busy in an undertaking for my Spanish friends. I have begun to work on a combination evening with literary representatives and those in the world of music. I would give anything if you could be present. I haven't forgotten your beautiful thought at the farewell dinner in New York at the Brevoort before we were deported. If only you could be here and say something similar about the struggle in Spain, or the need of ~~axis~~ International Anti-Fascist Solidarity, I am sure that you could rouse your fellow-countrymen much better than I have been able to do. I suppose your coming here for the 1st of April is quite out of the question. Will you tell me and will you make an effort if it is at all possible? That failing, will you send me a message for the occasion? I am sure that would help a great deal. Please do.

Professor Carr<sup>h</sup> Bakunin is very conventional indeed, but it is better than nothing. After all, he did force the press to review his work, and some of the reviews actually mentioned the fact that there is such a thing as anarchists who do not entirely live up to their reputation of villains. I was even surprised to find in the Times the statement that it is necessary to reckon with Bakunin as a great force in Spain which is now being demonstrated in the formidable organisation of the C.N.T. - F.A.I. It will interest you to know that two German friends of mine (the man was assistant Editor of the Weltbühne when von Ossitzky was imprisoned) are writing a life of Bakunin. They have already been at work on it for six or seven months, and are hoping to complete it some time this summer. Dr. Kozinski is not an anarchist, but he is very sympathetic to anarchism and deeply interested in Bakunin's life and activities. His wife is the other friend. I hope that it will be a more sympathetic and understanding work than Professor Carr's.

Affectionately as always,

John Cowper Powys, Esq.,  
7, Cae Coed,  
Corwen, Merionethshire.

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Feb. 24 [London to] Laurence Housman, Street [England] / [Emma Goldman].— 1 p. ; 24 x 19 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

24th February, 1938.

Dear Mr. Housman,

Thank you very much indeed for your letter and your kind contribution to the International Anti-Fascist Solidarity Fund. I am terribly sorry that you are unable to be with us at the affair in Friends' House on April 1st. I am sure our mutual friends, Ethel Mannin and Reginald Reynolds will also regret that you are otherwise engaged on that evening, but of course it cannot be helped.

I wonder if you would care to send us a message for the occasion. I am sure it would help very considerably to rouse the interest of the audience in our efforts for the women and children of Catalonia. It need not be much — just a greeting. I hope you will feel inclined to send us such a message.

Yours sincerely,

Laurence Housman, Esq.,  
Longmanston,  
Street, Som.

## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Feb. 24 [London to] Louis Golding, [London] / [Emma Goldman].—  
1 p. ; 19 × 16 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

18678

24th February, 1938.

Dear Louis Golding,

I call it rotten luck for us that you have to be away when we are having our affair. Of course that cannot be helped but there is something you could do if you will - send me a message for April 1st. It need not be long, just a few words about your own interest in the anti-Fascist struggle and in our efforts on behalf of International Anti-Fascist Solidarity. I am sure it will help to impress the audience. Please do that, won't you?

Yours sincerely,

Louis Golding, Esq.,  
10, Hamilton Terrace,  
N.W. 2.



## The Emma Goldman Papers

870929117

[Letter, 19]38 Feb. 24, London [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Monica Whately. —  
1 p. ; 13 × 19 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

### THE SIX POINT GROUP

17730

Telephone No.  
HOUNVIEW 1727.

24.2.38.

31. BROOKFIELD.

WEST HILL.

LONDON. N.E.

3

Miss Emma Goldman,  
18, Castletwon Rd., W. 14.

Dear Emma Goldman,

Very many thanks for your subscription for the Six Point Group,  
and further donation of 2/6. I am very sorry that you will not be  
able to come to our Meeting on March 4th.

I am hoping, however, to squeeze in a moment to visit your  
Exhibition, and will do what I can to make it known.

Dr. Foot is still in the States, enjoying warm and sunny  
weather. When she comes back we must arrange a meeting.

Very sincerely yours,

*Monica Whately*

P.P. *St.*

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Feb. 24, New York [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Edward Dahlberg. — 2 p. ; 27 x 17 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

19672

February 24, 1938

Dear Emma Goldman:

I received your very good letter and had intended to reply to you at once, — to thank you for your kind thought. Believe me, I did not remotely suggest or hint that I wanted you to give me a copy of "Living My Life"; besides I have the book now and expect to read it very shortly.

I have thought of you a good deal since I last heard from you; only the other day Alfred Stieglitz was speaking of you and your fine courage during the war. Those days are tragically imminent again; and today we hear the same oracles of expediency abroad in the world. The mournful truth is that we are already in the war period, and we have not learned one single thing. Does history teach mankind? I wonder. I myself hope and pursue a desperado philosophy of belief in men, because it is a contradiction not to hope while we live and bloom and gallantly decay. Nonetheless I know that the man-eating tragedy continues; and today I fear the pietistic revolutionaries more than the teeth of the fascist dragon; I dread the communist blight more than the infernal monsters; for open-faced and candid Evil panders to no man's ideals; it does its work without occulted mystery. The intellectuals in America and else where will betray with more saintly unction and will demand more regimented exaltation for their prayers and fervours than the caked and dried and less porous reactionaries. They will act out a more insidious role than in the past for they have had time to 'learn' more; and they will garb themselves in holy shapies and talk the pieties of democracy and communism and the defense of the soviet union, — and these will be the gold-minted mottoes on the liberty bonds of tomorrow. The panderer of ideals has weapons that Krupp and Goering would cross themselves for.

Perhaps I seem too pessimistic for you; but hope today appears to me more lethal and passive. How many times do I ask myself, should the loyalists win, what then? What will become of the anarchists? and if the latter succeed, and I deeply pray that they do, will they not capitulate to vassal slogans, to extermination, to totem and taboo psychology. Can they pursue, even

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Havel scope

19673

2  
the mirage-like chivalry of ideals and trust, to the bourne of failure, if need be, so that at least man will have his will and his belief- for another attempt.

I am moved by your feeling for Randolph Bourne; his untimely eclipse was a great loss; his "Untimely Papers" still remains unread and unsought. In connection with my own essay on him I am going to read "Living My Life", with real delight and advantage, I know. Incidentally, Havel is sick and not disposed to write; Alsberg is still in the city of the tombs, Washington, D.C.; so perhaps I can find something in your own book to reprint. We are busy digging down into civil liberty archives and so won't publish the magazine until early fall. We don't want to waste our shot and April is too close to summer for a new periodical to have a chance to have its effect and controversial force.

Please let me hear from you whenever you find the time. Perhaps you could suggest some people in London who might be able to write for us.

With my admiration and warm regards,

*E. Dahlberg*

237 West 16th Street  
New York City, New York.

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Feb. 25 [London to] E. Stead, Glasgow / [Emma Goldman].—  
1 p.; 24 × 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

12921

25th February 1938.

Mrs E Stead,  
Glasgow & District Joint Committee for  
Spanish Relief.  
GLASGOW.

Dear Madam,

Your letter to Dr Stelle Churchill was turned over to me as accredited representative of the S.I.A. (International Anti-Fascist Solidarity) under whose auspices the Exhibition has been organised.

The drawings of the children in Barcelona schools are for sale. We have already sold quite a number and we hope to dispose of the largest part before our Exhibition closes. We will probably have some left over and would be willing to let you have them at trade price. Those that sell at 4/- for 3/- and so on; but we cannot give them for exhibition in other places. The object of our Exhibition as well as the S.I.A. is to raise money for the refugee colonies and schools of women and children in Catalonia. You will understand therefore that it is not unwillingness on our part to let you have some drawings; but simply the pressing need of turning them into cash.

Friends of mine are arranging meetings for me in Glasgow, Edinburgh and Aberdeen. I hope to get there on the 4th. I am writing to the friend to send you announcements.

Yours truly



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 193[8] Feb. 25, Dubrovnik, Yugoslavia [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Ethel [Mannin].— 4 p.; 12 x 18 cm.

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GRAND HOTEL IMPERIAL  
DUBROVNIK

Friday Feb. 25th  
DUBROVNIK  
(Yugoslavia)

17178

TELEGRAMS: IMPERIAL  
TELEPHONE: INTERURBAN No 2

Dearest Emma,

P.S. Is it best I should write you at  
yr home address or to the office?

I received yr registered letter today, and again hasten to reply immediately, returning the cheques duly endorsed. A note is enclosed '£35.11.9d' some in since meeting; there aren't, of course, that amount of cheques here, so I suppose whoever wrote that meant that that was including the cheques sent herewith—that the rest was in notes, or postal orders or cheques not made out to me.

By the way whoever addressed the envelope should note that this is Yugo-SLAVIA, not Yugo-Slavakia; its Checko-Slavakia, but Yugo-Slavia - I mention it because this confusion between the two countries is common, and anyone tending to write Slavakia is equally liable to write Checko instead of Yugo one of these days I feel! (Yugo-Slavia is what used to be Serbia and Montenegro before the Treaty of Versailles) Ragusa is the old name for Dubrovnik - the name the place went by when it was part of the Austrian Empire; its used a lot still, sorry if I used it in a letter to you and confused you; I didn't know I had.)

Dearest Emma, by now you will know that its no use to air-mail letters specially, as they all go by air-mail as far as possible nowadays, but it doesn't help a great deal down here as the nearest airport is Belgrade; letters take five days from the day they are posted till the day of arrival as a rule; today, Friday, I got letters posted Monday and also some posted Tuesday, so it varies a bit. But it means that over a week elapses between sending a letter and getting a reply to it, even when the reply is sent by return of post.

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 193[8] Feb. 25, Dubrovnik, Yugoslavia [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Ethel [Mannin]. — 4 p. ; 12 x 18 cm.

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17179

It's almost tragic about Paul; as to Harriet C I was very shocked when I heard she'd accepted an honour and saw a picture of her leaving Buckingham Palace; but she might have spared us the insult to our intelligence of saying that her Jewish name would do us harm. Really, really! Yds I know Schumann is high up in the scale of success, but still — others high up have allied themselves with Left causes, and we can but try, I feel.

I wonder if you have heard from Housman by now? I do hope so, and favourably. I wrote what Reg thought 'just the right' sort of letter, so again one can but hope. It doesn't sound to me as though you'll get Miles Malleson; a pity. You might use Brian Howard for getting in touch with ~~library~~ <sup>some poets,</sup> ~~people,~~ though you should point out to him that if they're Communists it's no use — I suggest pointing this out to him as I doubt whether he's well informed politically. I think Brian Howard would know any young poets going who might help. What will Rebecca do? Read a story? You could ask her whether it's any use asking Humbert Wolfe to read a poem — or whether she thinks he dislikes both her and me too much (she once wrote a very cruel story about him; he hates me because I told someone else about it and it got back to him that I had told about it and been amused; he's not very nice, and not a good poet really, but still, he's 'successful' and I suppose once more we 'can but try')

What was that ILP meeting at which the Chairman 'apologised' for having you there? How very disgraceful. Wish I'd been there!

Dearest Emma there is a sort of 'greyness' in your letters which makes me think you are very tired or discouraged or both. I ought to be there to take you out and give you a nice dinner and some flowers, and you all happy-looking and charming in grey chiffon, the way you'd hardly know her as 'Red Emma' at all. I feel you must be lonely, somehow, struggling along with the well-meaning but ineffective Ralph, and Barbara deserting, and I don't suppose Rebecca does much — does she? Oh dear I should be there. Poor darling; Emma.

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GRAND HOTEL IMPERIAL  
DUBROVNIK

DUBROVNIK  
(Yugoslavia)

TELEGRAMS IMPERIAL  
TELEPHONE INTERURBAN No 2

-3-

You don't say how the Exhibition is going, and if the News Chron. and Herald gave any notices, ran any pictures? Are people finding their way to ~~your~~ our offices? (I say 'our' instinctively — ~~but~~ I do feel allied with you) Is the decorating finished? Has Spain and the World moved in?

Dearest dearest Emma, don't lose heart or feel 'alone' in your struggle, I beg of you, though I keep thinking you must get the feeling at times.

I expect we shall have gone farther up the coast to SPLIT (all on the way home) by the time you get this. I am wiring Barbara as soon as we have an address there and have told her to let you have it at once; I will wire her instead of you as I have given her a list of people I want notified. I think I told you in my last that it's too expensive for us to remain longer here.

Reg has had a recurrence of the kidney trouble which is all part of his blood-pressure trouble and been seeing the dr again. His health varies very much, up one day and down the next, sometimes looking well and sometimes quite frighteningly ill. You may have seen in the papers that my divorce decree was granted. If the decree is made absolute and I marry Reg don't fear that it will make any difference — I mean we shan't live together any more than we do; I am not built for living with anyone 7 days a week; I'm essentially rather a solitary and self-sufficient person; the marriage will simply simplify a lot of things, especially when he gets ill, and in relation to his family.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 193[8] Feb. 25, Dubrovnik, Yugoslavia [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Ethel [Mannin].— 4 p. ; 12 × 18 cm.

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the little scatterbrain of muddling the address! She's not been very fit apparently, so must be forgiven. Once more, my warmest love very dear Emma—

Dearest Emma it grieves me a lot to think I worried you so much by not writing again after my long card to you—not writing again till I got yr letter I mean; I was really waiting to hear from you before writing again, and working on my proofs (already delayed by having to be sent out here, and having been held up in the Customs on the way) was not inclined to write other than strictly necessary letters. Never think I wantonly neglect you; I don't; I think of you continuously, and you know (surely) that where a direct demand is concerned I can be relied upon to respond immediately.

It is very cold here, despite the bright sunshine, but I know we must be grateful for the sun, for at home it would be cold and gloomy into the bargain; all the same I do feel that once I am back home I shall 'stay put' for some time, having had a sickener of hotel life and the 'emptiness' of one's days living this way — at the end of the day's work there is nothing at all to do; we eat at the one café, read the papers there, write a card or two perhaps, then come back here and I correct manuscript or dicta letter, and so to bed. For people actively interested in the world and world-affairs its not tolerable for long. But the doctor here says that its the sort of life Reg should lead always! (Reg says he would sooner die younger and have more of a run for his money in the allotted time, than turn into a 'vegetable' for the sake of a long life!)

Well dearest Emma I must close; write as soon as you get the Split address, won't you, and never doubt my love and devotion..how ever long the blasted letters may take!

I had a letter from P. today at last; (so long awaited and so little in it when it comes) apparently she has written but I've not had them; I suspect



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regret I cannot add more, either  
to it, I cannot tell you of the  
starvation and suicides going on  
right here in our midst.

Excuse me for sending this  
small amount to you personally  
but you have charge, and I hope  
Anita will send you a decent  
check. if she has not already  
done so — by now — I do not  
often see her, as I have not  
the time. — By the way do not  
blame me for this superficial  
monogram stationery, a pupil  
of 9 years ago gave it to me  
but I despise the gilt vulgar  
monograms.

Forgive me for saying you  
would go down in history. It is  
poor consolation for the living.  
most sincerely  
Harry Rosenberg.



812 Riverside Drive  
N.Y. 25/38  
4 P.M.  
(cannot sleep.)

Dear Mrs. Goldman:

Received your  
letter, and many thanks, because  
I know how busy you are with  
your campaign. I am sick  
and still am therefore the  
delay. Showed your letter to  
Anita, whom I mentioned in my  
last letter to you and Jack, but  
her why she did not write  
or send her check to you, she  
promised to make a raffle  
and party at her home, and  
will charge \$1.00 admission to

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Baque children I understand the Baques are strictly Catholics, and that Hollywood wished to adopt or care for some of them, and because there are a few Jewish directors in Hollywood the Baques refused to allow the children there. I have been giving money & clothes for over a year through Spain's League & several organizations such as North American Committee & aid Spanish Democracy, and private organizations who send money & clothes, and things are very hard with me, so that all I had in Wall St. and teaching as you know is nil. People have no money for luxuries, and music is out of the day - but I will deprive myself of this 100 and

18159  
all her friends, and send you a nice check, and long letter also begged me to remind you of the banana incident in Winnipeg Manitoba, then you will remember her. He also begged me to allow her to keep your letter for a while, as she simply loves you. I'm afraid Sonia is very temperamental & has temper, and is most impulsive. He is married to a court interpreter by the name of Pelissier, and resides at 622 West 141 st.

Write Albert Pelissier  
622 West 141 st. N.Y. City N.Y.  
I'm sure she will send a check, and write to you this time. -  
Now in reference to the

## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Envelope, 1938 Feb. 25] New York [to] E[mma] G[oldman], London / H[arry] Rosenberg. — 2 p. ; 9 × 11 cm.

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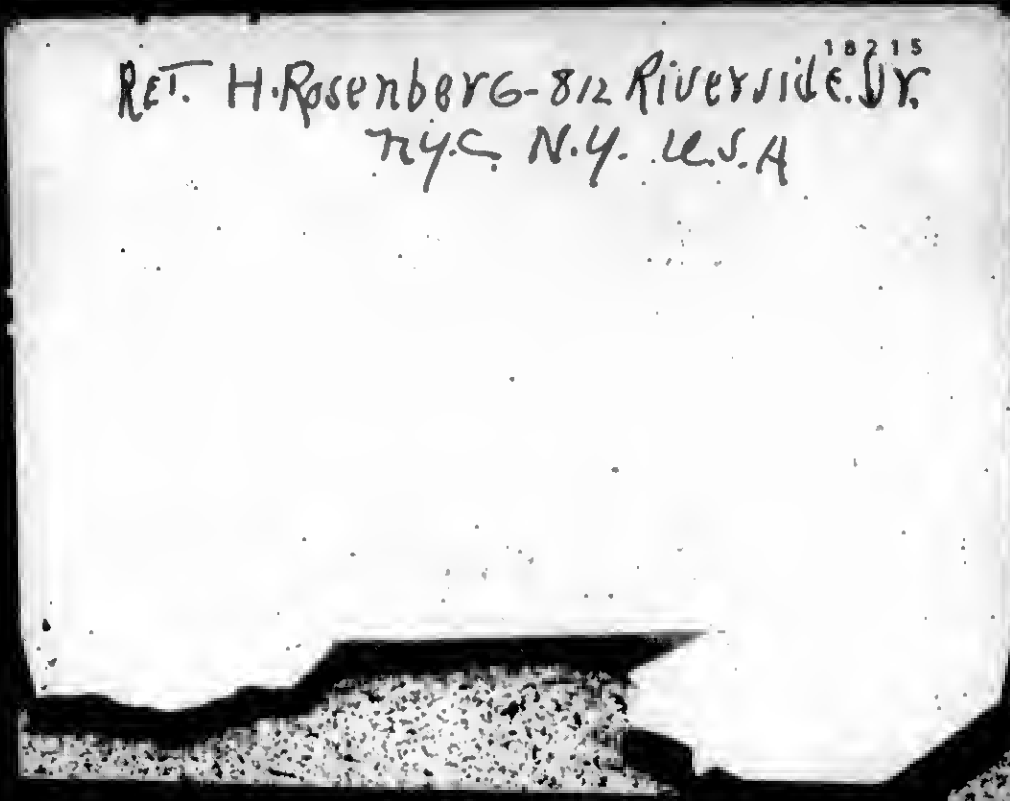


## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Envelope, 1938 Feb. 25] New York [to] E[mma] G[oldman], London / H[arry] Rosenberg. — 2 p. ; 9 × 11 cm.

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

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[Letter, 19]38 Feb. 25, London [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Eleanor M.M. Hellins. — 1 p. ; 12 × 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

### THE SIX POINT GROUP

17731

Telephone No  
MOUNTVIEW 1727

31, BROOKFIELD,

WEST HILL,

LONDON, N.W.

25.2.38.

Miss Emma Goldman,  
18, Castletown Rd., W. 14.

Dear Madam,

Miss Whately asks me to send you enclosed letter (copy) dated February 24th from the Spanish Embassy, which she has received on the subject of certain women who were detained in Spain.

Yours truly,



Eleanor M.M. Hellins.  
(secretary to Miss Whately)

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938 Feb. 25, London to Emma Goldman, London (enclosure)] / [Eleanor M.M. Hellins] — 1 p. ; 24 × 18 cm.

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COPY ONLY

EMBAJADA DE ESPANA

London, February 24th, 1938

Dear Miss Whately,

With reference to your letters of the 2nd December last and the 8th inst., I am glad to be able to inform you that, as a result of my representation I have received this morning from the Barcelona authorities information regarding the case of certain women mentioned in the list which you sent me.

The authorities inform me that Paulina Dobler, Julia Landau, Elsa Homberger and Ella Keenig were set free some time ago and have left Spanish territory. Eva Sittig, Erica Gieben and Dr. Charlotte Margolin are being detained only until their papers are in order - this with the object of avoiding difficulties for them at the French frontier.

Yours sincerely,

sgd. P. CYCAIATE ?

Miss Monica Whately,  
The Six Point Group,  
31, Brookfield,  
N. 6.

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Feb. 25 [London to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Louis Golding. —  
1 p. ; 25 × 17 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.  
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17733

FROM LOUIS GOLDING. 16. HAMILTON TERRACE. N.W.8

CUNNINGHAM 1984

Mrs. Emma Goldman,  
S. I. A.,  
21, Frith Street,  
Shaftesbury Avenue,  
W. 1.

February 25th, 1938.

Dear Emma Goldman,

I am enclosing herewith a message which you might care to read on the night of your meeting. I trust you will forgive me for not getting down to a list of people to whom your circular might be sent. I am at present working under immense pressure on a book which allows me not a moment's respite.

Yours sincerely,

Louis Golding



# The Emma Goldman Papers

870929478

[Letter] 1938 Feb. 25, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / Mariano R. Vázquez  
[and] Pedro Herrera. — 1 p. ; 29 x 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Federación Nacional del Trabajo

Federación Anarquista Ibérica

Relaciones Exteriores

BARCELONA, a 25 de febrero de 1938

A la Oficina de Propaganda C.N.T. y F.A.I. en Inglaterra  
Londres.

Estimada camarada Emma Goldman:

Se adjuntamos a la presente copia del Manifiesto hecho público por este Comité Nacional, con esta fecha, para su conocimiento, archivo y reproducción si ha lugar.

Se saluda fraternalmente,

POR EL CTE. PENINSULAR F.A.I.

POR EL CTE. NACIONAL

Pedro Herrera

Mariano R. Vázquez

SECRETARIO

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418



# The Emma Goldman Papers

870929148

[Letter] 1938 Feb. 26, Corwen [Wales to] Emma Goldman, [London] / John [Cowper]  
 Powys. — 2 p. ; 20 x 24 cm.  
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 Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

literary, philosophical &  
 musical symposium  
 & I do hope it'll be a  
 success... How about that  
 rickety exhibition.

I do hope your own  
 private health is  
 keeping up — I know  
 how your spirits are bound  
 to go up & down with

the Mercury of your  
 genius & of circumstances  
 or opposing it; but I

pray your health  
 keeps pretty good & steady.

I'm getting on all right;  
 living practically on  
 cold milk, and avoiding  
 solid food altogether  
 except for a taste of  
 bread-crumbs with  
 my tea — Ah! but  
 I'd love to set  
 eyes on you

again; but it can't be helped. Any way  
 I am so deeply happy to get your  
 letters from one I admire & am learning  
 so much from you. I'm glad you  
 are so happy & I hope you made up  
 for your head-ache.

P.S. What a nice person  
 Edith Hamilton  
 must be!  
 17770  
 Corwen  
 Merionethshire  
 Feb 26<sup>th</sup> 1938  
 Dear Emma Goldman  
 No I cannot  
 come to your  
 Combination Evening  
 but I will  
 send a message.  
 I'll write a little  
 one for you &  
 let you have it  
 before very long.  
 But you are  
 indeed life long  
 of eternal joy — the  
 one true joy — the  
 joy of always falling in love  
 but NEVER  
 change your SPOTS!  
 I love to see Helen's  
 name as well as this as  
 your friends in this new  
 S.I.H. But ah!  
 my dear old  
 friend I

# The Emma Goldman Papers

870929148

[Letter] 1938 Feb. 26, Corwen [Wales to] Emma Goldman, [London] / John [Cowper] Powys. — 2 p. ; 20 x 24 cm.  
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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

do congratulate you  
on your two  
New Anarchists  
Huxley & Reid both  
much finer & formidable  
writers. What a  
bity you can't convert  
Mr. Wells: As you might  
really do it you had a  
proper chance - I like  
so much to see the  
name too of old  
Havelock Ellis - what  
a splendid old man  
he is. The truth  
is that you have  
in your anarchist  
philosophy anticipated  
the line that all  
the most magnanimous  
spirits of our race  
will instinctively

reach as time goes on 1777.  
and ideal what they  
are already without  
realizing it or daring  
to proclaim it. As  
we used to be told all  
good characters  
however athletic  
have a soul  
"naturally christian"  
"anima naturaliter christiana"  
as it might be said that  
all good thinkers have  
as ~~as~~ a natural tendency  
to the philosophy of  
anarchism -  
amor intellectualis anarchiae!  
Well I'll surely send  
you a few paragraphs  
as condensed as my  
eloquent as my  
cloudy brain can  
evolve, in a day or  
two, for you

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Feb. 26, Chicago [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Jeanne [Levey]. —  
1 p.; 28 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.  
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

19698

TELEPHONE  
LADDERWICK 4-1000

CHICAGO OFFICE  
MERCHANDISE MART  
ROOM 1819

**HAYMAN & LINDENBERG, Inc.**

IMPORTERS AND MANUFACTURERS OF

**ARTIFICIAL FLOWERS AND NOVENES**

84 WEST 40TH STREET

**NEW YORK**

MAIL ADDRESS:  
"HAYMAN" NEW YORK

February 26, 1938.

My very dear Emma:

I was very happy to get your letter the other day and cannot understand why you did not get my mail. I sent two letters to you in care of Mollie Alperine. Since receiving your letter I am very much relieved to know where you are and how you are getting along.

I was very happy to receive your enclosure. It gives me such a definite understanding as to just how things really are. I heartily agree with your point of view on Spain. Now, dear about the money, I will keep it until you want me to send it.

I am leaving for California and will be gone a few weeks, but in the meantime you can write to me in Chicago and my mail will be forwarded. If there is anything urgent Jay will attend to anything you might want done.

Angelica Ballabanoff was here and we arranged a few meetings for her. She was so grateful. You will be happy to know that her "Memoirs" has been accepted by Harpers and will be published by Spring. Don't you write to her, she is always so glad to hear from you. Her address is 90 W. 77th New York. She has had a great deal to contend with, and is the unhappiest individual I know. I have tried so much to help her, but she is constantly sad.

Aaron Halperin was one of the big donors to the fund we raised. I think it would be nice if you wrote and thanked him personally. His address is 412 S. Grove Avenue, Oak Park, Illinois.

Jay, joins me in sending our sincerest love and best wishes to you. Please let me hear from you soon.

Always,

Jeanne

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Feb. 28, Split, Yugoslavia [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Ethel [Mannin]. — 2 p. ; 11 x 18 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17182

GRAND HOTEL IMPERIAL  
DUBROVNIK

DUBROVNIK Feb. 28th 1938  
(Yugoslavia)

TELEPHONE IMPERIAL  
TELEGRAMS INTERNATIONAL No 2

HOTEL AMBASADOR, SPLIT, Yugo-Slavia

Dearest Emma,

I wired Barbara this morning, so you should have this new address the same day as I write this, Monday, or at latest the following day. I wrote you on the 22nd from Dubrovnik, and again on the 24th, a registered letter returning the endorsed cheques.

I don't like letters crossing and like to wait until I get a reply to each letter I write before writing a new one, when that is possible but I am writing again now because two bright ideas have occurred to Reg and me regarding the April 1st affair.

The first idea is mine - and it is what about getting some of the Basque children up to sing? Some of the Street children perhaps. I don't know if you'd already thought of this - anyhow I thought it worth mentioning in case by any chance it hadn't occurred to you. (It's odd the things that don't occur to one when one is busy.)

The second idea is Reg's - he suddenly remembered the other day that Vanzetti said that ~~Christmas~~ Christmas and Easter and the other popular holidays didn't interest him - the only holiday he cared about was All Fools Day! We can find out the exact words, as we have his letters at home, but isn't it perfect to say from the platform on the day?

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422



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Feb. 28, Split, Yugoslavia [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Ethel [Mannin]. — 2 p. ; 11 x 18 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.  
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17183

Its our complete 'justification', too, if we are criticised or sneered at by any Communist or anyone for holding our affairs on this day... and it gives point to our having it this day, as though we had deliberately chosen this day! (Perhaps it was an inspiration from the unconscious if not from on high that made you finally settle on this day after all - an intuition from your anarchist unconscious!)

We came here ye/day by boat from Dubrovnik, and have rooms in a modern hotel overlooking the harbour, and its a bit cheaper. We don't eat in the hotel but go out for both meals - its easier to eat out here as its a much bigger place - not so beautiful, less Italian and more Slavic, and full of Roman ruins; more interesting than D. really, and more 'liveable' - in'

I don't know how long we shall stay - we'll probably leave for Paris at the end of next week as Reg wants to look some things up there; so don't write here after March 7th, dear.

If Reg gets it done in time I will enclose his reply to the Palestine letters in Spain and the World, and perhaps you'd be good enough to pass it on to the young Editor, hoping that in the interests of that hearing all sides attitude of his he'll publish it!

I won't write more now, dearest Emma, as I wrote you at length from Dubrovnik a few days ago.

Devoted love as always,



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Feb. 28, Boston [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Rose [Pesotta]. — 2 p.; 22 x 17 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

TELEPHONE MANAGER 2800

18197  
PHILIP KRAMER, Manager

## Joint Board Cloak and Dressmakers Union

REPRESENTING LOCALS 12, 33, 39, 46, 50, 73 AND 80

International Ladies' Garment Workers Union

A. F. of L.

OFFICE: 25 LA GRANGE STREET  
BOSTON, MASS.

February 28, 1938.

Dear Emma:—

Excuse the delay. The letter traveled around before it reached me in Boston. From your letter I gather you are head over heels in work. I am glad that your meeting on the 14th was a success, as a matter of fact, I find the SIA meetings always successful. Only a week ago Sunday, I was in New York to a SIA entertainment where over 6000 Spanish people were present. Their collection yielded over \$4,000 dollars coupled with the sale of tickets, magazines, and literature. They will have enough money to send to Spain to carry on their activities.

It seems to me that our friends in Paris misunderstood Brand's attitude. From his reports in public and personal conversation with me, I believe that it is a folly for anyone to expect of them perfection. It is agreed between all of us of course including Mendel, Abe's father, that Abe is a boy and did not comprehend fully what was going on around him. He did however, make a nice report to a so-called Labor Committee, composed of left wing socialists, Anarchists and split-off elements from the CP, and was invited to a symposium to be held on March 12th. I am going to New York for that symposium.

I told Brand about Vasquez's letter to you and your answer, and he believes that Vasquez is a foolish boy who doesn't know that the comrades all over the world are criticising Stalin and his henchmen in Spain. Brand himself writes about it quite openly, he told me, and doesn't expect to hurt Vasquez or anyone else. I spoke to him about it telling him of your predicament and he was surprised to hear that. My opinion is that you make your stand emphatic and definite so that Vasquez and the others may know that neither you nor the rest of us can or will be fooled by the rotten communist gang and their lies about Spain. Earl Browder has given his stand on democracy quite clearly. I am quoting him: "If there should arise in America anything similar to the situation in Spain, where the democratic republic, while repulsing the fascist invasion, was stabbed in the back by the uncontrollable extremists, then we, like our brothers of the Spanish Communist Party, would be in the forefront to suppress such extremists who are really agents of Fascism, and render them harmless." (unquote) He has written recently, a book which is the apex of jingoism and if our comrades in Spain want us to condone this stupidity they will have another guess coming.

Now about personal matters. Immediately upon my return, I was dispatched to Boston where I shall remain for an indefinite period of time. My understanding with Dubinsky is that I make trips to New York every two weeks, so as to keep in touch with my own affairs. For the past two months I have met a number of people in re- your case. I know about Stella's proposed visit to the "first lady of the land," and other activities. I spoke to my friend Milda H. Smith, Specialist in Workers Education, a WPA project, who was formerly dean of Bryn Mawr college. She suggested that we approach James Houghteling, new commissioner of immigration, who is a sympathetic person himself, she knows him well, his daughter was educated at Bryn Mawr, instead of Secretary Perkins who will never agree to issue you a visa. Someone also suggested that Attorney General Cummings (who by the way had something to do with your first visa) may give you his support. I am told his wife read your book and she was very enthusiastic, this is private information given to me by private individuals who are also privately approaching these people. Powers Hapwood spoke last week to Josephine Roach, formerly Assistant Secretary of Treasury, who thought "it was a darn shame" not to permit you re-entry.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Feb. 28, Boston [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Rose [Pesotta].—  
2 p. ; 22 × 17 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.  
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

18128

- 2 -

She, too, will speak to some of the people she knows about it. I am having an appointment with Felix Frankfurter, who is now back at Harvard, but I am waiting for Fowers to come to Boston so the ne, Aldino Felioani, former secretary of the Sacco-Vanzetti committee will accompany me to strengthen our position with him. The people I have approached are very sympathetic, and from all appearances it may turn out well, providing someone in Washington doesn't kick the bucket.

There is hardly any trouble between President Dubinsky and Lewis, they always agree to disagree. There has never much love lost between the two individuals but these organization men joined to fight the more conservative elements in the AF of L. Lewis is the kind of man whom Roosevelt would never like to have as an enemy the miners vote is not to be snoozed at nowadays. The miners president is a big man in this country and I doubt whether he would approach anyone in your case, I have had experience with him in re Cillitto and Ferrero case, he thought that justice will be done without his taking a hand in the matter. If I have a chance to be in Washington I may try to see him again, although I am doubtful of its outcome.

I am glad that you are now at Lisa's instead of living alone. Let me hear from you soon.

With love,



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425

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Feb. 28 [Boston to] Emma [Goldman, London] / [Rose Pesotta].—  
2 p.; 28 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. Institutional Location: Rose Pesotta Papers, Rare Books and Manuscripts Division.

February 28, 1938.

Dear Emma:-

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Feb. 28 [Boston to] Emma [Goldman, London] / [Rose Pesotta].—  
2 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

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- 2 -

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I am glad that you are now at Liza's instead of living alone. Let me hear from you soon.

With love,

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Feb. 28 [Barcelona to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Lou[is Frank].—  
1 p.; 29 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

22122

Feb 28th 1938

I have only received your letter of the 4th- to-day. Have written at once to the Laboratory in New York, about the film, and cannot imagine what could be the matter with same. Let me know any further details and in any event, keep the copy for my personal attention, in your possession.

I am just sick at waiting, and have lost practically all interest. Its been days running into weeks, and weeks into months, and all due to so much pettiness and trivialities. The synchronisation should have been made last week, and is scheduled now for this week- that is the local version. It looks like another fortnight, when I do hope to be able to advise you at last of my arrival.

There is one question open- the English text. I may send you by next mail a copy of same to submit to the Board of Review in London, and hope you can get a prompt decision. ~~But~~ But will that be sufficient, by itself?

Our good friend Sagdi died in an automobile accident in Madrid. He was a splendid fellow, and all who knew him, feel his loss very deeply. You spoke to him in the little cafe, the night you left for Valencia. His sister and her two children are living in my house for some time now. Evacuated from the North, her husband missing, she has gone through untold misery, and ~~is~~ has only now begun to feel a little like a human being again.

I note your new address and you cannot imagine how glad I shall be to really be able to do something again. I am actually beginning to feel wilted after such a long stretch of forced idleness. I would go mad if it were to keep on much longer.

Have you heard anything from Abe? No one here has rec'd any word from him since his capture. I told Ilse about your opinion of the bulletin, but she has nothing to do with it, and does not know how to get it up.

I await your reply by air mail, and hope it will have better luck in reaching me soon.

Cordially,



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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Feb. 28, Paris [to] Emma Goldman, London / Nemesio Galve.—  
1 p.; 26 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

20641

Confederación Nacional del Trabajo  
Y

Federación Anarquista Ibérica

Relaciones Exteriores

Delegación en Francia  
n° 422.  
NG-EC.

Paris, 28 Febrero 1938.

A Emma Goldman.  
21-Frith Street.  
Shaftesbury Avenue.  
LONDON-W-I.

Estimada camarada, salud.

Recibida la tuya del 24 del corriente mes.

Acusamos recepción de la misma, así como también de las pequeñas cosas de propaganda editadas por ti en ésta.

En lo que se refiere al libro "Apuntes Históricos" nosotros también, querida Goldman, tenemos nuestras dificultades para poder imprimir los libros que interesan al público francés. Comprendemos que las tuyas sean mayores, pero conocemos también tu temperamento fuerte y trabajador para no desmayar en el camino emprendido. Es un trabajo de larga duración el poder hacer comprender a un público de temperamento frío como el inglés, nuestras cosas, rebosantes de entusiasmo y de acción, propias de un temperamento latino y de un sentido ampliamente revolucionario.

Una vez más insistimos en lo mismo. Nosotros recibimos también muy poco material fotográfico de allí abajo. La censura se lo queda todo. Nos arreglamos mejor, porque vamos en busca de fotografías a los diferentes organismos oficiales que se encuentran en París.

Respecto a los clichés, nosotros no tenemos ningún inconveniente en enviarlos, pero tememos que nos suceda siempre lo que pasó con los últimos, que si bien te fueron enviados, no los recibiste. Convendría que nos señalases en que consiste la declaración de aduana para los certificados que podamos hacerte de envío de material. Desconocemos nosotros dicho problema. Al preguntar en la administración de correos que es lo que se debía hacer, nos han contestado que todo cuanto se envía por correo certificado, no depasando del peso y la tarifa normal señalada por la administración, tiene forzosamente que recibirse. Pero nos damos luego cuenta que no es así, puesto que te han sido enviadas cosas y tu no las has recibido. En fin, procura tu misma señalarnos el camino o procedimiento que hemos de seguir.

El camarada Vázquez ha pasado dos días en nuestra compañía. Nos ha informado ampliamente de las cosas de España. Inútil será decirte que nuestros camaradas están muy optimistas, tanto bajo el punto de vista militar como político, porque nuestras organizaciones cada día son más fuertes y se superan más a sí mismas en todos los órdenes. La celebración del Pleno Ampliado Económico ha sido un éxito de transcendental importancia.

Sin más por hoy y en espera de tus nuevas gratas, te saluda fraternalmente,

POR LA DELEGACION PERMANENTE DE LA CNT-FAI, en Paris.

*Nemesio Galve*  
Nemesio Galve

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 Feb. 28, London [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Fredric J. Warburg. — 1 p. ; 24 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

MARTIN SECKER AND WARBURG LTD

22 Essex Street, London, W.C.2

Publishers

February 28, 1938

Miss Emma Goldman,  
S.I.A.,  
21 Frith Street,  
Shaftesbury Avenue,  
W. 1.

My dear Emma,

We have now considered the translated material of Cervantes' book on Spain which is about half the whole book but have decided not to make an offer for its publication. The book requires an enormous amount of editing to put it into a form suitable for the English public and even if this is done I am a little doubtful whether there is a large public waiting for it. If the C.N.T. is really keen on getting the book out in England their best plan would be to have a translation completed and handed to some English expert on Spain to revise and cut out redundancies and shape it into a book and then offer it to an English firm. If this were done we should certainly be glad to reconsider it but I am very doubtful whether they will get it taken at present by anyone, although it might be worth while trying Allen & Unwin.

I am sorry to come to this decision after such a long delay, but it can't be helped.

With kind regards.

Yours sincerely,

Fredric Warburg



## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938? March? Barcelona to Emma Goldman, London (fragment)] / José Rodríguez Vega [and] Mariano R. Vázquez. — 1 p. ; 16 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.  
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Millares y millares de ancianos, de niños, y de mujeres, a los que  
hemos de atender y atenderemos, se encuentran bajo nuestro amparo.  
Cuanto haga el proletariado mundial, y muy especialmente el francés,  
por atender esta necesidad apremiante del abastecimiento, será una  
forma eficaz de la solidaridad y una colaboración sólida en nuestra  
lucha, que tenéis que considerar como vuestra. El proletariado  
español espera vuestras decisiones.

Por nuestra parte, nosotros os prometemos, sean cuales sean  
las dificultades, luchar hasta el fin. Y el fin no puede ser otro  
que la victoria de la República Española, y con ella la victoria del  
proletariado internacional.

Firmado: José Rodríguez Vega,

Secretario General de la U.C.T.

Firmado: Mariano R. Vázquez,

Secretario General de la C.R.T.



## The Emma Goldman Papers

870917011

[Letter, 1938? March? Barcelona to Emma Goldman, London (enclosure)] / [José Rodríguez Vega and Mariano R. Vázquez] - 1 p. ; 21 x 27 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

21015

### ENTORN D'UNES DECLARACIONS ANTIUNITÀRIES

"Solidaridad Obrera" va inserir ahir un interviu amb la senyora Emma Goldman, traçada de la revista "Spain and the World". Aquesta senyora, com tothom sap, és una emigrada russa, una fugitiva de la U.R.S.S., i això ja "explica" les coses que diu i la missió que aconsegueix.

Efectivament, les seves declaracions representen un inqualificable atemptat contra la unitat obrera i antifeixista i, ensems, contra la pròpia política seguida per la C.N.T.

La C.N.T. ha declarat repetidament que desitja la unitat antifeixista i que considera de manera especial la unitat amb el Partit Comunista, amb el nostre Partit i amb les altres forces obreres. Per això ens estranya que el seu organ periodístic més caracteritzat hagi donat cabuda a una declaració tan radicalment contrària a una tal línia política, i voldríem saber quina opinió tenen els Comitès Nacional i Regional de la Confederació sobre l'esmentat article.

Aquest desig nostre és plenament justificat, car no es tracta d'unes declaracions sense importància, sinó d'unes declaracions en les quals es diuen coses com aquestes:

"Cuando los comunistas tienen las manos libres, virtualmente destruyen todos los pueblos y asesinan o detienen a nuestros compañeros más activos"

No ens interessa tot el relatiu a si els comunistes tenim o no importància i influència a Espanya. El que ens interessa és fer constar que tot l'interviu és furios, antiunitari, ple de calúmnies contra els comunistes... i que sols i manca una cosa: els atacs contra Franco, que la senyora Goldman ha oblidat.

Això sol situa suficientment les declaracions i la persona que les ha fetes, i justifica el nostre desig de saber si la seva publicació davant les pàgines del vol-rega confederal ha estat o no un acte controlat i responsable.

*"Treball", organo central del Partido Socialista Unificado de Cataluña (Interi: Comunista), del dia 26 de diciembre 1937, N.º 499.*

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938? March? Barcelona to Emma Goldman, London (enclosure)] / [José Rodríguez Vega and Mariano R. Vázquez]. — 1 p. ; 17 x 29 cm.  
Obtained from the Instituto Municipal de Historia de Barcelona, Spain.

Diumenge, 26 desembre 1937

## Entorn d'unes declaracions antiunitàries

«Solidaridad Obrera» va inserir ahir un interviu amb la senyora Emma Goldman, traduïda de la revista «Spain and the World». Aquesta senyora, com tothom sap, és una emigrada russa, una fugitiva de la U. R. S. S., i això ja «explica» les coses que diu i la missió que aconsegueix.

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La O. N. T. ha declarat repetidament que desitja la unitat antifeixista i que considera de manera especial la unitat amb el Partit Comunista, amb el nostre Partit i amb les altres forces obreres. Per això ens estranya que el seu òrgan periodístic més caracteritzat hagi donat cabuda a unes declaracions tan radicalment contràries a una tal línia política, i voldríem saber quina opinió tenen els Comitès Nacional i Regional de la Confederació sobre l'esmentat article.

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Això sol situa suficientment les declaracions i la persona que les ha fetes, i justifica el nostre desig de saber si la seva publicació damunt les pàgines del col·lega confederal ha estat o no un acte controlat i responsable.

## La reconstrucció econòmica

La vida econòmica de la zona llaïtana adquireix cada dia una major solidesa i coordinació. Els moments d'improvisació imposats per la desbandada dels industrials compromesos en la facció derrotada, han quedat ja lluny.

Catalunya, que hagué de sofrir amb més rigor que altres regions els efectes de la defecció dels elements feixistitzants, camina amb passa ferma pel camí d'una economia racional i eficient.

Acaba de constituir-se el Consell Directiu d'un nou organisme que ha de contribuir poderosament al més ample desenvolupament econòmic de Catalunya: la «Caixa de Crèdit Industrial i Comercial».

El subsecretari d'Economia de la Generalitat, camarada Rius Pons, ha dit, amb referència a aquesta nova entitat oficial:

—Es un organisme bancari destinat a recollir l'excedent de la indústria, beneficiària i concedir crèdits a la indústria que ho necessita. A la indústria collectivitzada, feia falta una solvència efectiva. El Decret de Collectivitzacions, ho preveu que els beneficis de la indústria han d'ésser lliurats a la col·lectivitat. La Caixa de Crèdit recollirà totalment o parcialment aquests beneficis.

Hem tingut també en compte que la fundació de noves indústries exigeix la iniciativa de la Generalitat. La Caixa de Crèdit Industrial tindrà al seu càrrec aquesta important funció. Són moltes les empreses collectivitzades, que lliuraran a la Caixa de Crèdit, així que aquesta obrirà les seves portes, en concepte de beneficis, sumes considerables. L'obertura de la Caixa esmentada serà probablement, a primers de gener.

Començarà de funcionar a Barcelona, on obrirà una Caixa Central i noves sucursals, per a la qual cosa la Caixa de Crèdit ha contractat amb el Banc Hispano-Colonial la cessió de totes les seves agències urbanes. I tenim que, dintre un curt termini, caldrà instal·lar sucursals no solament a les capitals de les vegues rics, sinó també a totes les comarques.

La Caixa prestarà el seu auxilli. no

# El Govern de la República



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938 March? London to Stella Ballantine, Bearsville, N.Y. (fragment)] / [Emma Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 19 x 16 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

only two well known artists, Sidonis Gooseens the best known harpist in this country and Parry Jones a Tenor equally well known. Sidonis is also trying to get a Pinnist who runs high and is known. Most important we have a Spanish Dancer who in Spain is considered as great as Argentinna was. Low sein a little loss. But oh holy Moses what effort to get these people when one has to work with helpless creatures who can reach no one and must be directed in every thing they do. So you know now dearest that the names on the latter heads mean very little indeed as far as actual interest or help is concerned.

I have let myself in for a big undertaking and expensive one besides, it will cost £75 to pull it off. The house if all the tickets should be sold will only bring £200. So it is not so much to slave for. But it is the publicity for the MIA in this country. In France it is meeting with phenomenal success, the last meeting was attended by ten thousand people. Ah, if only I would be permitted to work in France. But that is out of the question so I must drudge on here. If only the results were not so puny. I wish you and Teddy could see my exhibition. It is so beautiful you'd love it. But it is an complete flop. Not a soul for ten days. Yet everything possible was done and no expense saved to make it known. It is awful.

Barling if the dreadful Communist poison as in filtrated in Russia can so break the spirit of old and tried revolutionists why should it not change Paul? ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ For the same reason that the virus has disintegrated everybody. I do not know one Communist who has not denied all his or her former friends and closest connection the moment they became infected with that devastating idea. Certainly known of those we know among the older people. What about Agnes Smedley? Has she not gone back on all those whom she loved and idolized for years and who had been ~~among~~ among her most intimate friends? What about Dreiser, and ever so many others. True Paul is of a finer grain than they. That maybe the reason why he succumbed so absolutely. Of course he will have a rude awakening. It maybe too late for the peace of his mind and his stand as a supreme artist. Meanwhile it is too tragic to fall for the glittering thing which is brazenly called the WORKERS FATHER LAND. To fall for it now after the mad trials, ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ now now the new horrible charges of which there is not a word of truth. Well, life really seems to be a process of elimination, one by one once friends change ~~at~~ of semblance of their former self. It hurts dearest, it hurts frightfully.

I am awfully sorry to hear about Saxe's illness. Why must he slave so? Could he not reduce his expenses and arrange to have more time for himself. I think its terrible how children of proletarians try to go beyond their means and their ~~strength~~ strength. What is it all about. After all millions live in less expensive apart, and with less fuss over the care they give their children. It is my feeling for Saxe's health that makes me really impatient with his mad drive. Give him my love and the children as well as Dorothy. Poor thing she never seems to have much peace from illness of the family. I wonder how Moe is. I don't know what to write him and since you said they are so afraid to receive any clippings or writings from me I have stopped sending him anything.



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938 March? London to] Margaret [Taylor, Bristol, England (fragment)] / [Emma Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 16 × 19 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17999

Dear Margaret now that you will remain a "straw" widow for a time  
I am not sure the English have such an expression, we do in the States  
and you will have more leisure you might care to write me occasionally.  
You have not done so in ages. Perhaps you imagine I do not want to hear  
from you. That is not the case. It is only that I did not wish to imp  
ose on you that I have not written. You direct or asked you to keep  
in touch with me. Perhaps with Ernest away you will do so. Do you venture  
out without him occasionally? Because if you do it would be great to  
have you see my Exhibition as I may not find it necessary to keep it  
going longer than the middle of next month. I will have an Exhibit  
ion of the COLLECTIVISE WORK of the CNT-FAI but not of the children.  
and I know you would love that if only you could run up to London.

I wish you a pleasant and restful trip dear Ernest.

With affection for both of you.

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938 March?] Corwen, Wales [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / John Cowper Powys. — 2 p. ; 24 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.  
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

U  
 For the  
 April 1st Meeting...  
 or anything else! —

by Cae Coed, Corwen,  
 Merionethshire  
 N. Wales 12772

You know very well, my dear  
 Emma Goldman, how much my  
 heart is with you in this struggle  
 for the people of Spain and liberty in  
 Spain. It is hard of your life-long  
~~Libertarian~~ fight for that great  
 Libertarian Ideal towards which more  
 and more of us are turning in these  
 desperate days, as towards ~~the~~ home  
 for humanity.

The battle you ~~are~~ <sup>have been</sup> fighting all your life and that the  
 people of Spain are fighting now ~~is~~ <sup>has</sup> behind it the noblest instincts of our  
 race, free from all sinister alloy.  
 Day by day ~~all~~ <sup>all</sup> that is happening proves  
 you right, my old friend, in your belief that  
 the Libertarian Ideal is the only road upon  
 which the destiny of our race can be fulfilled.  
 The work of the State has never satisfied,  
 and can never satisfy, the real living  
 nature of men and women.  
 And as I look round at the  
 results of State-work and at  
 the results of allowing State-work  
 to interfere with the dearest and  
 best instincts of men and women  
 your Libertarian philosophy  
 seems justified.

# The Emma Goldman Papers

870929149

[Letter, 1938 March?] Corwen, Wales [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / John Cowper Powys. — 2 p. ; 24 × 20 cm.  
Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.  
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

I confess my heart sickens as  
I watch the approach of  
the "Nationalists" (armed in the  
way we know and supported by the powers  
we know) towards the borders of Catalonia.  
Ignorant as I am and ignorant as most people in  
this country are as to the true nature of the philosophy  
of the great anarchistic associations in Spain,  
especially of the C.N.T., I think I do realize  
that this philosophy of the ~~majority~~ majority of the  
working class in Catalonia is at the furthest  
horrible remove from all that childish  
tyranny and despotism and from all that  
stupid interference ~~of the State~~  
with individual liberty by brutal officials  
which is the worst affront and most sickening  
outrage from which the free soul of a man  
or woman can suffer.  
You have poured all your conscious life (as I know  
well) fought steadily and unflinchingly against  
the forces against which Spain is fighting  
today; fighting, as her people are, the battle  
of all human beings who look forward instead  
of backward.  
Knowing, as I do, the imaginative and sensitive wisdom  
of your much-tried nature I feel confident,  
dear Emma Goldman, that the result of this gallant  
struggle of yours, now at what sometimes looks  
like the eleventh hour, to do something for the people of  
~~Catalonia~~ Catalonia, will be larger  
and deeper than you know.

Always your old & faithful friend  
John Cowper Powys.

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938 March?] Corwen, Wales [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / John Cowper Powys. — 1 p. ; 25 × 18 cm.

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Institutional Location: Confederación Nacional del Trabajo Archives.

COPY

7, Cae Coed,  
Corwen,  
Merionethshire,  
N. Wales.

49 *concent*  
For the April 1st meeting ... or anything else!

You know very well, my dear Emma Goldman, how much my heart is with you in this struggle for the people of Spain and liberty in Spain. It is part of your life-long fight for that great Libertarian Ideal towards which more and more of us are turning in these desperate days, as towards the best hope for humanity.

The battle you have been fighting all your life and that the people of Spain are fighting now has behind it the noblest instincts of our race, free from all sinister alloy. Day by day all that is happening proves you right, my old friend, in your belief that the Libertarian Ideal is the only road upon which the destiny of our race can be fulfilled. The worship of the State has never satisfied, and can never satisfy, the real living nature of men and women. And as I look round at the results of State-worship and at the results of allowing State-worship to interfere with the deepest and best instincts of men and women your Libertarian philosophy seems justified.

I confess my heart sickens as I watch the approach of the "Nationalists" (armed in the way we know and supported by the powers we know) towards the borders of Catalonia. Ignorant as I am and ignorant as most people in this country are as to the true nature of the philosophy of the great anarchistic associations in Spain, especially of the I.S.T., I think I do realise that this philosophy of the majority of the working class in Catalonia is at the furthest possible remove from all that childish tyranny and despotism and from all that stupid interference with individual liberty by brutal officials which is the worst affront and most sickening outrage from which the free soul of a man or woman can suffer.

You have yourself all your conscious life (as I know well) fought steadily and unflinchingly against the forces against which Spain is fighting to-day; fighting, as her people are, the battle of all human beings who look forward instead of backward.

Knowing, as I do, the imaginative and sensitive wisdom of your much-tried nature I feel confident, dear Emma Goldman, that the result of this gallant struggle of yours, now at what sometimes looks like the eleventh hour, to do something for the people of Catalonia, will be larger and deeper than you know.

Always your old and faithful friend,

(Sgd.) JOHN COWPER POWYS.



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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

COPY.

3925

7, Cae Coed,  
Corwen,  
Merionethshire,  
N. Wales.

For the April 29th Meeting ... or anything else!

You know very well, my dear Emma Goldman, how much my heart is with you in this struggle for the people of Spain and liberty in Spain. It is part of your life-long fight for that great Libertarian Ideal towards which more and more of us are turning in these desperate days, as towards the best hope for humanity.

The battle you have been fighting all your life and that the people of Spain are fighting now has behind it the noblest instincts of our race, free from all sinister alloy. Day by day all that is happening proves you right, my old friend, in your belief that the Libertarian Ideal is the only road upon which the destiny of our race can be fulfilled. The worship of the State has never satisfied, and can never satisfy, the real living nature of men and women. And as I look round at the results of State-worship and at the results of allowing State-worship to interfere with the deepest and best instincts of men and women your Libertarian philosophy seems justified.

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(Sgd.) JOHN COWPER POWYS.

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938 March?] London [to Emma Goldman, London] / Isabel Brown.—  
1 p.; 28 x 23 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.  
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

24620

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JACK GASTER

Dear Friend,

Six years of ruthless aggression has placed the question of preserving peace and democracy as the most urgent duty of all progressive people. Civilisation is at the cross-roads and the rights and liberties of peoples, hard to attain in the past, are threatened by the rising tide of oppression.

To combat this danger every progressive man and woman must understand its character and methods. As a contribution to this work our Committee is organising a Film Show and Meeting to be held in the Friend's House, Euston Road, on March 30th at 8 p.m. We have secured the following films:

1. INSIDE NAZI GERMANY

2. NAZI CONQUEST OF AUSTRIA

(by kind permission of March of Time.)

3. PLACES AND PEOPLE.

showing how the U.S.S.R. has solved the problem of nationalities.

We have also made a collection of over 100 examples of illegal anti-Fascist publications, which have had a wide circulation in Nazi Germany. The doors will be open at 7 p.m. to allow of ample time to view the exhibition.

A number of short speeches will be made by people who have had personal experience of the repressive measures of Fascism during the recent events in SPAIN.

The price of admission is 6d. You can obtain tickets by filling in the attached form. A collection will be taken to assist political prisoners in Fascist countries.

Yours sincerely,

ISABEL BROWN

Hon. Secretary.

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938 March? London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Ida Gershoy.—  
2 p.; 20 × 25 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

2401  
29 Willey Court  
Cavan Street, W.C.1  
Sunday

Dear Emma,

We just discovered  
today that you are in  
London and both Leo  
and I are, naturally,  
immensely anxious to  
see you again. I know  
you are far too busy  
to bother about postal

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938 March? London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Ida Gershoy. —  
2 p. ; 20 x 25 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

matter for the last few  
years.

We both send our love,  
Ida Gershoy

P.S. Leo is here on a Guggenheim  
Fellowship this time. Countries  
may rise and fall around  
us but the French (old  
model) Revolution still  
goes on!

Our phone is Terminus 6538.

engagements but I  
have no free moments  
as two may not come  
and say hello?  
you need an odd  
hand at running your  
exhibition for Spain I'd  
be only too happy to  
help. Exhibitions, you  
know, have been my



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 March 1, London [to] Rose [Pesotta, Boston] / Emma Goldman. —  
3 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

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and Tilden Foundations. Institutional Location: Rose Pesotta Papers, Rare Books and Manuscripts Division.

S · I · A

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March first 38.

My dear rose.

Stella sent me your letter to her dated 7th. Yours and yours crossed mine. But as I have a few moments free I want to write you in reply to your letter. I agree with you that it would have been better to wait for a psychological moment to speak to her ladyship. I fear now that Stella has written her why she asked for interview it will be too late to broach the subject again. People in power do not care much for individual appeals. It is a different matter when they are approached by a committee, or a delegation of a committee. However it should be tried again. Personal connections do help some times. Please thank the Mapgoods père et fils for their willingness to help with my possible return. I maybe mistaken but I have a feeling that if the matter were properly handled a visa might be granted. Now that you are working on it and have the support of William and Powers Mapgood I feel my case is in the best hands. Also I know if you fail it will not be your fault.

Frankly dearest I don't know what is to become of me if the A. end fails. My efforts here for Spain ~~is~~ is so much wasted time and such agony I can hardly continue. I wish you would see the exhibition of the childrens drawings I brought with me from Spain. It is beautiful and deeply moving. ~~xxx~~ Yet it is a complete flop. I don't believe we had two dozen people visit the exhibition although we spent forty pounds in printing and advertising. One simply cannot explain it or account for the utter difference. I am beginning to think it is my name. The Communists have kept up a campaign of columny for years, and as they are pretty powerful in England, at any rate among the intelligentsia their boycott of anything I undertake is enough to damn it. Now I do not care for myself. I am rather proud that the rotten Stalin gangster hate me. I am only concerned in ~~xxx~~ how this effects our people in Spain. I have almost come to the conclusion that I ought to write them that I am no good to

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 March 1, London [to] Rose [Pesotta, Boston] / Emma Goldman. — 3 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

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represent them because my name does them more harm than good. But it is so humiliating to give up when people have such touching faith in you as the CNT-FAI and the SIA have shown. YOU should read Vazquez reply to my letter telling them that while I am ready to go with the CNT very far I do not think I can stand their affiliations with the fake of the Third International. "How could you suggest that we do not believe in you absolutely and in your devotion to our struggle. There are few in our ranks outside of Spain we trust so implicitly as we do you" Vazquez wrote and a lot more. The poor innocent babes do not realize that it is wellnigh impossible to accomplish anything for them in England. Gawd how I have tried. But the result is so insignificant its hardly worth the effort. Still I must go on at least until the autumn when I definitely intend to sail for Canada. Not that I hope for anything of consequence there. It is only the thought of nearness to the States and because I must have a change from this dump.

I am trying to arrange something in the way of an entertainment for April 1st. So far I have only Rebecca West and Ethel Mannin, ~~two~~ other writings of outstanding position have promised to send messages. And we have one well known musician who has also undertaken to get other musicians. But everything takes so long it leaves me spent before the date of the affair. Like last year when I arranged the concert which took two months and left me worn out and disheartened. After each set back I vouch I will do nothing more and then I begin all over again, so too this time. The one result from our SIA appeal has been about fifty pounds contributions, the exhibition itself brought about five pounds, a loss of forty or more.

Of course I do not neglect the work for the CNT. We sent out copies of the structure to about 1200 labor people. Some have replied and asked for more and we know that it is being discussed in a number of unions. Now we have received about 4000 addresses of trade union branches which we intend to cover with the structure, with the material just received dealing with the negotiations between the UGT and CNT, and the stand to these by the FAI. I am having it appear in SPAIN AND THE WORLD first. I will then have it printed into a leaflet. And more important is an interesting diagram sent me which I am ~~also~~ *also* having reprinted for circularisations in the branches. If only I were not so deeply disappointed in the concessions the CNT is ready to make to the U.G.T. The latter is now satiated with Communism and I fear if our people submit too much they will be devoured in the end. But the situation here and in Spain has worsened to an extent one cannot refuse to go on with the work. The recapture of Jerusalem by Francos hords and the obvious determination to permit Hitler and Mussolini to swallow Spain simply make it impreative for us to stand by our people. But it is no joy I can tell you. When I have the CNT material ready I will send you some. Perhaps you could make use of it in your

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 March 1, London [to] Rose [Pesotta, Boston] / Emma Goldman. —  
3 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

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S · I · A

## SOLIDARIDAD INTERNACIONAL ANTIFASCISTA

(International Anti-Fascist Solidarity)

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MR. TILL A. CHURCHILL  
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London Office

21 FRITH STREET,

SHAFTESBURY AVENUE,

LONDON, W.1.

ETHEL MANNIN

Hon. Treasurer

EMMA GOLDMAN

Hon. Secretary

Telephone GERard 2634

work, or indirectly.

How are you my dear. How do you find the work in Boston. I see your President and his wife were guests at the White House. The fortunes of some human beings are strange. How bad Washington does not hand out knighthoods else Lubinsky like his colleague Citrin would soon have a title of Sir. It is the weep if it were not so funny. No wonder D refuses to intercede for me.

Well since we are on a comic subject I don't mind asking you to do something for me which you may consider my coming down from the sublime to the ridiculous. It concerns stockings. A friend of mine is sailing for America tomorrow and is coming back in a month. She was of great help to me with musicians for the concert last year. Well, I spoke to her over the phone and I told her I would write to my women friends in America they should send me some stockings through her. She said she would be glad to bring them back. The name of the lady is Mrs D. Huttenbach and she can be reached c/o Mr Caesar Searschinger Gorham Hotel 126th St. 55th Street New York City. I am writing itzi to try and see Mrs D. and let her see a few plays or be kind to her in other ways. And I have written Pauline the same. How bad Stella is not in New York I know she would entertain her lavishly. Now my dear it is up to you to get some stockings, 9 stretchable tops, heavy quality. Its no use sending me flimsy light weight hose as they will not last. I would inclose a small check out do not know how much a good quality hose costs.

Rudolf writes me he had a talk with Abe. That he feels very distressed, (who of us does not) but that for the present he works in the Spanish delegation. That will break poor little Lollie's heart because ~~surely xxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ Abe would begin a violent attack on the CNT. I am glad he realizes how terrible that would be at this time.

I am going to Scotland Saturday for ten days. Will be back the 14th. Please write me soon and tell me what's doing. With love.

Emma



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 March 1, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / P[edro] Herrera. —  
1 p.; 27 x 21 cm.  
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COMITÉ PENINSULAR  
Sección Internacional  
(SECRETARÍA)

Via Duvet, 52, 64, Perpignan  
Teléfono 1000

Barcelona, 1 de March de 1938

Emma Goldman  
21 Frith street, Shaftsbury Avenue  
London W.1.

Dear comrade:

we write to you today to advise you to never mention in your answers the date of our letters but only the numbers, which you will always find in the upper right corner of each sheet. You will easily understand the reasons for these precautions. All correspondence of confidential or very important character please address to: Ay. Jean, 5 bis, rue des Gardours, Perpignan (P.O.), through the inside envelope to us.

Fraternally yours

For the Peninsular Committee of the I.S.P.

EMMA GOLDMAN  
1938  
COMITÉ PENINSULAR  
Relaciones Exteriores



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 March 1, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / Martin [Gudell].—  
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C.N.T.

A.I.T.

F.A.I.

**CONFEDERACIÓN NACIONAL DEL TRABAJO  
FEDERACIÓN ANARQUISTA IBÉRICA**

CASA C.N.T.-F.A.I.

VIA DURRUTI, 32

BARCELONA

OFICINA DE PROPAGANDA EXTERIOR

SECRETARIADO - DEPARTAMENTO 84  
TELÉFONO 14751 - 41

## TELÉFONOS:

CENTRALITA 14751

SECRETARIADO 41  
EDICIONES 44-46  
GUERRA DE CLASE 46  
BOLETÍN ESPERANTO 46  
BOLETÍN FRANCÉS 44  
BOLETÍN ALEMÁN 47  
BOLETÍN INGLÉS 46  
BOLETÍN SUECO 46  
BOLETÍN BULGARO 46  
BOLETÍN PORTUGUÉS 46

Barcelona 1e 1r. mars 1938.

Camarade EMMA GOLDMAN,  
London.

Chère camarade,

J'ai reçu votre lettre du 3 février dernier. Vous pouvez voir que je reçois les lettres avec un mois de retard. Dans votre lettre vous me communiquez que V. et H. reçoivent les lettres régulièrement; mais je sais que maintenant eux aussi se plaignent de la recevoir avec un grand retard. Je sais qu'il y avait des ordres pour retenir la correspondance adressée à ce bureau de "Propaganda Extérieure", car ils considéraient que celui-ci est le responsable de la propagande qui se fait à l'extérieur non favorable au gouvernement ou aux parties qui composent le bloc gouvernemental. Je sais qu'il y avait une ordre d'arrêter toute la correspondance adressée à mon bureau. Dans cette ordre de la police on faisait l'indication du n° de mon bureau. Peut-être ils respectent un peu plus la correspondance adressée au Comité National et la expédient un peu plus rapidement. A cause de cela, nous avons eu déjà quelques inconvénients. En ce qui concerne la correspondance pour moi, le plus pratique est de me la faire parvenir par l'intermédiaire de Paris ou de Perpignan. Si vous mettez l'indication que la lettre doit être reexpédiée à mon adresse rapidement, je suis sûr que le camarade Macarell me la fera parvenir rapidement.

En ce qui concerne les relations avec le P.C., moi aussi l'on peut observer qu'il existe quelque changement dans les activités de celui-ci. Je vous remets sous ce pli une copie du manifeste fait par le Comité "eninsulaire", dans laquelle l'on fait clairement l'exposition de son attitude vis à vis du P.C. Je vous prie de donner la plus grande publicité possible à ce manifeste du Comité "eninsulaire". Il irait très bien si vous pourriez reproduire, au moins quelque part, dans "Spain and the World", surtout ce qui concerne les relations avec le P.C. y l'explication de la cause par laquelle les communistes louent à la C.N.T.-F.A.I.

L'un de ces jours je vous ferai parvenir deux livres, naturellement qu'en espagnol. Par ces livres vous pourrez voir aussi que l'attitude prise vis à vis de ces gens, est très différente.

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[Letter] 1938 March 1, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / Martin [Gudell]. — 3 p. ; 22 × 17 cm.

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Celui qui s'intitule "España cuna de la libertad", contient de très jolis paragraphes qui par sa clarté et simplicité, je vous recommande de traduire. Ces livres contiennent des précisions qui démontrent les très difficiles situations par lesquelles elle a dû passer Espagne et ce que les communistes ont fait pour faire encore plus difficile la situation. Vous trouverez aussi des documents qui ne sont pas encore publiés.

En général, je crois que ce que vous devez faire c'est de continuer votre travail et ne donner pas beaucoup d'attention à qui disent nos ennemis. Si les camarades espagnols vous font des observations concernant cette affaire, le mieux que vous pouvez faire c'est de recueillir quelques échantillons de sa presse dans laquelle ils nous calomnient et les demander ce qu'ils pensent faire avec ce genre de calomnies. Ce sont eux les premiers qui ont commencé et nous ne faisons que nous défendre. Je vous serai gré de bien vouloir me remettre la copie de la lettre concernant à ce problème. Vous devez tenir compte que si vous me faites parvenir cette copie directement, je ne l'aurais pas. Vous pouvez l'envoyer par l'intermédiaire de Paris ou de Perpignan. Je ne crois pas que les camarades aient l'intention de vous enlever la représentation de la C.N.T.-F.A.I. dans l'Angleterre. Les camarades sont entièrement d'accord avec vous, sauf dans ce point. Ils regrettent beaucoup ne pas pouvoir arriver à l'unité désirée. Moi, qui j'ai des fréquentes relations avec ces compagnons, je sais que les uns et les autres vous aiment bien et je ne crois pas qu'ils pensent à vous enlever la représentation, mais contrairement. Vous admirez beaucoup et mettez beaucoup d'attention en tout ce qui concerne votre personnalité et activité. Je crois qu'il irait très bien si vous recueillais les demandes intentionnelles qui vous font dans les réunions, ainsi que celle qui apparaissent dans sa presse et les envoyer au Comité national.

Jusqu'à ce jour je n'ai pas reçu d'autres livres concernant les adresses des syndicats de l'Angleterre. Le seul livre que j'ai reçu, c'est celui qui m'a apporté Mme. Adams. Il y a de risques dans la Poste espagnole si vous n'envoyez pas ces livres recommandés. Vous n'avez pas reçu non plus le livre en question, mais nous allons attendre un peu, car peut-être ceux-ci vont nous parvenir. Vous avez fait très bien d'envoyer à Perpignan la liste des adresses, car si vous l'auriez remis directement à mon adresse, sûrement que je ne les aurais pas reçus.

L'idée de s'adresser directement à quelques personnalités ou syndicats, c'est de H. Aussi tôt qu'il a été en question cette affaire, j'ai suggéré que ce sont nos représentants, dans les points où nous les avons, qui doivent se charger de toute espèce de propagande et interventions. Dans les pays où nous n'avons pas des représentants c'est très naturel de s'adresser aux organisations.

A tous ceux qui se sont adressés à ce bureau en demandant de la propagande, j'ai répondu que c'est vous la représentante de notre organisation. Je vous remets ci-joint la copie d'une lettre que nous avons envoyée à la Fédération des Jeunes Révolutionnaires d'Angleterre. Il est probable que la Fédération des Jeunes s'adressera à vous et nous espérons que vous allez les aider dans tout ce que vous pourriez. D'autre part, je vais passer une note aux Comités national et Péninsulaire dans le sens que vous indiquez dans votre lettre. A H. je le communiquerai en ce qui concerne la S.I.A. et la garderie. Nous savions déjà que l'on avait collecté les 75 £

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19390

Je dirais au camarade de vous remettre les manifestes et affiches; mais, de ma part, je vous ferai parvenir un autre colis, en prévision d'un éventuel oubliement de ce camarade.

Je suis content de que vous constataz que cette année vous recevez beaucoup plus de propaganda que auparavant. Vous pouvez être sûre que jamais vous manquera des informations de toute espèce, car je m'ai proposé de ne pas laisser de vous envoyer rien de ce qui s'édite par moi. Chaque jour l'on vous envoie de ce bureau un colis contenant des journaux et d'autres informations. Il y a 4-5 jours que l'on vous fait parvenir 2 ou 3 colis. Je vous ai envoyé aussi un album, des revues illustrées, etc. Je vous ai remis aussi un colis avec quelques brochures, dont une d'elles fait référence à la collectivité optique que vous avez visitée. Je prends à mon charge de que à l'avenir l'on vous fera parvenir un plus grand nombre de matériel.

Je communiquerai aux camarades de "Terida" qui ne vous envoient pas un si grand nombre d'exemplaires.

Dans la première occasion que je verrai au camarade Alaiz je vais lui communiquer ce que vous dites dans la lettre. Je vous ferai parvenir le deuxième numéro de la revue "Hoy", qui vient d'apparaître, et lequel est aussi très bien. Le premier numéro est magnifique et contient beaucoup de matériel que vous devrez traduire.

Ici n'est pas venue aucune camarade de l'Amérique du Nord, dont je ne sais de quelle camarade vous me parlez et ni Souhy ni moi n'avons pas reçu aucun colis. Le camarade Souhy est parti de Barcelone. Il y a plus d'un mois qu'il se trouve en Castille recueillant du matériel pour un livre.

Les camarades de Perpignan ne m'ont fait pas parvenir aucun colis, <sup>du presse</sup> Non plus ne m'est pas arrivée la copie de votre discours dans le Congrès de l'A.I.T. Je l'espère avec anxiété et je vais le lire très attentivement.

Les compagnons m'ont communiqué de qu'ils possèdent déjà votre livre et qu'ils l'ont réexpédié à mon adresse, dont j'espère le recevoir sous peu, car j'ai reçu tout ce qui m'ont fait parvenir ces compagnons. Ce qui se passe c'est que nous les recevons avec un grand retard, mais cela n'est à cause....de la révolution?

Recevez, chère camarade, mes salutations bien fraternelles

*Ich schicke Ihnen das englische Übersetzung von FAI Manifesto und bitte sagen Sie mir ob das englisch ist ein wenig besser oder nicht?*

*Haben Sie einen Brief von Mercedes bekommen? Sie ist ein wenig stärker jetzt. Herzliche grüsse von meine Freunde und von mir Euer Martin*

# The Emma Goldman Papers

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[Letter] 1938 March 1, Paris [to] Emma Goldman, London / Nemesio Galv[e].—  
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Confederación Nacional del Trabajo

n N°432  
NG.BG.

20645

Federación Anarquista Ibérica

Paris, el 1° de Marzo 1938.

Relaciones Exteriores

Delegación en Francia

Emma GOLDMANN

37, Old Compton St W.I.

LONDON

Querida Goldmann,

En mi penúltima carta, cuando te envié la traducción del libro "Apuntes Históricos", te decía que era el final. Pues me equivoqué. Mejor dicho, fué el traductor quién hizo que me confundiera. Y hoy te envío la cuarta parte del volumen.

Desearía no obstante que lo revisaras tu misma para que antes que el editor pueda trabajar sobre él, no haya ninguna confusión en la correlación del libro.

Nada más por hoy, querida Goldmann.

En espera de que ahora podrás trabajar con toda la libertad, te saluda fraternalmente.

FOR LA DELEGACIÓN PERMANENTE DE LA C.N.T. EN PARIS.

*Nemesio Galv[e]*  
Nemesio GALV[E]



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 March 1 [London to] Emma Goldman, [London] / George Photiades. —  
1 p.; 25 x 20 cm.

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11  
P.  
TELEPHONE  
HENDON 9110.

10, BURNHAM COURT,

BRENT STREET,

HENDON, N.W.4.

1st March, 1938.

Miss Emma Goldman,  
Hon. Sec. S.I.A.  
2, Frith Street, W.1.

Dear Miss Goldman,

I have received your letter of yesterday concerning the activities of the S.I.A. in England, which I have read with great interest.

My wife thanks the English Section for the honour they have done her in requesting her to dance at their entertainment on the 1st of April at the Friends House. As I mentioned to you by telephone today she will be glad to do this in so far as her professional engagements permit; it is unlikely that these will interfere in any way, although the time of her appearance may have to be suited to them. She is requiring payment of £2--2-- expenses at such appearances, as she incurs heavy disbursements for pianist, costumes and travelling. I understood from our telephone conversation that you will have no difficulty in paying these expenses. For the purpose of your publicity, I may say that my wife (her name in full is professionally: Señorita Emma Marqués) is generally accepted to be the finest living exponent of classical Spanish dancing. She had achieved a reputation all over Spain as a "segunda Argentina", a description which she well deserves.

I shall be glad to receive from you about fifty copies of your handbill and two posters which I can display, and I will gladly send you a photograph of Señorita Marqués for inclusion in your programme later on.

Yours sincerely

  
(George PHOTIADES)

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 March 2 [London to] Ethel [Mannin, Split, Yugoslavia] / [Emma Goldman].— 5 p. ; 20 × 16 cm.

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March 2nd 38

Ethel Darling.

Your letter of Feb 25th reached us only yesterday. And in the evening I received a card from ~~Barbara~~ Barbara with your new address. ~~Barbara~~ please do not reproach Barbara for having "forseen" me. She has really not done so because she had not pledged herself to come or help. She is a nice kid but her interest is in you and not your ideas which she probably does not even understand. And you know yourself that unless one is impelled by an idea or ideal one really cannot give ones time to it, or should be expected to do so. This only by the way in case you thought of writing Barbara in regard to her help. please, please do not do so.

Yes, contributions have come in outside of the check made payable to you. Some checks were made out to me and we also received postal orders. Added to the amount already received including ~~you~~ the checks you returned is one for £10 which I inclose. Ralph is out now so I cannot tell the complete amount. I will add it when he returns. One thing I can already let you know the Exhibition is a complete flop. Absolutely not an solitary soul ~~since~~ the last ten days and no more than two dozen people since it has been opened. It cannot be that people do not know about it. Nearly five thousand of our bulletin and folder have been given out, of these ten thousand 3000 went by mail, the rest was given out at every large meeting held in London. Besides that we advertised in REYNOLDS, SUNDAY TIMES, NEW STATESMAN, TIME AND TIDE AND THE NEW LEADER. Also the Manchester Guardian gave us a fairly decent notice, and there was a stellar letter in the NEW STATESMAN. So it is not as if we had overlooked anything that might reach the public interested in either exhibitions or anti-fascist work. But no one comes. You can imagine how I feel. I have tried the utmost economy in getting up the exhibition. Not a penny was spent for the work of the artists. Over the loss we spent £40 for printing, and advertising. so far only £22 pounds have come in in contributions from people who visited the show. And we sold a few drawings of the children

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Well, there is nothing to do but proceed with the next thing, for if I were to stop I'd go to pieces altogether. So now I am busy with the next job our affair April First. Yes I had a letter from Laurence Newman and a check for twenty pounds. Unfortunately he speaks in Croydon April first therefore cannot be with us. I asked him for a passage to the affair which he sent. We got it this morning. Louisa Wolding is leaving for Paris the 20th of this month. He too sent a message at my request. So that's that. Actually we have only you and Rebecca of the writing profession. Miles Wallison wrote he is filming now but if he will be free April First he will assist. If not he too will send a message. Thomas Burke wrote his voice is no good for platform speaking but he would attend. I have written Brian Howard asking him if you he might suggest a known poet. No reply from him. I will try to get him by phone to day. I have a feeling that when he consented and also pledged Auden and Nancy Ward he probably did not know who we are and who I am.

Since we have only two literary people I thought it best to ask Stella Churhill to preside and have you and Rebecca free to do what you want. It occurred to me that you might care to speak on literature and the social struggle, or anything that will be in tune with the affair. I thought I would ask Rebecca to speak. I have never heard her but I was told she is very good. Perhaps she would even make the appeal. If not Stella could do it ~~and~~ or you. We are again planning to have nicely gotten up programmes. For that we need books. Is anybody in your house whom you could instruct to send me one of you? I have the photo you sent me for the SIA folder. It did not seem in place there but it is ~~in~~ indispensable in the programme. If you have

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[Letter, 19]38 March 2 [London 10] Ethel [Mannin, Split, Yugoslavia] / [Emma Goldman].— 5 p. ; 20 × 16 cm.

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some we will make a block from the photo I have. Dearest since ~~now~~ it will be too late to send out announcements and ask people to order their tickets when you get back perhaps you and Megie would send me a list of names of your circle of friends with an equal number of a personal note and we will send it with our printing which will be ordered Monday and will be done the end of next week. I am leaving for Scotland Saturday to be gone ten days. But James Harrison and Sonia remain in charge of the printing. When I get back it will be sent out. This then my dearest is as far as we went. Oh, yes, I see Sir Peter Chalmers Mitchell has not been elected to the University of Scotland I have decided to make one more attempt to get him to participate. His book MY HOUSE IN MALAGA is a beautiful piece of work besides containing the most glowing tribute to the ~~FAI~~ ~~FAI~~ members he had known in Malaga. I am hoping to find time to review the book for SPAIN AND THE WORLD. If you were here I'd ask you to review it and I would just write an appreciation of his ~~lasting~~ understanding of anarchism and his truly grand attitude towards the FAI comrades. I will write him tomorrow I so hope he will consent not only because his name would mean a lot but also because he would say the right word of our people in Spain so generally misunderstood and discredited.

The contribution to our appeal for the SIA brought more than I actually thought, the amount is £77,17,9. Laurence Housman £20 and the inclose check for £10 from the woman who had pledged £5 at our meeting and has sent the money since helped to swell our fund. That is something even if the exhibition is a failure. I had set my heart on it and put all the love I feel for the children whom I saw in the whole into the arrangements. Naturally it is a shock to find that no one cares. But shocks in my life are nothing new. They have thrown me off my feet for a time. But they have never prevented me from going on to the next thing before me.

Marling, young, Meschioni has just been in to see me. I told him I wanted you to review Chalmers Mitchell's book. He jumped with glee and begged me to tell you how much he would appreciate your doing the job. So on a chance that



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17175.

that you might feel like reviewing it I will mail you the book tomorrow. Read it please. If you would rather not write your impression of the work send me back the book because I shall have to review it. Send it back to the office please.

The one bright spot of the last few weeks is Rev James Whittle. I wrote him about the use of his Hall for our film and my speaking there. He came at once to talk the matter over. I told him in detail what the film represents and what I plan to say. He assured me that Regie must have painted him as important which he is not and also that his Hall is very bad shape. But that if I wanted to use it nevertheless I could have it. He would put up posters and have our bills distributed. Isn't it splendid of him? And so we are going to have a meeting in his place the 24th of this month. I wish the intelligentsia on our list would be as responsive as Regie's Reverent.

My dearest own sweet Ethel, I am sorry if I have communicated my gloom to you. I really did not mean to. But I am no good in pretending gaiety when I do not feel it. Yes, being out with you, away from the difficulties of our work for Spain I can lose myself and look much younger than my years even without a "grey chiffon dress". Bless your extravagant though I promise you when you come back and we are together again to cheer my gloom. For the present you must not mind the greyness my letter conveys. I will get over it. Last evening I spent with Stella Churchill. I dined in her house and then she took me to see THREE SISTERS. The first act was superb, all the others lacked tempo and atmosphere. You see I have not only seen the best the Moscow Art Theatre gave in all of Tohmshov I lectured on the Russians all over America, and in Heath's House in London as well as a number of provincial towns. I know the plays inside and out. The two principle characters in THREE SISTERS last night can of course not compare with the Russians but on the whole the performance was not bad.

The meeting in Eastborne was a waste of time for me and was deadly dull. The poor chairman who made the apologies was evidently very nervous and a bad speaker besides. But it was really silly for him to say that he does not agree with S.U. that socialism does not exist in Russia. Clearly it was done to pacify the Communists. Really it does not matter. Oh, did I write you that Jenner has at last sent in his name as sponsor. I will add it when we do new printing.

My meeting this Sunday in Glasgow was banned we were notified by the council there. We are waiting for final word by phone. I cannot imagine what is the matter because there was no trouble whatever last year. It used to be an ordinary occurrence in the States to have my meetings stopped by the police. But it never happened before in England. One thing is certain my life is not permitted to grow monotonous.

## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 March 2 [London to] Ethel [Mannin, Split, Yugoslavia] / [Emma Goldman]. — 5 p. ; 20 × 16 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.*

17197

ies dear at I saw the account of your divorce. I hated to  
send you the papers. Its always so rotten. Of course the mere  
legal farce should never make a difference. But it does  
only too often. I hope fervently that it may not in your and  
regies case. That you may find even more joy and happyness  
in each other.

Goodby darling. with much love, a lot for regie  
as well.

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 March 2, London [to Mariano R.] V[á]zquez, [Barcelona] / Emma Goldman. — 1 p. ; 23 x 18 cm.

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C.N.T.

A.I.T.

F.A.I.

Representing—THE NACIONAL CONFEDERACION OF LABOR  
AND REGIONAL COMITE C.N.T.-F.A.I.—BARCELONA  
INTERNATIONAL PRESS SERVICE

London Office

21 FRITH STREET  
SHAFTESBURY AVENUE  
LONDON, W.1

London, 2nd March 1938.

TELEPHONE: GERRARD 2636

961

Quer Comrade Vazquez,

I have received all the material dealing with your negotiations with the CNT - also the stand of the FAL. We are having a resume of the most important points appear in the next issue of "Spain & the World" - after which we will print 10,000 copies or more for distribution, and also to send it out broadcast to the various trade union branches. Another thing which we will print is the diagram which you sent us. An artist friend is doing it for us and after the English script is inserted we will have a block made.

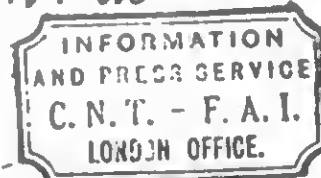
We have succeeded in getting hold of 4,000 addresses of trade union branches, and other workers organisations, some of which I have sent you a list. I am sending you with this letter a list of all the branches of the British Steel & Hindred Workers Association. Others will be sent as soon as they are copied. All of these will be circularised with your diagram and your negotiations with the CNT - also your structure of the CNT. Although the expense of this work will be high - printing and postage - we feel that this is the most direct way, and the best method of approaching the workers. Certainly much more effective than meetings which cost a lot of money and for which we have not enough speakers. We hope you agree.

For myself I must say that I feel very sad indeed with your efforts to make so many far reaching concessions to the insatiable appetite of those who now direct the ship of state of the CNT. If I did not have infinite faith in the resilient power of the CNT I should be more unhappy, because of the danger threatening you from the gentlemen who are directing the fate of the CNT; but I realise that with the sad loss of Manuel which has taken so many of our bravest of comrades, and the deliberate conspiracy of Great Britain to turn Spain over to the tender mercies of Mussolini and Hitler, you are forced to do things which otherwise you would not consider for a moment. So I feel I must submit to the inevitable, although it gives me considerable inner struggle to face the inevitable. I can only hope that you will not have cause to regret the consequences of the concessions you are making.

In a little while I will send you more addresses of local trade union branches.

Fraternal greetings.

Emma Goldman



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457

## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 March 2 [London to Mariano R.] V[á]zquez, [Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman].— 1 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

19239

2nd March 1938.

Dear Comrade vazquez,

I have received all the material dealing with your negotiations with the UGT - also the stand of the FAI. We are having a resume of the most important points appear in the next issue of "Spain & The World" - after which we will print 10,000 copies or more for distribution, and also to send it out broadcast to the various trade union branches. Another thing which we will print is the diagram which you sent us. An artist friend is doing it for us and after the English script is inserted we will have a block made.

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Fraternal greetings.



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 March 2, London [to Pedro] Herrera, [Barcelona] / Emma Goldman. — 3 p. ; 21 x 17 cm.

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S. I. A

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London Office:  
21, FRITH STREET,  
SHAFTESBURY AVENUE,  
LONDON, W.1.

Telephone: GERRARD 2435

2nd March 1938.

Dear Comrade Herrera,

I have received all the material you sent me and I am using as much as possible out of it. We cannot use it all because the cost of printing here is terribly high and it would swallow up every penny we raise just for the printing alone. However we are getting out another Bulletin devoted to the S.I.A. and if room enough also to the Mujeres Libres. Mainly however it will be the S.I.A. material which you have been sending us. The Bulletin will also contain in full the letter of comrade Federica Montseny to the women of America except we are going to call it the women of England. We have a list of women's organisations and we will send them copies when our Bulletin will be ready.

I congratulate you, dear comrade, in being so prompt and generous with material. In this respect we feel richer than last year, when we could not get anything; but the principle thing of the utmost importance to us is still missing. These are posters and photographs. It is impossible to reproduce the few you have sent because it would cost £25 and certainly we could not waste that money. It seems to me that since you must have photographs of all your undertakings and since you are making posters, you should have any amount of extra copies to send us.

For instance, we are organising a meeting for the 24th March in the most congested and poorest part of proletarian London. We could use with great advantage the posters you sent us representing a woman and child during raids and also some that have been got out in Paris. I have written comrade Galve for some; but so far I have not received them. You understand yourself how effective posters are. I am going to Scotland for ten days to hold meetings. There too posters would have been a great help. Surely it cannot be so difficult to send us this particular material which is of the utmost importance in our work.

I am sorry to say that the exhibition of drawings of the children in Barcelona which I brought with me from Spain has not been a success although we spent £40 in printing and advertising. We cannot explain the reason other than the usual boycott of the communists against everything undertaken on behalf of the CNT-FAL, or even the S.I.A. However we are not discouraged. We are hoping to be able to send the exhibition to Scotland where it is likely to meet with better success.

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 March 2, London [to Pedro] Herrera, [Barcelona] / Emma Goldman. — 3 p.; 21 × 17 cm.

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Institutional Location: Confederación Nacional del Trabajo Archives.

2

than here. The main work however is our forthcoming literary and musical event to be held at Friends House, April 1st. The full address is "Friends House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1. We are concentrating on that now as we are hoping to realise some funds, besides getting members for the S.I.A. For this too we need posters badly. Could you rush some to us. It would help us greatly. Another thing I want you to do on behalf of the S.I.A. is to send a telegram to the meeting. You can address it either to me or direct to the meeting to Doctor Stella Churchill at the address I have given. Doctor Stella Churchill is to preside at the meeting. We will send you all our printed matters as soon as it is ready. You have no idea what it means organising anything for Spain in this country. As I have already written you there are numerous organisations, nearly all of them in the hands of the communists, although under different names, and nobody else gets the least chance of reaching a large public. Nevertheless we are forging ahead and doing our utmost.

There is one thing further comrade for which I must ask for explanation. I have received two letters from Desnard saying that money is now being raised for the help of the refugees who have been expelled from Spain, or who have been forced to leave in their own way. He tells me that the S.I.A. in France will look after that. He implies that the money raised here by the English Section should also be sent there. That I cannot understand. I am of course in favor of raising funds for our destitute and hungry refugee comrades; but I prefer to deal with you and the S.I.A. in Barcelona - otherwise there would be too much of a mixture. Let me know by return mail what you want us to do in the matter. As far as we are concerned it is immaterial where the money goes, so long as we know it is going for the purpose for which it is being raised, because we are responsible to the English public for every penny. I hope you will give this your immediate attention.

I have just read your communication of February 21st. In regard to the first request to send paper, pads, pencils and other writing material for our militaries at the front. We will certainly have a special notice in our next S.I.A. Bulletin and appeal to our readers to send such material, giving them comrade Cammaré's address in Marseille. As to the suggestion of a S.I.A. banner. I myself am not much of a believer in such things, nor can I suggest the colours. I confess I do not like the colour of your stationery. I don't know what brown and blue suggests. The section in this country, I am sure, are satisfied to leave this to your own judgement.

As I have already said posters are of greater importance to us, as they can be distributed in all important places. There is this much however, we would like to have one for the 1st May demonstration, in which we hope to participate, both for the S.I.A. and the CNT-FAI.

I have just also received and read your circular dated February 24th in regard to the declaration of the UGT that it had nothing to do with the S.I.A.. That is only another proof of the insidious and underhand activities of the communists, who grab at every straw in order to discredit your work in Spain and our work outside of it. Any method, no matter how despicable, is good enough for them. We are glad to have your information. We will use it should such an occasion arise. I must say, dear comrade, your patience is beyond me. Your so called allies try their best to undermine your position, and

460

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3 p. ; 21 × 17 cm.

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yet you still want to affiliate with them.

To me it is very tragic indeed.

Salud.

fraternally,

*Emma Goldman*

Please hand enclose letter to vazquez. . . and list of address



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 March 2 [London to Pedro] Herrera, [Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman]. —  
3 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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19020

2nd March 1938.

Dear Comrade ~~Herrera~~,

I have received all the material you sent me and I am using as much as possible out of it. We cannot use it all because the cost of printing here is terribly high and it would swallow up every penny we raise just for the printing alone. However we are getting out another Bulletin devoted to the S.I.A. and if room enough also to the Mujeres Libres. Mainly however it will be the S.I.A. material which you have been sending us. The Bulletin will also contain in full the letter of comrade Mercedes Montseny to the women of America except we are going to call it the women of England. We have a list of women's organisations and we will send them copies when our Bulletin will be ready.

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2

19021

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There is one thing further comrades for which I must ask for explanation. I have received two letters from Besnerd saying that money is now being raised for the help of the refugees who have been expelled from Spain, or who have been forced to leave in their own way. He tells me that the S.I.A. in France will look after that. He implies that the money raised here by the English Section should also be sent there. That I cannot understand. I am of course in favor of raising funds for our destitute and hungry refugee comrades; but I prefer to deal with you and the S.I.A. in Barcelona - otherwise there would be too much of a mixture. Let me know by return mail what you want us to do in the matter. As far as we are concerned it is immaterial where the money goes, so long as we know it is going for the purpose for which it is being raised, because we are responsible to the English public for every penny. I hope you will give this your immediate attention.

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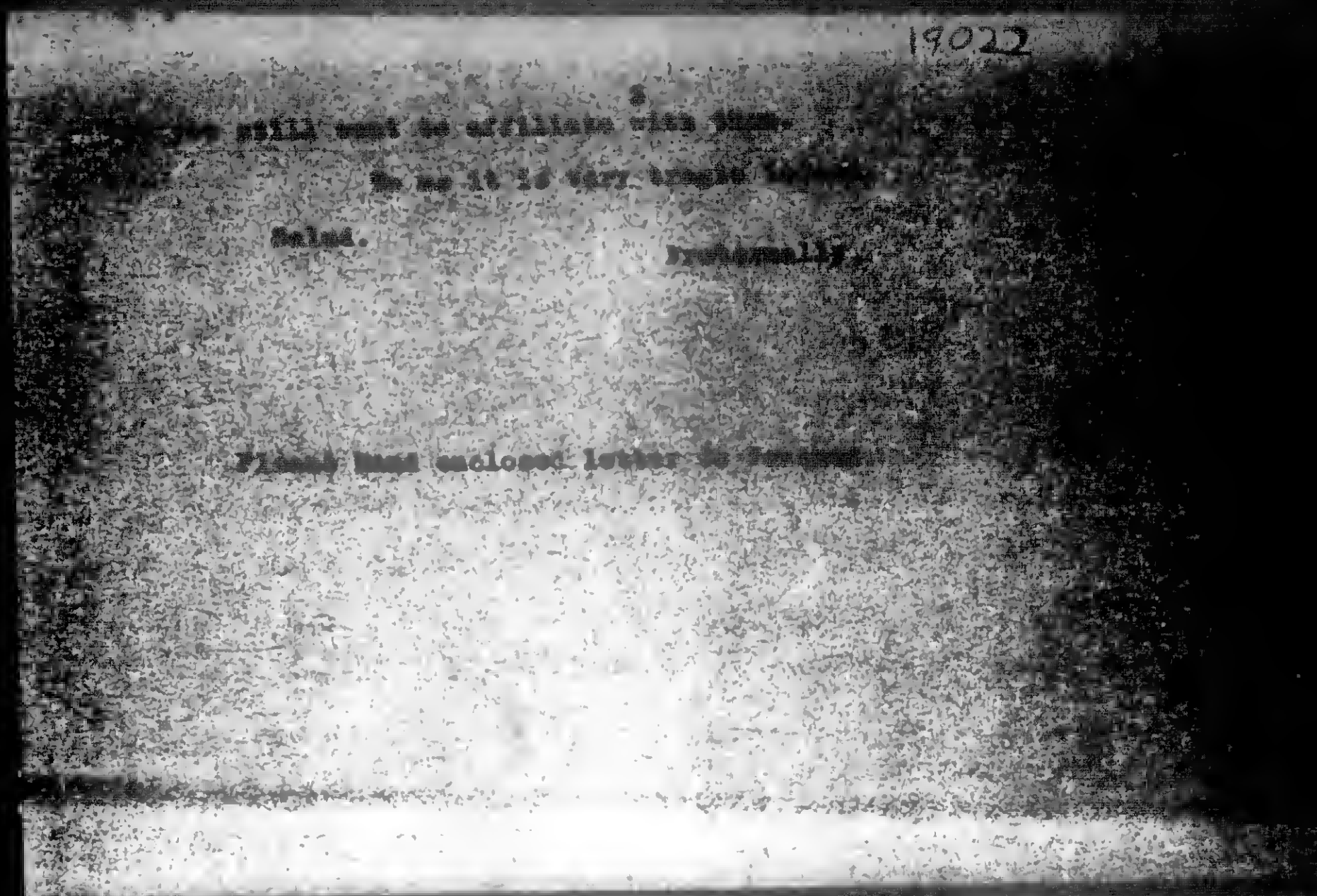
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3 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 March 2, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / M[ariano] R. V[á]zquez and P[edro] Herrera. — 1 p. ; 29 × 21 cm.  
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 Institutional Location: Confederación Nacional del Trabajo Archives.

*M. L. S. C.*  
 Barcelona, Via Durruti 30, 62  
 2nd of March 1938

Propaganda Office CNT-FAI en London

Dear Comrade Emma Goldman,

We received your letter of February 24th and as well the material you sent us.

We shall inform comrade Olmos of the Commission pro Durruti Monument, of the difficulties existing in England for the constitution of libertarian groups.

Concerning the very bad photograph of Durruti which you have referred too, we want to assure you that the monument shall be a worthy thing and not just a vulgar object.

It is important, dear comrade, that you send your letters to us via Paris, because we don't like the "friends" of the censorship reading what you have to tell us.

Greeting you fraternally

For the Peninsular Committee  
 of the F.A.I.

For the National Committee  
 of the C.N.T.

P. Herrera

M. R. Vasquez



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 March 3 [London to] Ethel [Mannin, Split, Yugoslavia] / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p. ; 20 x 16 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

37126

3rd March, 1938.

Dear Ethel,

I just got your letter of February 28th. I am not sure that this will reach you since you are living split on the 7th, but I am going to take a chance, as it is sure to be forwarded to you, in case you had left.

I wrote you yesterday saying I would send on "My House in England" by Sir Peter Chalmers Mitchell, but as you say that you will not be there after the 7th, I do not think I will risk mailing it. I would prefer to do it to any place in France, and I will wait until you let me know where to send it to you. We are very anxious to have you review the book, and I hope that you will feel inspired as I am when you read it. I have learned only to-day that poor Sir Peter has met with a motor accident and that he is in a nursing home. Nevertheless I have written him, begging that he should participate in our evening. I think he will be fit by 1st April.

I have turned over Macrie's article to young Macchioni. It is too late for the current issue, but I am sure he will bring it in the next.

Desiret, I can't understand your feeling about the 1st of April. Nobody else of the people I have approached or artists have objected to it. After all, all sorts of affairs take place on that date - theatres, concerts and meetings. Moreover, it will be quite all right for you to use the quotation "Vanzetti" when you speak. For myself I have no feeling whatever about the difference of the 1st of April from any other day.

About the Masque children, I thought of them at first and then gave up the idea of having them on our programme because the children have been "dressed" from pillar to post and exhibited everywhere to help raise money for their own keep. I felt therefore that having them would be no novelty and was

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17128

2

really an outrageous imposition on them. Besides, as far as the musical part of the evening is concerned, we will be amply supplied. Sidonie Weissens has secured a well-known tenor, and is sure to induce a very fine pianist to play. Then we have a great Spanish dancer. I wrote you about her yesterday. Now we lack are literary people or poets. We have on side of Rebecca and you, Herbert Read. I was told only to-day that he is a very fine poet and has written some extraordinarily beautiful prose, so he will be able to do something on that evening. But so far we have no outstanding poet. Well, it cannot be helped. We will have to do without him. I have just written Rebecca, and she may let me know of someone worth approaching.

I am leaving for Scotland Saturday noon, but my mail will be forwarded to me. The one thing that cannot wait is the list of names of your circle of friends and acquaintances with your and Reggie's personal note, as all the printing must go out at the very latest a week from Saturday. We must give people plenty of time to order their tickets, so please let me have an early answer and send me your personal word.

I may write you from Scotland if I receive an address in Paris, or anywhere else in France.

With affectionate love

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 March 3 [London to] Helmut [Rüdiger, Paris] / [Emma Goldman].—  
3 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

18892

3rd March 1938.

Dear Helmut,

Your letter of the 19th February went to the old address and was lying round there for a week. Of course we had notified the Post Office of the change of our address, but evidently Post Offices all over the world are the same. We have written them again and we hope that from now the mail will be forwarded. Please my dear take notice of our new address, and write me here and not 18 Castletown Road.

I am afraid you misunderstood me in regard to Vazquez's reply to my letter telling him that his request about the treatment of the communists was very much toned down in his letter. In any event I have decided to go my way when it comes to the communists. I am definitely not going to treat them with kid gloves. I am very happy indeed to have Rudolf to back me in that, not that I would not take my stand, even if I were alone; but he wrote in his last letter "we must try our utmost to prevent our Spanish people from going into the trap the communists are setting for them". I don't know how he means to prevent it. It were different if he were in Spain. I am sure he could have a salutary influence on our people. They have great faith in him, and justly so. For myself I see no way that would clear the fog in which the CNT seems to find itself. Take for instance the negotiations with the UGT which we received. It makes my blood boil to see the concessions and compromises the CNT is prepared to make to satisfy the insatiable appetite of the communist gang that are now deciding the fate of the UGT. I consider it a calamity for Spain and our movement in the rest of the world that the CNT is willing to have the industries nationalised which the National Confederation of Labor had controlled for 18 months. I don't see what is left of all their revolutionary achievement. Moreover if the CNT continues to give way more and more it will soon find itself a stranded ship. I realise my dear that the circumstances forced them to climb down from the heights, especially since the recapture of Teruel by the Franco savages, and now that England no longer makes even a pretext of safeguarding Anti-Fascist Spain. There is no doubt that it has determined that Spain should be devoured by the Italian and German beasts. It is therefore difficult to make our comrades see the downward road they are going; but that has nothing to do with our stand outside of Spain as regards the communists, and the open and secret machinations to undermine the position of the CNT. I am not willing to lend a hand to that by silence to the miserable schemes of the communists. Only today we had another proof in the circular which I received from Herrera telling that the communists have protested against the statement that the UGT was supporting the SIA. That is one more scheme to discredit the SIA. I don't see how we can remain silent on all these things and I don't intend to.

I am not surprised that some people are already reaching out

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3 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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2

18891

hungerly for the French Section of the SIA. Unless the accounts in *Liberteire* and *La Nouvelle Espagne* are so much bluff the SIA in France must be indeed have had a great success. One wonders if it is to be swallowed up now for purposes other than what it was organized for. One thing is surprising me. The circular letter which I received signed by Baenard to the effect that moneys raised here should be sent to the SIA in France. I may have misunderstood the circular. I gave it to comrade Rocchioni and he has gone away. I may have it by tomorrow when this letter will be sent you and when I should be clearer about the request of Baenard. In any event I cannot deal with France. I am dealing with Spain through Herrere direct, and I will have to abide by his directions. It would cause too much confusion to do otherwise. Will you explain that to him. I am however ready, and I am sure so are the comrades who work with me, to enlarge our campaign for a political amnesty for the Spanish prisoners. "Spain & The World" has already undertaken to bring the matter before its readers, and we would naturally like to do our utmost for that purpose, - although even for that I could not use money of the SIA fund unless so directed by Herrere.

I am not sure I will be able to do much the publication you are planning. I am terribly swamped with work. You must bear in mind that we are only a few people - not more than half a dozen, who do all the work, including the campaign for the CNT and the efforts of the Anarcho Syndicalist Union. It is impossible to take up more labour; but if I can spare a moment and there is something important to say, I will of course be glad to contribute.

Rudolf writes me that Abe has had a long talk with him. He found Abe very disturbed but finally realized that an open attack on the actions of the CNT-FAI would be a terrible thing. He is working with the Spanish delegation in New York. This will no doubt break poor Mollie's heart, because she was so sure that Abe would begin the campaign "to expose the National Committee" as soon as he would land in New York. I can deeply sympathize with Abe's struggle for I am going through it myself every day and every time I receive material from Barcelona showing more compromises our people are making; but the world situation against Spain is too terrible for us to afford a luxury of attacking the CNT.

Rudolf's book on Anarcho Syndicalism is out this week. It will be up on sale on Monday. I am sorry to say that the same publisher has declined the publication of Cervantes book after he had kept the manuscript for two months. I am writing to another house asking whether they would be interested. Yes I have received the series of French publication of yours. I have not yet had time to read them. I also received the pamphlet purporting to be written especially by you. I understood that it dealt with your report to the Congress of the IWWA. This idea of publishing things without the authors consent is as old as the Anarchist movement. I used to find myself in all kinds of papers without having the remotest idea that it would appear.

The exhibition we organized here and into which we put so much labour of love and considerable expense has proved an absolute failure. The people do not even have the excuse that they had not been notified of its existence. We have circulated masses of people and



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 March 3 [London to] Helmut [Rüdiger, Paris] / [Emma Goldman].—  
3 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

111111

3

given out and printing at every meeting, besides every-  
thing else. There seems to be a definite defect  
in the work of the CNT-FAI and the SIA, especially  
attached to it. Often I feel that I ought to write the  
papers that I do then more harm than good. My name has been  
by the communists for years, and where it is generally  
known in the most sensational light. I am very disheartened  
you; but we must go ahead as there is no one else.

That is all for today dear Helmut.

Fraternally,

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 March 3 [London to] Rebecca [West, London] / [Emma Goldman].—  
2 p.; 20 x 16 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17397

3rd March, 1938.

Dear Rebecca,

I seem to be out of luck whenever I try to get you on the phone. I always find that you are either out or about to leave. Your secretary has been very obliging indeed to give you my messages and to give me your replies, but it is not quite as satisfactory as hearing your voice or having a chance to talk to you. For want of a better chance, I am writing you.

The affair for April 1st is on the way. We hope to be able to proceed with the printing early next week. We are assured of fine musical talent, and a very great Spanish dancer, whose name is Senorita Emma Marques. We are not so fortunate with the literary profession or poets. Actually we have only you, Ethel Mannin and Herbert Read. I have just written to Sir Peter Gowers Mitchell, who may be willing to participate. Just now he, poor thing, is in hospital after an automobile accident. I am not at all sure that he will be well enough to participate on April 1st. When I talked to your secretary the day before yesterday, I begged her to ask you if you could suggest a poet likely to be willing to participate in our affair. I simply do not know anyone.

Will you let me know by return mail when I might write to? Of course he would have to be of the anti-Fascist tendencies.

Meanwhile I want either a cut of you or a photograph. We are going to print programmes to be sold at the affair for the S.I.A. Naturally we want yours: and will you state what you would best like to do on that evening? Do you think you

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471

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 March 3 [London to] Rebecca [West, London] / [Emma Goldman]. —  
2 p. ; 20 × 16 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17399

2

would care to make the appeal for contributions after whatever  
you intend to say in a general way. Perhaps you would like  
to speak on the imperative necessity of freedom for the  
creative artists which has no chance under fascism; or  
anything you want to do. Only let me know so that we can  
state it in the programme.

Please, dear Rebecca, do not delay in answering this.  
I don't want to seem a pest or annoying you, but we have  
only one month left to arrange the evening, and it means  
very hard and concentrated labours to make it a success.

Yours sincerely,

P.S. When you write please tell me if you want any circulars  
sent out to your circle of friends and acquaintances,  
or if you want your secretary to do it. If so,  
let me know how many you want.

23663007

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472

## The Emma Goldman Papers

870929139

[Letter] 1938 March 3 [London to] Peter [Chalmers Mitchell, London] / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p. ; 24 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

3rd March, 1938.

Dear Sir Peter,

I lunched with Mr. Charles Duff and learned much to my regret that you had met with an accident. I was terribly sorry to hear that, but I hope that you are on the way to recovery and that you will soon be yourself again.

Actually I had intended to write you about your beautiful work "My House in Malaga". I wanted to express to you the gratitude of my comrades in Spain and all over the world as well as my own for your sympathetic understanding of the Spanish Anarchists and their cause. I intend to write about it in the paper we are publishing "Spain and the world". I have also written Miss Ethel Mannin, who is abroad now, to review the book for our publication.

Another thing I planned to write you was our literary and musical evening which we are organising in Friends' House for April 1st. Now that the elections did not result in your seat at the Scottish University, you may feel free to



## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 March 3 [London to] Peter [Chalmers Mitchell, London] / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p. ; 24 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

participate in the affair of April 1st. As far as we have only three representatives or letters. Miss Emma West, Miss Ethel Mannin and Mr. Herbert Read. As such, however, that your name would carry great weight in view of your knowledge of the Spanish Anti-Fascist situation and also because of your great work "At Home in Malaga". Please say yes, on condition that you will feel fit to come to Friends' House on the evening of April 1st. We plan to proceed with our preliminary printing early next week, so would like to have your reply by that time. Another thing we want, if you consent to participate, is either a cut or a photograph of you: that is for the program which we intend to print for the evening of the affair.

With my best wishes for your speedy recovery and in the hope that you may be able and willing to join the artists and writers for April 1st.

Very sincerely yours,



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 March 3, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / M[ariano] R. Vázquez [and] P[edro] Herrera. — 1 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Comité Peninsular del Trabajo  
Federación Anarquista Ibérica  
Federación Española de Trabajadores

Delegation CNT-PAI in London

Dear Comrade Emma Goldman,

we received your letter of February 28 and also the material which you sent.

We shall inform comrade Onda of the Durruti-Monument Commission, of the difficulties existing in England for the constitution of libertarian groups.

Concerning the very bad photograph of Durruti to which you refer in your letter, we want to assure you that the monument shall be a worthy thing and not just a vulgar object.

It is important, dear comrade, that you send your letters to us via Paris. We don't like the "friends" of the censorship reading what you have to tell us.

With our fraternal greetings we are

For the Peninsular Committee  
of the F.A.I.

For the National Committee  
of the C.I.P.

M.R. Vaz

FEDERACION ANARQUICA  
COMITE PENINSULAR  
Relaciones Exteriores

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 March 3, Paris [to] Emma Goldman, London / Helmut [Rüdiger]. —  
2 p.; 27 x 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.



10097

Paris, den 3. März 1938

Emma Goldman,  
Vertreterin der CNT in England  
18 Casteltown Rd.  
London W 14

Liebe Emma,

bei der Arbeitsteilung im neuen Sekretariat habe ich England zugewiesen bekommen, unter anderem. Um nun dem Sekretariat eine Idee der Lage dort und eventueller Möglichkeiten geben zu können, habe ich mich mit Gen. Mascarell dahin verständigt, dass ich mich an Dich wende mit der Bitte um einen kurzen Bericht. Wir haben ja dort keine offizielle Sektion, und so erscheint es mir als das Logischste, dass wir Dich als unseren Vertrauens kameraden betrachten, da Du ja eine Sektion der IAA - die CNT - vertrittst.

In den Papieren des alten Sekretariats finde ich wenig über England. Zahlungen für Bulletin CNT-PAI von Feldmann, Phippen, eine Korrespondenz mit Sonia Clements über die Anarcho-Syndicaliste Union, einen Brief von SPAIN AND THE WORLD (wir haben noch immer keine Kollektion des Blattes...), einen Brief eines Ch. Duff, der nach Literatur fragt, und eine Korrespondenz mit R. Barr über die Antiparlamentarische Richtung von Glasgow, welche ihren Wunsch geäußert hat, in die IAA einzutreten. Außerdem hat das neue Sekretariat nun auch einen Brief erhalten von dem oft erwähnten Melzer, der mir damit zum ersten Male unter die Augen kommt. Er, unter dem 12. II., schreibt, dass sie eine Revolutionary Youth Federation anarhistischen Charakters und syndikalistische Committees for Workers Control gegründet haben, und er schickt die erste Nummer eines Monatsbulletins mit programmatischen Äußerungen beider Gruppierungen.

Wenn ich recht verstehe, sind uns nun drei Stellen bekannt: die Glasgower, die AS. Union und die Gründung Melzers. Es wäre mir sehr lieb, wenn Du uns als Grundlage weiterer Schritte des Sekretariats einen kleinen Bericht über diese Dinge und die allgemeine Perspektive schreiben würdest. Einige Darlegungen über Art und Arbeitsweise Deiner Arbeit im Auftrage des OIT wären in diesem Zusammenhang natürlich auch interessant.



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 March 3, Paris [to] Emma Goldman, London / Helmut [Rödiger].—  
2 p. ; 27 × 21 cm.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 March 3, Paris [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Anita [and Hanns-Erich Kaminski].— 2 p. ; 20 x 13 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

5, RUE DELAIZEMENT - XVII<sup>e</sup>  
TÉL: ÉTOILE 33-77

17990

Paris, 3-3-38

Liebste Emma,

es ist lange her, dass wir nichts von Ihnen gehört haben, aber die Schuld liegt auf beiden Seiten und wir wollen uns gegenseitig keine Vorwürfe machen. Wir hatten in der letzten Zeit wirklich sehr viel zu tun, abgesehen vom Bakurin, der rüstig fortschreitet und von dem mehr als die Hälfte fertig ist. Den Beweis unserer sonstigen Tätigkeit erhalten Sie mit gleicher Post. Sie sehen, wir haben so ganz nebenbei noch ein Buch geschrieben, wenn es auch kein sehr dickes ist.

Vielleicht haben Sie etwas von Célines "Bagatelles pour un Massacre" gehört. Es ist ein dicker Wälzer, schauderhaft antisemitisch und politisch absolut auf der Linie der Nazis. Wie es bei einem Werk von Céline nicht anders zu erwarten war, hat das Buch grossen Erfolg. Die Kritik beschäftigt sich so gut wie garnicht damit, aber es wird viel gelesen und steht im Schaufenster jeder Buchhandlung. Unsere Schrift ist eine Antwort darauf. Hoffentlich gefällt sie Ihnen.

Ist der Céline auch auf englisch erschienen oder haben Sie in England überhaupt nichts davon gehört? Das in-



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 March 3, Paris [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Anita [and Hanns-Erich Kaminski]. — 2 p. ; 20 x 13 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17991

teressiert uns natürlich sehr wegen der Möglichkeit einer englischen Ausgabe unseres Buches. Glauben Sie, dass wir einen Verleger dafür finden könnten? Das soll kein Appell an Ihre bekannte Hilfsbereitschaft sein, denn diesmal sind wir gar nicht berechtigt, über eine Uebersetzung zu verfügen, da sich das der Verleger vorbehalten hat.

Wie geht es Ihnen persönlich? Wir wissen, dass Sie unentwegt weiter tätig sind, und wir verstehen, dass Sie bei Ihrem Temperament sich in der Aktion einigermaßen glücklich fühlen, auch wenn die Erfolge nicht grade gross sind. Die Situation ist überall gleich traurig, und es ist schwer, heutzutage wenigstens ein bisschen Optimismus zu bewahren.

Persönlich geht es uns nicht besonders. Wir haben kein Geld und sind einigermaßen überarbeitet. Der Bakunin soll aber auf alle Fälle zum Sommer fertig werden. Das Buch von Carr haben wir gesehen. Es hat uns erneut gezeigt, wie notwendig eine richtige Bakuninbiographie ist.

Viele herzliche Grüsse

Ihre

Anita  
Jann

## The Emma Goldman Papers

880726332

[Letter] 1938 March 3, Manchester [England to] Emma Goldman, [London] / W.P. Crozier. — 1 p. ; 22 × 14 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

24025

The Guardian Office  
Manchester

3 March 1938

Dear Madam,

I write to thank you for  
your letter of February 24 and for  
the particulars which you give, although  
I cannot at the moment say whether we  
shall be able to deal with them in the  
paper.

Yours very truly,

W.P. Crozier

Miss Emma Goldman.

480

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 March 4, London [to] Mark [Mratchny, New York] / Emma [Goldman].— 3 p. ; 29 x 22 cm.

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C.N.T.

A.I.T.

F.A.I.

Representing—THE NACIONAL CONFEDERACION OF LABOR  
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INTERNATIONAL PRESS SERVICE

London Office:

21 PRITH STREET  
SHAFTESBURY AVENUE  
LONDON, W.1

London, March 4th 38

TELEPHONE: GERRARD 2636

My dear Mark.

That was a red letter day indeed to receive yours of Feb. 18th. Who ever wrote the letter for you, I have an idea you did it yourself, has done a good job. My dear old friend I am not objecting to your Russian, if only you wrote it on a machine. It is your handwriting which I find as rotten as mine therefore difficult to decipher. Was no one a Russian typewriter you could borrow? Or better write English or dictate to some one. Anyhow your letter was most welcome.

I send you to day the first part of my report of my second visit to Spain. The other half will be sent later on. I had hoped to have it ready by now, but I am so swamped with work, organizing the exhibition, now organizing an entertainment for April First, getting out a lot of stuff of the CNT, for circulation, preparing the SIA BULLETIN, and keeping up a vast correspondence gives me not a peaceful moment to do other writing. Well, here is the first part of my report which may interest the readers of the Fr. Arb Stimme. I am also sending a copy to VANGUARD if it cares to bring it.

My dear you speak of a programme we did not have before the Spanish Revolution. Supposing we did have one would that have applied to Spanish reality? I doubt it. Because ~~anarchism~~ ~~the events in Spain~~ the events in Spain have proven far beyond anything we could imagine that the best programme in the world would have been of no avail. I realize with you and Rudolf and other comrades that the compromises made by our Spanish comrades have been enforced on them. And yet I am not at all sure they these compromises were necessary or that the CNT-FAI have gained anything out of them. I wish I did not have these doubts I would not be in such an inner conflict. I feel I must stand by the CNT-FAI because the whole world is against them, but I cannot say it brings me peace of mind and the work would not be quite so excruciating. More and more I come to the conclusion that there can be no Anarchist Revolution. By its very violent nature Revolution denies everything Anarchism stands for. The individual ceases to exist, all his rights and liberties ~~go under~~ ~~by the boot~~ ~~by the boot~~. In fact life itself becomes cheap and dehumanised. Perhaps it is due to the fact that Anarchism is too far ahead of its time. Whatever the reason it is certain as Spain has again proven that nothing remains of Anarchism when one is forced to make ~~the~~ concessions that undermine the ideal one has struggled for all one's life. You see my dear I do not feel very happy in my shoes.

The worker here is ~~out~~ ~~times~~ ~~many~~ ~~beyond~~ me. For one thing we have no one, not one single well informed or able comrade among the few there are, precious few indeed. And no source to draw from.

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 March 4, London [to] Mark [Mrachny, New York] / Emma [Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 29 x 22 cm.

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London Office

21 FRITH STREET  
SHAFTESBURY AVENUE  
LONDON, W.1

London,

TELEPHONE: GERRARD 2636

The Labor and Trade Union movement have been caught in a party machine which is as bad as the A.F. of L. For the rest the Communists are in control. I don't mean as far as numbers are concerned, but they have the intelligentsia and a propaganda machine the world has never known before. In a few days they can muster up huge meetings and demonstration which no one else can. Not even the continued ~~xxx~~ madness in Russia has any effect. Even the I.L.P. though opposed to the ~~stalin~~ <sup>stalin</sup>ites still cling to Russia as the workers fatherland. Thus the current issue contains an editorial wherein it is stated that "if Stalin does not stop his methods of extermination and thus save Russia, the worker of the world will save it in spite of him!" In other words they are not at all opposed to the regime ~~rather~~ do they understand that Stalin's madness is conditioned in the regime. They are only opposed to him because they clamor for power to be in his stead. Over and above all this is the opposition to the CNT-FAI in this country. The entire press either silences what the CNT are doing. Or if on rare occasion one paper has something to say it is always to damn the CNT-FAI and to charge it with every offense. From all this you will gather dear Mark that my struggle here is bitter and the results so small it is hardly worth to go on. Yet I must do so, at least for some months. I have involved the CNT and the SIA in a large expense of offices, printing and what not. I cannot just drop the work.

You should see the exhibition I arranged of drawings of Barcelona children I brought with me. It is truly beautiful. But it is a flpp. Absolutely no one comes to see it. It is simply heart-breaking and discouraging. If I only knew where else I might go to have better results. I still mean to go to Canada. But I know from experience that it is even worse there. And the hope of getting into A. from the reports I get look black indeed.

I am sorry to write such a depressing letter, perhaps if you were here and we could go out on an old time spree it might cheer me up. Well there is one comfort you still consider yourself my old sweetheart. That's grand.

Write again soon my dear. Best greetings to Johanna. I am afraid she is getting too highbrow for me what with the university and what not. Do you see ~~any~~ <sup>any</sup> clay? I know him from Chicago and I liked him very much. Give him my fraternal greetings.

Affectionately *Emma*

Please do not forget to give Freedman my greetings. I wonder how the new edition of Sasha's little book sells? *ok*



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I.A.F

.T.I.A

C.N.T.

P.S. Dear Mark, please give the inclosed to the VANGUARD since the comrades get their mail c/o the Fr.Arb.Stimme.

1100 7000

19 THIRTY SEVEN

SHALLTERBY AVENUE

LONDON, W.1

ДЛЯ ПОДАРОКОВ

[illegible][illegible]

I am sorry to write such a depressing letter. Perhaps if you were here and we could sit out on an old time porch it might cheer up. Well there is one comfort you still can have. You still have old sweetest. What a grand old sweetheart.

Chicago and I liked him very much. Give him my fraternal greetings. The university was what I did not see with clarity I know him. Tompkins. I am afraid she is getting too right now for me what with the white skin soon my best. Love and mine to

Alteciencia y Justicia

the new edition of Saana's little book seals. Please do not forget to give Freeman my greetings. I wonder how

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 March 4 [London to] Vanguard, [New York] / [Emma Goldman].—  
1 p. ; 24 × 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17659

March 4th 38

Dear comrade of the VANGUARD group. While I have not written you for a long time I have not lost interest in your work, especially in your splendid publication. I have enjoyed every number. Often I wanted to write to tell you I very fine I consider the little ~~magazine~~ magazine and its forceful tone, but I am swamped with work in this damnable cold country where every attempt to rouse the masses from their lethargy is like mountain climbing. Yet one must go on from one thing to another hanging for dear life to the hope of some ultimate response.

I am sending you the first part of my report of my second visit in Spain you may care to publish. If not please give it to ~~the~~ Cultura Proletaria with my fraternal greetings to comrade Garcia. It was written amidst a lot of other work for Spain, organization of offices, reading room, exhibition of drawings of children in Barcelona I brought with me. Organization of a large meeting in Jan, now another one the 25th of March. Arrangements of an affair to which the arts are to contribute and on top of all this I have to rush off to Scotland for ten days and on my return speak in a number of places in and around London. You will agree I am not idle. However the second part of my report will be ready in two weeks when I will send you a copy of the MSS. Of the inclosed I sent a copy to the Fr. Arb. St.

I should like to hear from you dear comrades. Please write and tell me about your work and if you have young comrades in your ranks? I am keenly interested in everything going on in my own little country and field of activities. More attached to it than is good for me. But when one gets on in years, seventy next June and fifty of that in our ranks one does not acclimatise easily. Foolish as it may seem I am still hoping I might get back for another short stay to see you all again and contribute my share to your work.

With affectionate greetings to all of you.

Salud.

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 March 4 [London to] Emmy [Eckstein, Nice? (fragment)] / [Emma Goldman].— 1 p. ; 24 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17983

Dear Emmy. Inclosed you will find a check for <sup>March 4th 38</sup> five hundred francs. Your letter of Wed. which reached me this morning was a great shock to me. How can you leave the hospital after such a serious operation only two weeks after it was made? You cannot possibly be cured in a "little" room as in the Hospital no matter how faulty the care is. You have to abide by the regime of the place which you never will keep when outside. You say there are no beds, but that is sheer nonsense. They cannot drive you out in your present condition. They did not do so with Sasha although then they also said they were short in beds. I am afraid my dear you have no patience. You are risking to lose whatever the operation may have brought you if you go out of the Hospital to shift for yourself.

My dear you say in your letter "no one gives me advice". Dozens of doctors and everybody whom you told of your trouble gave you advice, so did Auntie, Nellie and I. What good did it do. You are simply not the person to follow advice though you ask it. Perhaps none of us follow advice. In your case an operation became an obsession that no talk, no advice and no pleading would cure. Please don't get excited or feel hurt. I do not want to hurt you. ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ I only want to point out to you my dear that now when you have satisfied your ~~obsession~~ obsession you should not rush out of the hospital and ruin every thing you may have gained by the operation. I am hoping you will not go out Monday so I am also sending you a card strongly advising to remain at least another week. Actually I thought you would be there a few months. In that way alone is there hope to come out in fairly good condition.

I am going to Scotland tomorrow for ten days. But my mail will be forwarded from you, with my heartfelt wish.

## The Emma Goldman Papers

870930293

[Letter] 1938 March 4, Barcelona [to] Emma [Goldman], London / [Pedro Herrera]. — 1 p. ; 28 x 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.



Solidaridad Internacional  
Antifascista

Consejo General

19023

T.201/38

Barcelona, March 4th, 1938

National Council of the English  
Section of S.I.A.  
21 Frith Street, Shaftsbury Avenue  
L O N D O N W 1

Dear Emma,

Your much appreciated letter of February 11th we received, like all things, with great delay.

We hope that all our letters as well as the poster of the WEEK OF THE CHILD, of which we sent you a quantity, and the last circulars, have reached you meanwhile. As you see, we do not neglect our relations, on the contrary, we shall do everything to intensify them.

The supplement of SPAIN AND THE WORLD we liked very much; also the pretty folder you edited about S.I.A. You have made a great effort, but we are sure that it will bear fruit. If you can, please send us some more of these printed matters, at least a dozen and remember what we impressed upon you in our circulars. If we receive 50 copies, we can send a sample of it to all our sections all over the world.

The scarcity of graphic material is neither due to economies nor to neglectfulness. We can not send it, because so little of it is being manufactured. We are now trying to overcome the difficulties which lie in the lack of photographic material; as soon as this is solved, which will be soon I hope, we can serve you better in this respect.

Concerning the funds, collected for S.I.A. we already informed you in our last letter.

About the Colony, SPAIN AND THE WORLD is going to take care of, we quite agree and very contented we are about it. Steps have been taken to find suitable buildings for the colony. We enclose a letter to the comrades of SPAIN AND THE WORLD.

All your projects about SIA and its divulgation in England have our approval. Don't forget to send all graphic details on all your meetings, exhibitions, etc.

Through Mariano we received copies of the letter sent by the English Section of SIA to the Director of the Post Office and to the English newspapers. Even if this has no influence on the attitude of the Federal Government, it shows clearly our position, frankly and freely, as always.

This is all for today, comrades.

For the General Council of S.I.A.

P. Herrera





# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 March 5, Split, Yugoslavia [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / E[thel Mannin]. — 2 p. ; 22 x 18 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.



## GRAND HOTEL IMPERIAL

Don't post anything to Split  
address after 7th.

Hotel Ambassadors, Split. Yugo-Slavia.

Sat. March 5th 1938

Dearest Emma,

Yr letter to hand today; it would have crossed with mine from here with a suggestion about the Basque children for the April 1st affair.

Herewith cheque duly endorsed. (This woman gave liberally to the Spanish Exhib. also)

Herewith list of about 65 names from me, and a list from Reg. I suggest you send them with a covering note saying you do so at the suggestion of E.M. or RR, as the case may be. Obviously we can't do covering notes from this end to all this lot - it would mean a parcel and god knows when you'd get it, apart from the fact that I don't know all of them intimately enough to warrant a personal note, and those that I do know intimately will be content merely with the mention of my name. If I were home I'd suggest writing on each folder or ~~list~~ or whatever is being sent out (like I did for the Exhib.) As we expect to be back by the 19th perhaps it won't be too late for this?

That reminds me that if the meeting at the Rev. Whittle's place is fixed for the 24th, Reg and I will come along, as we shall be home, so if you'd like me to help in any way - a few introductory words, or an appeal, or anything I'm capable of doing, you've only to say. Let me know, dear.

Talking of helping - if Stella Churchill presides at the Friends House affair, I think I'd better make the Appeal - for what else can I do, Emma darling? You see Rebecca West is a first-rate speaker, and any speaking to be done should be done by her (and it wouldn't be right she should make the appeal; she's not one of us, and she doesn't feel this thing as we ~~do~~ - if she did she'd have been with us actively long ago!) I think you should offer your suggestion for a short address on literature & the social struggle (or whatever else occurs to her as suitable) to her. The only alternative I can find to my making the Appeal is to try to find something suitable of my writings to read - an essay I wrote on Barcelona some years ago, or something like that, a short sketch. Or if I could get hold of any Spanish poems (I mean translations from the Spanish) I would read those - that might be an idea? We could have Peter Addison translate them if you know where to lay hands on any. (Much better to have real Spanish poems for such an occasion than any Poems written about Spain... I wonder if Stephen Spender is a Communist by the way, because if he's not, I think he's written some poems about Spain & might be prevailed upon to read them. I feel that Brian Howard might be able to get in touch with him. But I'm very doubtful about Brian Howard and Auden and Nancy Cunard - I've got the feeling that if they're not actually CP members they're sympathetic to the Communists rather than to us. I may be wrong. But I'm pretty sure Auden is an actual member of the CP! Why he ever joined up with us god knows. Unless it's a case of suddenly seeing the light!)

also I  
want if  
she knows  
the  
Chapman  
making  
such an  
appeal.

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 March 5, Split, Yugoslavia [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / E[thel Mannin].— 2 p. ; 22 × 18 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17185

(pinned)

Talking of people to ask to help us, it occurs to me we might ask Anton Dolin, the ballet dancer; he sent us money for the Spanish Exhibit. and if he's not dancing just now might do something for us or be able to suggest someone who could - what do you think? His address is on the list I send you. Vivian Ellis, the young musician, is another suggestion (he is quite well known - worked a lot with Cochran) He might come and play. (He is Jewish so should be sympathetic to us. Write them, Emma, on our notepaper and enclosing our literature, and say you do so at my suggestion. I particularly don't want to write to either of them myself, and it would be better from you, on our paper, using my name by way of introduction. Reg says try to find out where you can get in touch with Freddie Woodhouse, a singer of some standing (sung at Covent Garden in Wagner and done a lot of concert work) He is a friend of Housman's, and has left sympathies, and Reg feels sure he'd do something for us if he were free. Eidonie Goossens might be able to get in touch with him.

I have no block of myself, but the New Dealer has, and you could ring them up for it; it might be the right screen.

I shall be delighted to review the Chalmers Mitchell book for Spain & the World; its not to hand as I write this, but parcels always take longer.

Barbara will no doubt have looked you up again by now; she has had trouble with her teeth, and also the friend who shares her lodgings has been ill and B has been looking after her, it seems.

We leave here on Sat. the 12th for Paris; we <sup>expect to</sup> may be from the 14th to the 18th in Paris as Reg has some things to do there; I can be written to there chez James Stern, 31, Rue de l'Horloge, Paris 1<sup>er</sup> arr.

It occurs to me that if you'll be in Scotland for ten days I had better send this to Barr to open in yr absence to deal with things, and then to send on to you. I cannot make out whether you will be going to Scotland now that yr meeting has been cancelled.

Its grievous about the Exhib. but I've no seal faith in Exhibitions. Reg said he had similar disappointments when he was on the No More War Movement. People simply don't come to them! If you've got any of those little dolls left over, by the way, I promised to buy Barbara one; also I wouldn't mind some of the needlework if there's any left.

If I am to catch the post this letter must end, dear Emma. We'll be arriving in Paris on the 14th, so perhaps you or Barr would write me there that you've got this safely.

My devoted love as always, dearest Emma.



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 March 5, Beaconsfield [England to Emma] Goldman, [London] / Herbert Read. — 1 p. ; 24 × 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

BROOM HOUSE

SEER GREEN

BEAconsFIELD

JORDANS 2194

5.3.38

Dear Miss Goldman

The only photograph I have been able to find is this rather foggy and flattering "portrait". Use it if you must, but I really prefer to keep my face out of it.

I can perhaps suggest something more definite for the meeting when I see what other people propose to do. I can read one or two short - very short - poems about Spain; and perhaps I can fill in with two or three of my war poems. But do not make me the only poet in an evening of plain speaking!

Yours sincerely,

Herbert Read -

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 March 7, London [to] Emma Goldman, London / John McNair.—  
1 p.; 25 × 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

## INDEPENDENT LABOUR PARTY NATIONAL ADMINISTRATIVE COUNCIL

Chairman: J. MAXTON, M.P.

Hon. Treasurer: F. W. JOWETT

Telephone: Central 3196  
Telegrams: Iper, Ltd, London



Secretary: A. FENNER, BROCKWAY,  
35 St. Bride Street,  
London, E.C.4

March 7th. 1938.

Emma Goldman,  
21, Frith Street,  
London.

Dear Emma,

I understand that you intend having a fairly big  
show at the Friends Peoples House on the 1st. of April.

I am writing this letter to ask you if there is  
any way in which the I.L.P. comrades can co-operate with  
you to make your show a great success.

You have only to say the word and I shall give you  
any and all the help I can.

Yours

*John McNair*



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 March 7, London [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Fredric J. Warburg. — 1 p. ; 24 × 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

*call name for ce.*  
*make and sent check March 18/2 39*

MARTIN SECKER AND WARBURG LTD.

22 Essex Street, London, W.C.2

Publishers

March 7, 1938

Miss Emma Goldman,  
S.I.A.  
21 Frith Street,  
Shaftesbury Avenue,  
W. 1.

My dear Emma,

I am sending you an early copy of **WOMEN AND THE REVOLUTION** which I am sure will interest you. I hope you will do your best to push it at meetings and elsewhere, though it is rather an expensive book owing to its size.

Yours sincerely,

*Fredric J. Warburg*

Out publication date is March 21.

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 March 8, Paris [to] Emma Goldman, London / Nemesio Galve. —  
1 p. ; 26 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.  
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Confederación Nacional del Trabajo

Federación Anarquista Ibérica

Residencia Extranjera

Delegación en Francia

Paris, le 8 Mars 1938

Emma Goldman  
21, Fifth Street  
Shaftesbury Avenue  
LONDON, W.1.

Chère camarade,

Dès que nous avons eu en mains ta lettre se rapportant à l'envoi  
de matériel de propagande pour la S.I.A., nous l'avons faite parvenir  
au "LIBERTAIRE". C'est lui qui s'est chargé de t'envoyer tout ce dont  
tu as besoin *concernant S.I.A.*

Nous n'avons rien d'autre à te communiquer pour le moment, et  
te saluons bien cordialement.

POUR LA DELEGATION PERMANENTE DE LA C.N.T.-F.A.I. A PARIS

Nemesio Galve



# The Emma Goldman Papers

880726061

[Letter] 1938 March 8 [London to Emma] Goldman, [London] / P[eter] Chalmers Mitchell. — 1 p. ; 28 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.  
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Edinburgh place  
S.W. ?

March 8

Dear Mr. Goldman. How I am still in  
a nursing home. altho. certainly better  
But I fear I'll be very little use for  
a few weeks: if I do anything, I  
must go to Edinburgh at the end of the  
month, as I promised before the  
election & don't want them to  
think I forget my promises now  
that I don't want their votes!  
Let me tell you at present.

Yours very sincerely  
P. Chalmers Mitchell



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 March 8 [London to] Emma Goldman, [London] / S. [Wood?].—  
1 p.; 18 × 14 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

22, CHURCH COURT,  
FOURMAN SQUARE, W.I.  
LONDON E.C.4.

Mar .8th, 1938.

Dear Miss Goldman,

Miss West is still away in the country but I have spoken to her on the phone and she asks me to say that she will be very pleased to speak as you suggest at the Meeting. She is sorry that she cannot think of any one else to help you on the lines you want but I am sending the photo you want to have.

Yours truly,

S. Wood.  
Secretary.

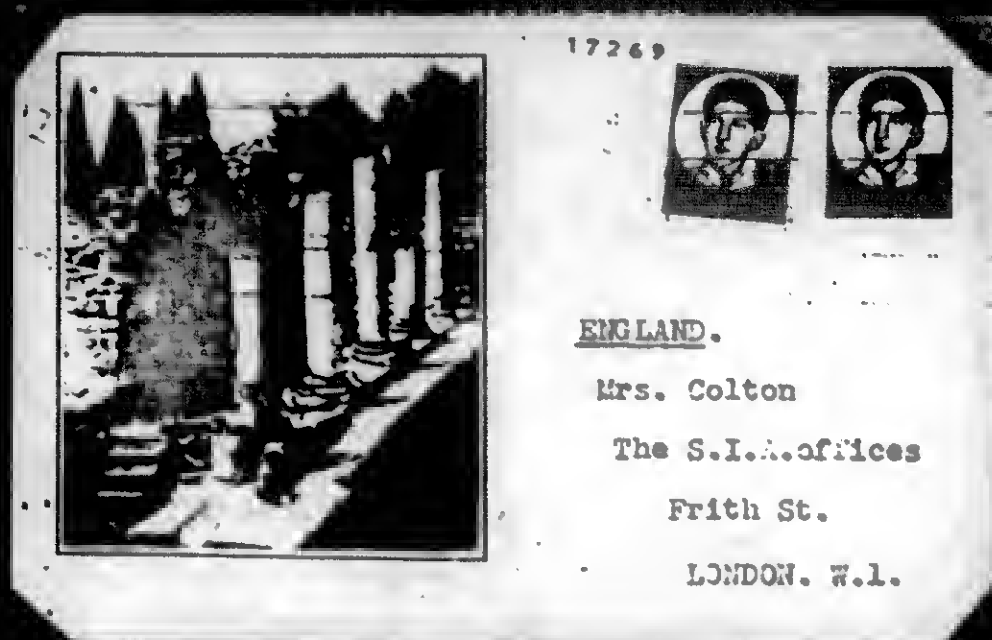
Miss Emma Goldman,  
76 Sneath Avenue,  
N.Y.



## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Postcard] 1938 March 9 [Split, Yugoslavia to] Emma [Goldman], London / Ethel [Mannin].— 2 p. ; 7 × 11 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.*



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[Postcard] 1938 March 9 [Split, Yugoslavia to] Emma [Goldman], London / Ethel [Mannin].— 2 p. ; 7 × 11 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

as from / chez Storn, 31, Quai de l' Horloge  
Paris. March 9th 1938 17270

Emma dear, yr last letter crossed with mine sending  
you lists of names & address from both of us. To the  
list please add; Miss Dorothy Dean, Janelli School  
of Dancing, 30, Fairfax Road, London, N.W.6. also  
Mrs. Madge Bolton (who took a box at the last con-  
cert) whose address can be found in the telephone  
book. Also Mr. & Mrs. E. les, Dairy Walk Cottage,  
Bughley Road, London, S.W.19. You misunderstood  
me - I didn't say we were leaving here on the 7th  
but told you not to write after then (as we are  
leaving on the 12th & letters take 5 days) But I  
will look forward to receiving the Chalmers Mitchell  
book when I get back - unless you decide to send  
it to Paris. Haste, now, but much love, as always.

MAY SMITH, 21 STEELE ROAD,  
CHALK FARM

X. Also to Miss N. Williams, Union Central Ltd. and  
N. Williams, 11, High Street, W.C.1.  
MYNNEY REES, 47 BRACKSHOOD LANE, WELWYN GARDEN CITY  
JOHN HAMILTON, 45 OVERSTONE ROAD, DUNSTABLE ROAD, WEST LUTON

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 March 10, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / Martin [Gudell].—  
2 p. ; 22 × 17 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

C. N. T.

A. I. T.

F. A. I.

19386

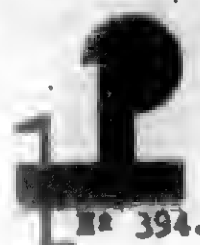
## CONFEDERACIÓN NACIONAL DEL TRABAJO FEDERACIÓN ANARQUISTA IBÉRICA

CASA C. N. T. - F. A. I.

VIA DURRUTI, 22

BARCELONA

OFICINA DE PROPAGANDA EXTERIOR

SECRETARIADO - DEPARTAMENTO 84  
TELÉFONO 14751 - 21

## TELÉFONOS:

CENTRALITA 14751

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BOLETIN PORTUGUÉS 50

Barcelona le 10 mars 1938.

Camarade EMMA GOLDMAN,  
Londres.

Chère camarade,

J'ai reçu hier votre lettre du 15 février dernier. Vous pouvez voir que celui-ci est le chemin le plus court et rapide. Donc, à l'avenir, vous pouvez me faire parvenir vos lettres par Paris avec l'assurance de que je les recevrai. J'ai reçu aussi les copies des lettres que vous avez adressées à V. et H. que je vais lire avec une grande attention.

Chaque jour l'on entend ici des voix dans le même sens que celle que vous élevez à l'extérieur.

Je suis bien content de que vous recevez tout le matériel que je vous envoie. La semaine dernière, n'est pas passé un jour sans vous envoyer un colis ou deux de journaux.

Je ne sais pas la classe de photos qui vous a envoyé H., mais si celles-ci ne sont pas très grande, il aurait pu les envoyer comme lettre et alors vous n'auriez pas eu des difficultés.

Je n'ai pas de nouvelles de que l'organisation ait fait ces dernières temps de la propagande dans les usines de tissage, aussi tôt que l'on fasse quelque nouveau dessin ou quelque mouchoir, je vous en ferai parvenir.

En ce qui concerne les photos, il y a quelques unes. Je ferai une collection et je vous en ferai parvenir.

Je vous ai envoyé deux exemplaires de "Hoy". Maintenant vient de sortir un autre numéro que je vous enverrai aussi.

J'ai vu à Alais et je lui ai transmis vos salutations. Il est bien content et m'a dit de vous communiquer qu'il est toujours le même et qu'il continue son travail.

J'espère que le bulletin anglais, maintenant est un peu mieux fait. Le numéro qui était si mal fait, nous ne l'avons pas expédié. Seulement à vous nous avons remis un exemplaire, afin que vous nous fassiez connaître votre opinion.

....

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 March 10, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / Martin [Gudell]. — 2 p. ; 22 × 17 cm.

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19357

Bien sûr que le professeur non plus ne peut pas le faire très bien car il ne connaît pas les termes que l'on emploie dans les questions sociales. Peut-être vaut bien la peine que vous, qui connaissez très bien les gens du mouvement libertaire anglais et américain, pensiez à un compagnon qui pourrait le faire. Pendant que le camarade Bluestein faisait le bulletin, tout le monde était content, car il le faisait très bien.

En ce qui concerne la lettre que vous supposez être de Meltzer, je ne peut que vous dire que j'ai bien regardé la signature du secrétaire des jeunes, mais je ne vois pas qu'un signe illisible. Si effectivement c'est question de Meltzer, il verra qu'il n'y a rien à faire, car nous les avons répondu que vous étiez notre représentante en Angleterre et que c'est à vous qu'il doit s'adresser.

Samedi prochain nous aurons une réunion concernant les affaires extérieures. Je ferai voir la nécessité d'acquiescer les publications étrangères concernant à notre mouvement. Je vais insister afin que l'on accorde les sommes nécessaires pour acquiescer les plus importantes œuvres sur ce sujet, pour l'information et les répliques nécessaires. Dans ma prochaine lettre je vous communiquerai le résultat.

Je sais que vous êtes très préoccupée sur l'exposition. Je vous désire un grand succès.

Je vous communique que le film "España forja su porvenir" est presque fini. J'espère qu'au commencement du mois prochain je pourrai vous envoyer une copie. Nous faisons la minoration en anglais. Dans ma prochaine lettre je vous communiquerai la date exacte de l'envoi.

Je dirai à Ferrera de vous envoyer plus affiches.

J'espère que vous aurez reçu déjà la lettre que je vous ai écrit il y a deux ou trois jours.

Recevez mes salutations fraternelles et anarchistes

Martin



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 March 10 [Paris to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Helmut [Rüdiger].—  
2 p.; 27 x 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

10. März 1938

Liebe Emma,

Ich erhielt Deinen Brief vom 3. März. Danke, ich habe die ganze Nacht über an dem was Du über den Staat geschrieben in der Angelegenheit der Inflation mit Vazquez konsultiert. Aber es ist nicht so einfach, wie Du finde. Ich habe Deine Meinung sehr ernst genommen. Auch die Meinung der anderen. Aber was, wenn es nicht geht? Ich will keine, dass die Spanier sich Respekt anerkennen, dass sie in Ansehen um so mehr und energischer unsere Haltung gegenüber den Kommunisten zu betonen haben. Ich habe gerade in den letzten Tagen das Buch gelesen, das Victor Serge über 1936 über Russland schrieb (Dostin, eine Revolution und ein erschütterter Staat). Man sieht doch deutlich, dass es mit der Revolution nur ein Kampf ist, eine Kampf, die Methoden waren schon vorher in Russland erfinden. Nichts als Kämpfe, die Methoden plus moderne Organisationstechnik und Propaganda.

Was die Verhandlungen mit der UGT betrifft, so darf man vielleicht die Dinge nicht ganz so nehmen. Ich habe viel Politik dabei. Ich sprach mit Vazquez vor einigen Tagen, er sagte mir, dass sie jetzt oft von "Nationalisierung" sprechen aus politischen Gründen, um nur eine Parole zu haben, die bei den anderen schon etwas angeschlagen ist. Denn inzwischen hat sich die sozialistisch-kommunistische Tendenz schon soweit entwickelt, dass sie selbst bereits nicht mehr von Nationalisierung spricht, während sie früher dies Schlagwort gegen den Arbeitersozialismus der CNT prägt. Heute ist man schon schick und einfach für Kapitalismus. Vazquez meint außerdem, der größte Teil der für die Nationalisierung angegebenen Industrie sei es praktisch noch oder weniger schon, da er unmittelbar der Kriegsführung zugeordnet ist.

Da muss es ein bisschen anders sein. Die Zirkulare von Besnard im letzten Teil. Von hier sind die Zirkulare über Geldsendungen hinausgegangen, die nichts mit der CNT und der UGT, sondern nur mit der IAA zu tun haben. Ich hat die sie nur komisch gemacht. Das alles betrifft die Angabe der Anzahl Besnard für die Beitragszahlung der IAA-Sektionen, das andere war ein Aufruf zur Unterstützung der französischen Sektion des Solidaritätsfonds der IAA. Des CNT Leiter kommt übrigens für diesen Teil Geld am über 20 ausländische Kameraden, die hier unterstützt wurden, haben diese Woche wieder kein Geld erhalten und Teil der schlimmsten Not. Dazu hat zum Teil die CNT schuld - denn sie war es, die über diese Kameraden die größten Verleumdungen in der Welt verbreitet hat, und heute, nachdem das Hilfskomitee mit Zustimmung der CNT in einer neuen Form reorganisiert ist, schickt trotzdem niemand mehr Geld, denn die Sache ist einmal autorisiert.

Unser Sekretariat beginnt langsam zu arbeiten. Pressedienst und Zeitschrift sind in Vorbereitung. Wir werden beides in Englisch auch herausbringen, mit Hilfe von Ethel Macdonald, die man hierherzurufen beschloss hat. Ich hatte im Auftrage des Sekretariats schon mit ihr eine diesbezügliche Korrespondenz.

Deine Nachricht über Abe ist mir angenehm. Da hat Rudolf ein gutes Werk getan.

Was meine Broschüre über den spanischen Anarchosyndikalismus betrifft,

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 March 10 [Paris to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Helmut [Rüdiger]. —  
2 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

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18908

18908

so ist es weniger die Veröffentlichung ohne meine Zustimmung als die zen-  
sierte Form derselben die mich verdutzte. Jetzt macht man sogar eine fran-  
zösische Ausgabe, und ich habe gebeten, in dieser wenigstens einige kur-  
ze Angaben auch über den gekürzten Teil der Arbeit zu bringen, was aber  
lange Verhandlungen mit Vazquez nötig macht. Sie wollen eben unfehlbar  
erscheinen, was aber das beste Mittel ist, dafür zu wirken, dass man über-  
haupt nicht ernst genommen wird.

Aus Deinem Bericht über die zweite spanische Reise werde ich wahrschein-  
lich, falls Du nichts dagegen hast, einen Teil für den Pressedienst Nr.  
2, benutzen.

Vergiss nicht, in den Fragen, die die IAA offiziell betreffen, an diese  
zu schreiben, es geht jetzt etwas offiziell zu... und nur die übliche  
private Korrespondenz an meine alte Adresse in der Charenton.

Nimm viele herzliche Grüße!

Die IAA ist eine sehr interessante Organisation, die sich für die Freiheit der  
Presse und die Freiheit der Meinungsäußerung einsetzt. Sie hat eine sehr  
umfangreiche Sammlung von Dokumenten, die die Geschichte der Presse-  
zensur in Frankreich und in anderen Ländern zeigt. Ich habe sehr viel  
von diesem Material gelernt und finde es sehr wertvoll. Ich hoffe, dass  
Du auch viel davon lernen wirst. Ich werde Dir bald eine Liste der  
Dokumente schicken, die ich für Dich ausgewählt habe.

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Dokumente schicken, die ich für Dich ausgewählt habe.

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500



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 March 11, Glasgow [to] Ethel [Mannin, Paris] / [Emma Goldman].—  
3 p. ; 20 x 16 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17186

Glasgow March 11th 38

Ethel, my very dearest.

Ralph forwarded your letter of the 5th inst still written from Split. It must have arrived at the office yesterday. I got it this morning. Oh, my dearest I do not know what possessed me to consent to dates this month with our ~~xxx~~ affair needing my presence in London? If at least the meetings were ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ not so awful. I already had three, poorly attended, inert and lifeless audiences, no response worth mentioning. I still have two ordeals to face. It would not matter if I hadn't received a staggering shock that Sidonie Coocan and the singer she is supposed to have secured backed out. The singer must go to Belfast & wrote Sonia and she must play for the B.B.C. Can you imagine anything more irresponsible? The singer must have known about his engagement in Belfast how could he promise to sing? And Sidonie must have known about having an engagement on April First. I am sure neither would have gone back on their promise if they were sure of some fee from our side. It was rotten to let us down there is no other word for it. Perhaps we should be thankful that they did so before our printing was done and sent out. One always feels relief: some wretched disappointment is not altogether irredeemable. But it is small comfort for me having to stick it out here until Monday and utterly helpless to do anything about new artists. You see I had left everything prepared except for the printing to be ordered. Now everything has come to a standstill and only two weeks for our publicity. I left this in the hands of James Harrison and Sonia. I have since talked to both ~~over the phone~~ the phone and have instructed them to get after Mrs Marion Searchinger, an American friend of mine who has extensive connections with musicians. I ~~just~~ just had a wire from Sonia saying Mrs Searchinger is on the job to find some artists and she would report to night. I suppose I will then hear from Sonia.

However, I have already written Sonia suggesting a postponement of the affair for either the 6th 7th or 8th of April. The trouble is the change of date in FRIENDS HOUSE. They may ~~wish~~ want to hold us for part of the rent of April First. And there is the question whether Rebecca will be free on any of the above mentioned dates. Well, it is a mess. It is really uncanny how everything

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[Letter, 19]38 March 11, Glasgow [to] Ethel [Mannin, Paris] / [Emma Goldman].—  
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17187

how everything conspires to make every undertaking I am connected with sheer torture to pull it off, as if I did not go through enough misery with the Victoria Palce affair. Incurrible optimism that I am I had to undertake another affair knowing it would be hell to accomplish it. The only explanation for such ten fool faith is my obsession about Spain. The thought of the suffering and endurance there gives me no peace and whips me into action though my brain tells me England is hopeless for ~~anything~~ the struggle of the CNT-FAI or the GIA.

Thank you darling for your suggestion of artists and thank Regie for me for his suggestions. I am sending ~~fix~~ the names to Sonia so she can try to reach the artists whose name you mention. The trouble is it takes an awful time to get hold of people in England and unless we can postpone the undertaking it will be impossible to go after them. Unless our Spanish dancer can give us another date Anton Dillon will not do even if we could get him because it is rather awkward to have two dancers. However I have asked Sonia and James to try to locate him. I have also suggested to Sonia to write Freddie Woodhouse ~~and~~ with a note to houseman begging him to forward the letter. She will write him in my name. You can imagine how restless and worried I am. But I must hold on to myself or I will make a worse botch of my lectures to night and Sunday than I did last Sunday. I really felt paralysed when I faced the measly audience. I labored for an hour but I might as well have attempted to raise the dead. I will be back in London Monday and try all over again unless James and Sonia will have succeeded in completing the programme of artists.

Darling of course you can make the appeal. You did it beautifully last time. I have no idea how one might get hold of Spender and what his leanings are. Last year I heard that he was no longer so ardent in his Communism. If he could find him he might be willing to read his ~~poems~~ poems on Spain. After all, dearest as an artist we cannot possibly take issue with his Communism. If it were a meeting that would be another matter. But an artistic evening and for the GIA, the damage would not be quite so great even if some of the artists were Communist. For myself I have always maintained that in the appraisal of creative art political views should not be permitted to obtrude. But as I said I do not know Spenders political trend nor how to reach him. As to Auden and ~~Maney~~ Maney Cunard or Brian Howard it was the letter who wrote that he is glad to add his name to our list of sponsors and that at his responsibility we should also add Maney and Auden. Brian Howard did not reply to my letter asking if he might help us with a poet. I am inclined to think that he did not know who we are or my name, and that is for this reason that he gave his name and the others.

Herbert Read is going to read ~~some~~ a poem of his own on Spain and I am writing Chalmers Mitchell if he could suggest some translations from Spanish poetry dealing with the struggle. He is



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 March 11, Glasgow [to] Ethel [Mannin, Paris] / [Emma Goldman].—  
3 p. ; 20 × 16 cm.

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17100

just now recovering from an automobile accident or he may have consented to be with us after all. He is not been elected to the Scottish university after all. I am writing him to day to ask for any translation of Spanish poems he may have, his own or that of Spanish poets. He might help us with that. As a last resort it might not be a bad idea to read one or two small chapters in his book about members of the FAI he describes with such feeling and understanding. What do you think about this?

I have not my carbon copy of the letter I wrote Rebecca suggesting what she should speak on. But I rather think it was about literature ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ in relation to the social struggle. I really don't remember. I will tell you when we meet again in London the 19th. Let me know the hour of your arrival I will meet you.

I am delighted to know you will ~~xxxxxx~~ review Chambers Mitchell's work. I just finished reading another book on EUROPEAN JUSTICE, by A.R. Vilaplana. The frightful massacres by Franco's gang gave me nightmares. I will let you read that book as well you may care to write a review of both giving the contrasts. Or separately as you wish.

I will get your book from the Ebe New Leader when I get back. Rebecca sent me a photograph. Herbert read does not want his in the programme. The dancer will have hers and who ever else we will get.. I will be so happy to know you are back and within easy reach.

with fond love.

I hope Regie is feeling much improved. Remember me to him.

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

870929221

[Letter] 1938 March 11, New York [to] E[mma] G[oldman], London / Harry Weinberger. — 1 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

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17079

HARRY WEINBERGER  
COUNSELOR AT LAW  
10 WEST 40TH ST., NEW YORK  
LONGACKE 5-3888-3883

March 11, 1938

Mrs. E. G. Colton  
6 Sneatz Avenue  
London, N.W.11  
England

My dear E. G:

I find your letter upon my return to town and am hurriedly answering same to make the Bremen sailing tonight. I am sure I must have written you a few times since last September 23rd.

It was good to see your hand writing on the outside of the large envelope. I want to write you a long letter in the near future. I have read all your enclosures with great interest.

Tonight's papers have big war scare headlines of invasion of Austria by Germany. If that happens it may be the beginning of the end of peace everywhere.

I think you are right that you have to have an imposing committee before you make an application to Washington. It may be that there will be difficulty in getting a visa because there is an election coming on in November for Congress with a strong possibility that the democrats will not be elected and they may be afraid to do it because of further disturbance and public agitation by allowing you to come into the country.

There is hell to pay in New York because Stanley Isaacs appointed a communist to a job.

I like your letter to Professor Dewey.

I am glad you think your handwriting is as bad as mine. I note by your letter dated the 15th of February that you will go to Canada in the Autumn. I think that right after election which is in November, a visa could be obtained. I have not heard from Rose Pesetta.

I am as ever, your sincere friend, and will write a longer letter next week when I have a little time and don't have to make a boat, and we will know whether we are in a world war or not.

Sincerely,

*Harry Weinberger*

P. S. I would not use old envelopes for mailing letters as they arrive practically opened.

## The Emma Goldman Papers

850702258

[Letter] 1938 March 11 [New York to] E[mma] G[oldman], London / [Harry Weinberger]. — 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

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10000

XXXXXXX Glasgow March 12/38

Lieber Helmut. Ich erhielt Dein Schreiben einige Tage vor meiner Abreise, war aber so beschäftigt ich hatte keine Minute Dir zu schreiben. Jetzt bin ich hier seit einer Woche aber die Versammlungen sind so miserable besucht es war nicht der Mühe wert herzu kommen. Umso weniger da meine Anwesenheit in London gerade jetzt so wichtig ist. Wir haben für den letzten April ein grosses Unternehmen, Concert, Spanisch Tanze und literarische Beiträge, für die SIA. Wir haben nur noch zwei Wochen zur Reklame und Karten Verkauf. Dazu ~~damit~~ noch mit zwei Mäcker die uns im letzten Augenblick im Stich gelassen haben. Wäre ich in London so hätte ich wohl andere finden können. Hier bin ich hilflos. Alles dieses wäre nicht so schlimm wenn die Versammlungen hier nicht so elend besucht wären und noch dazu von Leuten die auch nicht das geringste Interesse zeigen in den Kampf in Spanien. ~~Sich~~ ausserdem sind sie grauhaft unwissend von allem was der CNT anbelangt. Ich sage Dir lieber Helmut wenn ich nicht das Interesse der CNT und SIA so ~~sich~~ tief empfinden würde ich könnte einfach nicht weiter machen. Ich bin von den Schwierigkeiten und der Hoffnungslosigkeit vollständig auf dem Hund. Ich muss mich geistig täglich aufreissen um mir weiter machen zu können.

Du bittest um einen Bericht über die Situation in England. Ich weiss nicht ob Du die Anarchistische Situation meinst oder die allgemeine Lage. So weit unsere Bewegung anbelangt so gibt es einfach so was nicht, weder organisiert, oder einzelne Anarchisten. In London gibt es eine veraltete und leblose Freedom Gruppe bestehend aus einige lebendige Leichname. Die Leute haben seit Jahr und Tag nichts mehr geleistet als personliche Stänkereien. So habe sie seit der erschütternden Ereignisse in Spanien auch nicht einen Finger gerührt um mitzu helfen. Im Gegenteil sie haben die ganze Zeit mit Klatsch und dreckige Angriffe verbracht. Sie sind wie Röp Van Winkle, sie schlafen seit 25 Jahre.

Die Anarchist Syndicalist Union die sich voriges Jahr zusammenfanden haben die jetzt nichts getan. Sie ringen mit vierzig Mitglieder an, als ich zurückkam aus Spanien waren es nur noch ~~nur~~ ein Duzend die während meiner Abwesenheit absolute nichts getan haben. Die Genossen die die fähigste unter ihnen ist macht jetzt den Versuch die A.S.U. zu reorganisieren und sie zur Tätigkeit anzuregen. Es kann sein das die Union mit der Zeit etwas leisten wird. Jetzt wo Rudolf's ANARCHIST SYNDICALISM THEORY AND PRACTICE erschienen ist wird leichter sein die Mitglieder mit diesem Thema bekannt zu machen. Wir hoffen es mindestens. Vorläufig kommen sie jede Woche zusammen in sie keine Miete zu zahlen haben. Das grosse Zimmer in unserem Bureau das ich zur Ausstellung und Lesezimmer gebrauch habe ich der A.S.U. zur freien Verfügung gestellt. Die Mitglieder sind ~~nur~~ entweder arbeitslos

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oder verdienen so wenig dass sie nichts beitragen können, ausserdem ist auch der Inthuisiasmus nicht vorhanden. Genossin Sonia Edelman, ihr Vater war ein sehr bedeutender Amerikanischer Anarchist, wird Dir jeden falls schreiben. Sie war es die dir das Sekretariat vorigen Jahr um beitratt zur I.A.A. geschrieben hat. Sie wird es auch dieses mal verlangen. Ich weiss nicht was eure Statuten sind, ob ihr eine so kleine Gruppe und noch dazu so young aufnimmt in die I.A.A. Ich würde raten dass Du dem Sekretariat zuredest the A.S. Union anzunehmen. Es dürfte auf die Mitglieder anspornene' wirken. Wi wiet is diese kleine organisation die einzige positive Anarcho Syndikalistische Vereinigung. Sonst wie ich schon sagte giebt es weiter in London noch in der Provinz so etwas wie eine Anarchistische, oder nur Anarcho Syndikalistische Gruppierung nicht.

Meltzer liess legt unverachtet. Die Revolutionary Youth of Anarcho Syndicalist tendencien giebt es nur in seine Phantasie und wichtig Tuerel. Es ist derselbe von dem ich Dir erzählte dass er vorigen Jahr einen Stokbrief gegen mich and/ das National Committee schickte. Jetzt hat ers sich wieder and das National Committee gewant Martin schickte mir eine Kopie der ~~antwort~~ antwort die er Meltzer im Namen des National Kommittees geschrieben hat. Ich hoffe das Du mir glaubst wenn ich dir sage dass ~~er~~ ich nicht aus persönliche Gründe Meltzer als einen Switzer und Aufschneider hinstelle. Ich waere uebergluecklich wenn es so was wie einen revolutionare Jugend Anarcho syndikalistischer Tendenz in London gäbe. Aber es ist slogan, es giebt nur Meltzer der sich wichtig machen will. Wäre es ihm wirklich um unsere Sache zu tun ei wäre er in der A.S. Union geblieben und hätte da mitgeholfen. Aber er wolte sich wichtig machen und da er keine Gelegenheit dazu bekam so ging er davon und fing seine eigen Sache an die er jetzt R.Y.A.S. nennt.

Ubrigens giebt es hier noch einen der nicht nur borniert sondern auch von einer wahnsinniger Eitelkeit durchfressen ist. Das ist Guy Alred der ~~ehemal~~ früher einmal der Man von Rose Whitcop, Willy Rockers Schwester war. Der Rudolf könnte Dir was von ihm erzählen. Es ist dies ein typus als Pierre ~~mann~~ manns. Guy Alred hat sein gannes lebenslang alle Genossen und die Bewegung ausgenutzt nur um seinen pathologischen Krrreiz zu befriedigen. Er hat Rudolf am der schnelllichsten Weise verleumdet und auch ich bin seiner mit nicht entronnen trotzdem ich ihn nur einmal in meinem gansen Leben auf einige Minuten traf. Seit der Spanischen Ereignisse hat es Guy Alred' Versucht in I.A.A. einzutreten. Und ausserdem hat er seinen Vertreter vielmehr Vertreterinnen, Ethel McDonald und Jenny Patrick nach Spanien geschickt die für ihn den weg ebennen wolten. Seit der Ruhmehr dieser Frauen die ubrigens ganz andständig sind ausgenutzt das National Kommittee anzugreifen. Ich lege Dir hier ein Exemplare vor, ~~das~~ Du wirst selber urteilen können. Das Neueste in Alred's Heklam ist Ethel McDonald als angebliches Mitglied der AIT überall verstreuen. So hat er ausgerechnet vorigen Montag als ich reden sollte zwei Versammlungen von Ethel McDonald for ihrer Abreise nach dem Continent sprechen sollte. Und zwar soll sie eine spezielle Einladung von der AIT erhalten habe zur Mitarbeit. Du ~~stimmst~~ siehst also zu welche unerheltene Lucke Guy Alred greift an für sich Heklam zu machen.

Die Anti Parlamentarische Gruppe existiert nicht mehr

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

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Sie wurde von Unay Aldred in drei Gruppen gesprengt. Die Gruppe die hier noch etwas leistet ist the Anarchist Communist Group die mich hierher gebracht und fünf Versammlungen arrangiert hat. Sie besteht aus 8 Mitglieder die leider nicht sehr sehr fähig sind aber immer hin alles tun für unsere Sache. Sie könnten vielleicht mehr erreichen wenn ihnen Aldred nicht immer andipfel zwischen die Beine werfen würde denn es muss im nachhinein gesagt werden er ist ein feiger Kerl. Das Unglück ist er kann mit niemanden arbeiten und keiner kann es lange mit ihm aushalten. Eine von seine Schnitzer ist bei jeder Versammlung wo ich spreche seine Granbanten zu haben die das Wort ergreifen und ihren Mist vorzubringen. Da das Publikum keine Ahnung hat um was es sich handelt kommt Du Dir leicht vorstellen welchen Eindruck der Dreck macht. Man muss eine eiserne Geduld haben sein Gleichgewicht nicht zu verlieren.

Es tut mir furchtbar leid dass ich nichts angenehmes zu berichten habe über unsere Bewegung hier. Ich bin überhaupt nur überzeugung gekommen das der englische Boden für unsere Sache vollständig steril ist. Seit 24 bin ich fast jedes Jahr nach England gekommen, habe ich zwei Jahre gewohnt und seit der Zeit jedes Jahr mindestens noch Monate und meine ganze Arbeit war für die Katz. Ja, etwas wurde schon für die CNT-FAI erreicht aber in keiner Weise kann ich den Erfolg mit der aufreibenden Arbeit vergleichen. Die organisierte Arbeiter sind durch die Labor Party und Trade Unions vollständig paralysiert. Sie haben keinen eigenen Gedanken noch die Initiative selbständig etwas zu tun. Nach Kriegs Misere und die Antifaschismus in die Russische Revolution haben die Arbeiter hier vollständig entmutigt. Sie sind für nichts anderem zu haben als für erbarmliche Reformen. Hatte die spanische Revolution mehr Buekrat gezeigt, ich meine damit unsere Genossen, die was auch die Gründe gewesen sind nicht auf der Höhe der Revolution geblieben sind, dann wäre vielleicht ein Wiederhall in England. Aber jetzt ist alles so ziemlich tot, für unsere Sache überhaupt. Wäre ich zwanzig Jahre jünger so könnte ich mir das Abwarten erlauben, aber in meinem Alter ist es furchtbar schwer. Ich glaube auch nicht dass es einen besondern Wert haben wird hier für die CNT/FAI oder die SIA weiter zu arbeiten. So weit waren nur riesige Ausgaben und keine Einnahmen mit Ausnahme von £150 für die SIA. Ich habe Dir glaube ich schon einmal geschrieben dass wir uns hauptsächlich darauf konzentrieren muss mit der Struktur der CNT in the Trade Union branches einzudringen. Wir haben bis jetzt so ungefähr 3000 solche Organisationen erreicht und haben sogar von ungefähr ein dutzend gehört die Material verlangen und die Struktur in ihre Sitzungen diskutieren. Es gelang uns auch weitere sech thousand Adressen zu bekommen. Ich habe jetzt die Absicht die Verhandlungen der CNT U.O.T und den Standpunkt der FAI

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 March 12, Glasgow [to] Helmut [Rüdiger, Paris] / [Emma Goldman].—  
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4.

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demgegenüber das was in SPAIN UND THE WORLD erschienen ist als Pamphlet zu verwerten und es zusammen mit dem Diagram der CNT das mir Vazquez schickte an alle diese Trade Union branches zu schicken. Viel wird dabei nicht heraus kommen. Aber es wird die Arbeiter dieser Organisationen bekannt machen mit der Tätigkeit und den Organisationswesen der CNT.

Die Bedingung der U.G.T wenn unsere Spanier darauf ein gehen würde den Tod der Spanischen Revolution bedeuten. Und leider scheinen unsere Kameraden fast auf Alles einzugehen. Ist es möglich dass unsere Genossen so vor dem Kopf geschlagen sind dass sie wirklich an die Möglichkeit glauben in Rahmen des Staates die Kontrolle der Syndikate in ihre Hände behalten zu können? Es ist doch klug und klar dass der Staat Alles an sich reißen wird auch wenn Montseny oder Oliver wieder in die Regierung eintreten werden. Was dann?

Die Schwierigkeiten in England für unsere Tätigkeit und mein innerer Konflikt machen mein Leben ziemlich sauer, das kannst Du mir glauben.

Diese Woche passierte eine ganz eigen Sache. In meiner Abwesenheit kam Doyr nach London mit einem U.G.T Mann. Wie es scheint hat Olive nicht daran gedacht ihm unsere Adresse zu geben, er scheint sie aber doch bekommen zu haben von einem Trade Union Club aber nachdem er schon alle reformistische Führer interviewt hatte. Beide kamen an als Genosse Darr in dem Bureau war und gaben ihm allerhand Vorschläge. Unter anderem dass wir die FAI nicht hervorheben sollten. Dass wir uns nicht der Roten Fahne bedienen sollen, was sind das eigentlich für Schnitzer? Wie kommt Doyr dazu uns zu sagen wie wir unsere Arbeit in England führen sollen. Wozu die erbitterliche Ablehnung der FAI und der Roten Fahne. Überhaupt was glaubt die CNT damit zu erreichen wenn sie sich an die Reformisten wendet. Oder hat es Doyr auf eigene Hand gemacht. Den wenn er von der CNT beauftragt worden ist nach England zu reisen hatte das CNT Bureau benachrichtigt werden sollen, meinst Du nicht? Ich traue Doyr nicht. Ich bin sicher er steckt in der mörderischen Kommunistin unter eine Decke. Er ist wie Olive auf alle Kompromisse bereit wegen sie die CNT noch so viel diskreditieren und lächerlich machen. Ich habe die Absicht dieses Vazquez zu schreiben. Vor allem Dingen werde ich mich gegen solche Vertreter der CNT verwahren.

Lieber Helmut ein Beweis dafür dass ich Dich sehr gern hab ist dass ich diesen Brief schon drei Stunden schreibe. In Englisch hatte ich während dieser Zeit in halbes Dutzend fertig bringen können.

herzliche Grüsse.

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870929254

[Letter] 1938 March 12, New Milford, Conn. [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Stewart [Kerr].— 1 p. ; 27 x 20 cm.

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R.F.D.#5, New Milford, Conn., U.S.A.

Saturday, March, 12, 1938

My Dear Emma:

I am enclosing a clipping from the N.Y. Times of yesterday on the Mooney case. He was brought to Sacramento to address the Assembly, in which a motion was being debated to give him a legislative pardon. This morning the radio brings the news that the motion to grant him a pardon was finally passed, and now it is up to the state senate to talk about it. I imagine it will pass there also, tho hatred of the man overshadows the ugly fact that he was convicted on perjured evidence. It is a sad commentary on the state of feeling in California that a clear case of perjury should not have thrown the conviction out of court without hesitation. The radio says that the Attorney general of California has stated that a legislative pardon is worthless, and that the governor must say the word. More technicality. I think that the action of the legislature has been prompted by the fact that the Supreme Court of the U.S. is likely to favor Mooney, and that the California authorities know that the jig is about up. Still Mooney has been in prison for twenty years. Pickert, the prosecuting attorney, is dead. He died in obscurity and in poverty some time ago. However, he did his dirty work well. One thing comes out of it all, that America cannot point the finger at France in the Dreyfuss case. I sometimes wonder if such a scandalous state of affairs could have happened in England. Somehow, I don't believe it. I can remember how Parnell was bitterly assailed in a series of attacks called "Parnellism and Crime." They were based on forgeries by a man called Piggott. When the forgeries were proved, a Tory, Churchill, took Parnell's side. I remember his speech well. He was disgusted with the unfairness of it all. "Piggot, Piggot, Piggot," he shouted. We may not be over-impressed by "sportsmanship" of the British, but there the record stands--- a Tory stood up for decency.

I can find no more in the papers about Carlo Tresca. There is a lot about "spy" activities. People are being arrested every day for selling "information to a foreign power." Boake Carter, a radio commentator, says all the hullabaloo about spies is for the purpose of getting armament appropriations passed. Maybe there is truth in that; the lord only knows.

Affectionately, Stewart.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 March 13, Glasgow [to] Martin [Gudell, Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman]. — 4 p. ; 20 x 16 cm.

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1939

Glasgow, March 13th 38

Lieber Martin.

Dein Schreiben vom letzten Samstag erreichte mich vor meiner Abreise nach Schottland. Ich hatte die ganze Woche hier keine Zeit zu antworten und war auch sehr deprimiert durch den vollständigen Fehlschlag der Versammlungen. Es war überhaupt bloßsinnig von mir die Einladung der Glasgower Genossen anzunehmen wo es so dringend notwendig war dass ich in London bläibe. Wir waren daran eine grosse Affaire für die SIA zu vervollständigen. Durch meine Abwesenheit kamen allerhand unverhergesehene Dinge die die ganze Sache kaput machte, mindestens für den ersten April, das Datum an dem das Unternehmen stattfinden sollte. Zu allem Unglück waren die Versammlungen so miserabel besucht dass nicht einmal die Reisekosten gedeckt werden konnten. Von Literatur Verkauf oder irgend welchen Nutzen für die SIA, or the CNT schon gar nicht zu reden.

Die Situation in Glasgow hauptsächlich und überhaupt in Schottland ist von den Kommunisten vollständig veräuscht. Die Arbeiter sind so grauenhaft enttäuscht von der Russischen Revolution und die Dinge die jetzt in Russland vorkommen sie wirklich haben kein Interesse oder Glauben in irgend eine soziale Idee. In Glasgow ist noch dieser Zustand dass hier der Eitelkeit besessene Guay Aldred house, alles was wir in London tun in den Koth zieht und ausgerechnet am selben Sonntag also mein Versammlung stattfinden sollte seine eigenen zwei Versammlungen arrangierte unter der Devise dass Ethel MacDonald bis zum letzten Mal vor ihrer Abreise auch dem Kontinent abreist wo sie "speziell von der AIT, eingeladen wurde". Natürlich ist daran eben so wenig Wahrheit wie an allem was der ekelhafte Kerl tut. Ausserdem heizt er seine Trambanten dazu an in unsere Versammlungen zu gehen und sie zu stören. Du kannst dir die Atmosphäre vorstellen. Er hat es so weit gebracht die Anti Parlamentarische Gruppe die voriges Jahr ziemlich gross war zu sprengen. Jetzt gibt es drei Gruppen die sich gegenseitig in den Haaren liegen und unser arme Spanien muss darunter schwer leiden. Ich habe mir vorgenommen nie wieder nach Glasgow zu kommen. Ich habe weder Zeit noch die Kraft all diese ~~extraordinäre~~ erbarmliche Reibereien mitzu machen.

Vor ein paar Tagen bekam ich einige Briefe von Herrera. Er gibt in jedem Brief eine andere Adresse an wohin ich meine Briefe senden soll. Zuerst hiess es via Perpignan, Deine Deckadresse. Dann nach einem Briefkasten in Paris. Da es so lange dauert bis du via Perpignan meine Briefe erhalst so werde ich diesen Brief auch nach Paris senden. Hoffentlich geht es schneller. Ich habe die Adressen der Trade Unionisten via Paris an Vazquez geschickt. Ich hoffe sie haben ihn erreicht, auch andere Drucksachen. Dir habe ich via

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dagegen protestiert dann wird es als bare Lunte hingenommen. Ich bin Dir daher sehr dankbar dass Du mir das Material des Peninsular Komitee geschickt hast. Natürlich ist es schon abgedruckt zusammen mit dem Material der Verhandlungen der CNT-UOT. Auch etwas was ich von H. bekommen habe wird in der nächsten Nummer der S. and th W. erscheinen. Das Englische ist leider noch immer sehr halbrichtig. Aber wir können es ja hier revidieren. Schicke also fleissig alles was Du auftreiben kannst. Ich werde das Buch das Du schicken wirst durch sehen, werde es auch von einem Freund lesen lassen der Spanisch und Englisch gut kan. Ich werde Dir dann darüber schreiben.

Ich werde diesen Brief erst morgen aus London abenden weil ich Dir Verschiedenes beilegen will, meins Korrespondenz mit V. und auch ein exemplar von meiner Rede. Später schicke ich Dir auch einen langen Bericht meiner Reise mit Augustine und Dir Ich arbeite jetzt daran.

Wir haben die jetzt an 3000 Trade Union organisations Material vereandt und wir haben schon von einige Dutzend gehört die mehr Material verlangen und auch die Structure der CNT diskutieren Das ist wirklich der positive Gewinn meiner Tätigkeit. Wir haben ungefähr noch andere 5000 Adressen die wir verwenden werden und auch exemplare an V. senden. Wir haben jetzt von dem Material der CNT UOT und Stellung der FAI ein leaflet herausgegeben und haben ausser dem die Zeichnung der Struktur drucken lassen. Alle diese Sachen gehen und die Trade Union branchen mit einem speziellen Brief ab. Ich finde diese Art der propaganda für die CNT wichtiger wie Versammlungen.

Du kennst Boyer glaube ich. Vorige Woche kam er und ein U.G.T Mann nach England. Galve musste wohl wissen dass die beiden hier her kommen. Kr. hat ihnen aber nicht die Adresse unseres Bureaus gegeben. Sie bekamen sie durch einen Trade Union Club. Und zwar nach dem sie die dreckigsten ~~reformierten~~ reformierten Führer interviewt haben sie sagten dass wir sollten die FAI nie erheben, wir sollten unsere schwarze rote Fahne nicht gebrauchen, und noch andere solche Marhschalge. Der arme Barr war nicht wenig emport. Ich habe Boyer nie leiden können als ich ihn in Barcelona traf. In Paris hatte ich einen Zusammenstoß mit ihm wegen eines Artikels in Fragua Social der Stalin lobhudelte. Ich glaube Boyer ist entweder ganz Kommunist oder sympathisiert mit ihnen, jedenfalls kein reiner Charakter. Aber abgesehen davon ist es eine Gemeinheit uns in London zu raten wir sollten die FAI verleugnen. Was sind das für Schnitzer? Ich werde Vazquez schreiben müssen dass die CNT ein Bureau in London hat und dass solche Besucher wenn sie herkommen sich zuerst bei uns melden sollen. Sonst gibt es Konfusion und Unheil.

Lieber Martin es giebt so was nicht in England wie eine "REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH WITH ANARCHO SYNDICALIST TENDENCIES". Das ist alles mache von Meltzer der an Grossenwahn leidet. Du kannst sicher sein dass er sich nicht an uns wenden wird. Denn wenn es im ernst

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 March 13, Glasgow [to] Martin [Gudell, Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman]. — 4 p. ; 20 x 16 cm.

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1939 3

Ich vor zirka zwei Wochen auch Drucksachen geschickt, keine Adressen sondern Drucksachen, unter anderem einige Posladni. Ich frag dich in einem Brief der ungefähr zur selben Zeit abging auch per Perpignan ob Du die Posladni wunscht, habe aber bis jetzt kein Antwort erhalten. Auch keinen Brief von Mercedes. Frau Adams resit morgen wieder nach Spanien. Ich habe ihr nichts mitgegeben als nur Grusse and/ Dich und einige Worte dass ich Dir heute schreiben werde und auch dass einige Pakete per Perpignan. Ich bin ein bisschen unruhig wegen Frau A. Sie und ihr Mann scheinen jetzt im Dienste der N. Regierung zu sein. Natürlich ganz aufrichtig für das Anti-Faschistische Spanien. Ich kann also mit ihr nichts ernsthaftes senden was für euch Bedeutung hat. Nicht das ich glaube sie würde Pakete der Zensur übergeben, aber sie könnten ihr abgenommen werden und die Frau selbst in Schwierigkeiten bringen. Ich ziehe es vor dir und den andern via Paris zu schreiben.

mein guter Martin ich habe nicht geschrieben dass die CNT denen denkt von mir ihre Mandate zurück zu verlangen. Ich würde es nie so weit kommen lassen. Eher würde ich das Mandat selber zurück schicken. Was ich meinte war dass auch wenn die CNT die Absicht hat mich nicht mehr als ihre Vertreterin wirken zu lassen wenn ich nicht auf Vs Vorschlag meine Tätigkeit gegen die C.P. aufgeben würde so müsste ich absolut darauf dringen in England freie Hand zu haben. Es wäre ein V. brechen angesichts der grauenhaften Prozesse zu schamgen auch wenn die C.P. in England und Amerika nicht so gemein gegen die CNT/FAI vorgehen würden. Es wäre für mich ein Verrat gegen unsere russische Genossen und gegen viele ganze Traditionen. Ich habe alles für die CNT getan, sogar sehr gegen viele Gewissen, ich würde noch mehr tun, aber nie und nimmer könnte ich angesichts der Stalin bande schweigen. Bis jetzt hat V. noch nicht darauf gedrungen. Ich wusste auch nicht wie er das konnte indem das National Committee bestimmt in Einwilligung am Libertaire gab der jetzt intensive Propaganda gegen die C.P. und für eine politische Amnestie arbeitet. Aber wenn er es auch verlangen würde so müsste ich es ablehnen. Ich kann in Bezug auf die Mordbande nicht schweigen. Ihre Verbrechen, ihr Verrat an der Russischen und Spanischen Revolution kann und darf nicht still geschwiegen werden.

Du sagst die Kameraden hauptsächlich V. und H. haben mich lieb und haben Vertrauen in mir. Das freut mich natürlich. Aber sie scheinen leider zu glauben dass ihre Methoden auf alle andere Länder passen müssen. Das ist leider ein grosser Irrtum. Ein Beispiel ist die Angriffe in jeder Versammlung hier, ich hatte schon vier, seitens der Kommunisten entgegenen musste, nicht nur Angriffe sondern gemeinste Verleumdungen. Ich kann doch unmöglich dieses in gedruckter Weise nach Spanien senden. Die Genossen müssen daher mein Wort glauben wenn ich ihnen schreibe dass diese Angriffe immer wieder in Versammlungen auftauchen. Ubrigens leg ich dir hier Ausschnitte aus der N.Y Times bei die den Beweis liefern dass die C. Bande alle Korrespondenten bearbeiten und belügen. Nach diesem waren es die C. die immer für die anti faschistische Front waren und unsere Leute haben sie unterminiert. Oder dass das Regional Komitee aus freien Willen Nosotros eingestellt haben. Ist das nicht genug? Du musst wissen im Ausland glaubt man all diese Sachen. Und wenn man nicht

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1930.

Grüsse die Mercedes recht herzlich. Ich bin so froh  
es geht ihr besser. Auch Deine Freundin und ebenfalls Deine Sekretarin  
recht herzlich von mir



## The Emma Goldman Papers

890128027

[Letter, 1938 March 13, Glasgow to Martin Gudell, Barcelona (enclosure?)] / [Emma Goldman].— 1 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Martin Gudell Archive.

*Resolved in passed  
of my Bristol meeting*

SG Gud

DRAFT RESOLUTION FOR BRISTOL FEBRUARY 28th.

*You can give it to the vote of your  
meeting*

This meeting, fully recognising that the struggle of the Spanish workers and peasants against fascism is not a fight for the maintenance of existing Parliamentary institutions, but a revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of the class system of society, pledges its support to the Spanish revolutionaries.

It calls upon the working-class in Great Britain to show the same unity and international solidarity with their comrades in Spain that the fascist and other capitalist governments have exhibited in their championship of the Spanish reactionaries. It notes with strong approval the action of seamen and dockers in the Scandinavian countries, where there has been an organised refusal to handle ammunition or supplies for the Spanish fascists, and it urges that this example be followed without delay by the organised workers in this country.

This meeting has no faith in the so-called neutrality of the National Government, and is aware that the mutual jealousies of the Great Powers are of secondary importance to their common fear of social revolution. Therefore it warns the workers against any schemes which depend for their fulfilment upon the British Government or on any other capitalist government, and calls for direct action in every sphere, legal or illegal, to ensure an embargo on supplies to the Spanish fascists and their allies and a continued supply of arms, recruits, food and money to the Spanish workers and peasants, the vanguard of World Revolution.

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S · I · A

(International Anti-Fascist Solidarity)

Mr C. E. M. KAD  
Mr NILES MALLESON  
Mr GEORGE ORWELL  
Dr C. V. FEARON  
Mr JOHN COWPER POWYS  
Mr LLEWELYN POWYS  
Mr HERBERT READ  
Mr REGINALD REYNOLDS  
Miss REBECCA WEST

ETHEL MANNEN  
Mrs. Treasurer  
EMMA GOLDMAN  
Mrs. Secretary

London Office

21. FRITH STREET.

SHAFTESBURY AVENUE

Glasgow March 13/38 LONDON. W.I.

Total time: 02:00:00

Here are some people Ethel suggests. Stephen Spender can you find out how he might be approached to read some of his poems on Spain? If he is still a Communist he will probably not want to be mixed up with us. But he should be approached if there is a way. Anton Dolin Ballet dancer. Ethel writes he sent her money for ~~the~~ last years exhibition. She thinks if he is free he might want to participate or suggest someone else. Ralph will give you his address which is on the list Ethel sent. We should only be approached if Sinorita Anna Marques cannot give us another date as it would hardly do to have two dancers at the affair unless they happened to dance together. Another suggestion is IVLAN ELLIS, the young musician. Ethel writes he had worked with Cochran and is quite well known. In talking or writing to him do so on our CIA notepaper and say you are doing so in the name of Miss Ethel Mannin. Then ~~there~~ there is the suggestion of Reginald Reynolds to try and get in touch with REDDIE WOODHOUSE ~~he is a singer of note~~ he is a singer of note Megie writes and a friend of Housman. Perhaps Woodhouse can be found through him. We have Housmans address. Rex ~~is~~ is supposed to have Left leanings non Communist and Megie seems to be sure Woodhouse would do something for us if he were free. Ethel also suggests

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 March 13, Glasgow [to] Sonia [Clements? and] James [Harrison, London] / Emma Goldman. — 2 p. ; 24 x 20 cm.

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17987

Sidnie might know how to reach Woodhouse. But frankly I never would want to approach Sidnie for anything. I consider her action from a professional point of view abominable. I am sure she would not have ~~gone~~ gone back on her word if ours were a paying engagement. I don't mind that singer so much though he must have known about his engagement in Belfast when he promised. But she is to have anarchist leanings and all kinds of left pretenses. For her to let us down was simply rotten. Well, my dears whatever you do please please get in touch with me tomorrow by phone. I am sure to be in by 11,30 though I may be in all evening. I may take my hosts to a cinema though there isn't a damned thing to see in this ~~highly~~ straight laced town. But whatever I do I will be back at 11, 30. Please please call me up.

I speak again to night and Sunday thank the lord I can leave Monday. I know you two will meet me if possible at 8.A.M.

Affectionately,

*Emma*  
just say your nice Deary  
you will call me up to night  
the Mich heads will take the  
message. On tomorrow  
11, 30 when I will be in  
cq

*James*



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 March 14, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / Mariano R. Vázquez [and] Pedro Herrera. — 1 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

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Confederación Nacional del Trabajo

Federación Anarquista Ibérica

Secretaría Nacional

BARCELONA, a 14 de marzo de 1.938.

A la Oficina de Propaganda C.N.T.-F.A.I. en Inglaterra.  
Londres.

Estimada camarada Emma Goldman:

Por fin, después de laboriosas discusiones, hemos llegado a concertar un programa mínimo que unifica a las dos Organizaciones Sindicales en la acción a desarrollar. La tan anhelada ilusión del proletariado español y también del internacional, es un hecho.

Falta tan solo hacer el acoplamiento y redacción definitiva de las Bases y a últimos de esta semana, cuando regresen de París el presidente y el secretario de la U.C.T. que asistieron a la reunión de la F.S.I. y la S.I.O., se firmarán.

Interesamos por la presente, para que nos ayudéis a sacar rendimiento rápido de estas Bases. Para ello, te indicamos deberíais lograr que los Sindicatos, Agrupaciones, núcleos antifascistas, etc., nos mandaran inmediatamente que se hagan públicas las Bases, telegramas, manifestando la satisfacción producida ahí, al conocer la gran noticia, e indicaréis nuestro deseo, de que las Bases sean aplicadas rápidamente, manifestando al final, vuestra decisión de ayudarnos intensamente en la lucha que sostenemos para aplastar al fascismo invasor.

No dudamos que os ocuparéis intensamente de realizar lo que os pedimos, que tiene enorme importancia para nosotros.

Con este motivo, te saludan fraternalmente,

POR EL CTE. PENINSULAR F.A.I.

*Emma*  
Pedro Herrera.  
Calabria

POR EL CTE. NACIONAL CNT.

*Mariano R. Vázquez*  
Mariano R. Vázquez  
SECRETARÍA



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 March 15 [London to] Ethel [Mannin, Paris] / [Emma Goldman].—  
1 p.; 20 × 16 cm.

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17189

March 15th 38

Dearest Ethel, My letter of the 11th must have found you on your arrival in Paris. I got back last night. I found neither Sonia or James Harrison had achieved anything in the way of musical talent. I have been after after a friend of mine who said she might scare up some musical people, but when I talked to her over the phone she was very discouraging. I will wait until tomorrow and if we do not have anyone worth while I will have to either postpone the affair for another week provided I can get Rebecca to consent to be with us then or give up the whole undertaking. It is no use investing £70 expenses or more and then have an empty hall. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~

The dreadful news from Catalonia in to night's papers has taken all my interest in ~~saxix~~ the proposed affair. I always take everything in news paper with more than distrust. Still it reads very ominous. If only the workers would take over the situation, if only they had never let the rotten government get hold of everything. Now it may be too late and all the concessions will have been in vain. I dread to think what the sacrifice will be.

My dear, Ralph put you on for a meeting in Tooting. I do hope you will not be angry for having done so without you being consulted. I have never liked the idea of taking advantage of the name of those who work with me. But Ralph foolish thought to help the young group of boys you would not mind. I hope you really do not. As to the meeting at Rev Whittles Hall since you wrote that you and Regie would like to come along I put you on.

No, I will not send the book of Ch.M. It will be time when you return

I am too frightfully upset to think so forgive shortness of letter. I will meet you if you tell me when you are arriving.

With love.

519

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 March 15, London [to] Rose [Pesotta, Boston] / Emma [Goldman]. --  
3 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

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London, Eng.

21 FRITH STREET  
SHAFTESBURY AVENUE  
LONDON, W.1

London, March 15th 38

TELEPHONE GERRARD 2636

Dearest Rose.

Your letter of Feb 28th came as a bit of light in my bleak life in this awful country. The failure of everything I try here and the frightful events in the world, the Moscow butchery, the evergrowing suffering of the people in Spain and now the invasion of Austria make life almost unbearable. If only I would see even small results from my strenuous efforts for our comrades in Spain. But nothing moves the British. Hardly any response to the appeal of the SLA. The Exhibition of the children's drawings a complete flop. The difficulties of getting the artists for our affair well-nigh insurmountable. I left for Scotland the 5th in the belief that all the artists who had promised to participate would keep their word. Barr and James Harrison were to start with the printing to mail everything to various people last week. The shock came last Monday that two important musicians had backed out and Sonia Clements and Barr could not get other talents. So everything came to a standstill until my return last night.

If only Scotland had brought some satisfaction. But the meetings were poorly attended by inert and dull audiences who responded to ~~nothing~~ neither to my talks or my fervent appeal for the SLA. It was sheer torture to hold out the week knowing how desperately I was needed in London. Well, I returned and am now hard at work writing and phoning artists begging them to help us with our affair. Believe me darling it is a come down to have to be on one's bended knees almost before every British snob who thinks himself important, and who gives a damn for the struggle in Spain. Yet here I am putting all my pride and self respect aside because Spain has become an idea fixe with me which gives no peace day or night. As matters stand I am not sure but what we will not have to postpone the affair for April 8th. I would do it in a shot but the drawback is we may lose Rebecca West as she intends to leave for Austria. And she is the biggest drawing card we have. Well, I will know in a day or two what's what. But, oh, my dear working in England for our ideas or for Spain is so enervating and so hopeless there is not a day that I am not tempted to give it up and run. But where to? That is the question. You can therefore imagine what the bit of hope your letter holds out meant to me. No, I am no fool to bank on positive results. But it is already a comfort to know that a few people are interested and want to help. I have all the confidence in the world in you, my dear, I could wish for no one more sincere and efficient, no one more conscious of how much my return for six months would mean to me than you do. So I can only hang on to every thread your letter

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London,

TELEPHONE GERRARD 2636

holds out.

Later on I mean to write the CNT that I have achieved so little for them with my work here nothing will be lost if I sail for Canada in the autumn. Hoping a central location with reading and exhibitions room and also meetings will bring people to us. Well it has not. Yet the expence is great. I could just as well have remained in 18 Castletown Rd. I would have achieved nothing less and the expence would have been nothing compared with the present place. Here there is a double expence, my own living ~~max~~ and the office. It makes me ill to spend money of the CNT-FAI or the SIA and see no results though we did get in about £75 in the form of contributions, that is outside of the collection at our meeting Jan. 14th. But what is that in comparison with ~~what was~~ collected at the meeting you attended and the money raised in Paris. Anyhow I am determined to write Vazquez that the little we achieve Ralph Barr will be able to look after but that I must get away to Canada because I feel paralysed here. I know how meagre the chances in Canada are especially now that Montreal is doubtful owing to the power of the damned Catholic Church. If I could go to British Columbia it might be worth while. If only the fare were not so awfully high and the distances so great. Or, if I had somebody competent to organize meetings. If, if, if.. However I mean to sail anyway since it will be impossible I fear to get a visa from here unless at the express instructions from Wash. This then is the situation, my dear.

It will sound overbearing when I say that ~~Sasha~~ Sasha and I have foreseen the frightfulness in Russia, that we have said the Tcheka will become a state within a State, and that it will eventually pull down the whole rotten Bolshevist edifice. But even we never dreamed that it will come to such horrible butchery. One almost loses faith in the masses if they can support such crimes. But they go on in Russia, in Germany, in Italy and now in Austria. Fools that we are, we still believe in the triumph of truth over falsehood. Or is it merely habit, the work of a life time that gets in one's blood and does not let one go? I don't know. I only know that my inner conflict makes life a nightmare.

Dearie I wish you had not told Brand about my correspondence with Vazquez. After all it was more or less confidential. Besides you said yourself that Brand is not entirely reliable. You say Mollie and Senia must have misunderstood him. I don't think so. They could not have invented the ~~phantastic stories he told them~~

# The Emma Goldman Papers

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TELEPHONE: GERRARD 2636

charges he made against the National Committee. No doubt being back in the States and working with the Spanish Delegation the things he reported no longer look so black. But he certainly made them appear black to Mollie and Senia. It is not a question of hurting Vazquez. I would care little about that. It is making our Spanish people see that whatever the CNT finds necessary to do in Spain we cannot do the same things outside of Spain. I mean in regard to the rotten communists. Especially since the latest bloodbath. Well, I have heard nothing further from Vazquez about how I am to treat the gangsters. ~~xxxx~~ In any event I am determined to go my ~~work~~ way and speak my mind whenever the occasion demands and that straight from the shoulder.

We printed in last SPAIN and the WORLD the negotiations between the CNT.UGT. The Stand of the FAI and also my criticism of the whole business. I am making a leaflet out of the whole material together with a very interesting diagram of the structure of the CNT and their strength at least numerically. I will send you some of course. Meanwhile it seems the pact has at last been concluded between the CNT UGT. But I am sure it will be like all pacts, the U.G.T. saturated with the Communist ~~poison~~ poison will undermine the unity. But our people will not listen so they must go through the experience as others have. But it makes it more and more difficult to ~~work~~ rouse interest for the CNT.

~~xxxx~~ I don't know about the new Commissioner of immigration. I hope he is progressive. Yes Cummings had something to do with my return to the States. I think Roger wrote me about it though I am not certain. Please whoever will help you and especially Powers give them my thanks in advance, and give Powers my affectionate greetings.

Goodby Rose my dear. I cannot thank you, words would be too banal. But you know how I appreciate your help and your interest.

with love

Emma

Please rather typing  
signature



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 March 15 [London to] Rose [Pesotta, Boston] / [Emma Goldman]. —  
3 p. ; 24 x 18 cm.

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March 15th 38

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Later on I mean to write the CNT that I have achieved a little for them with my work here nothing will be lost if I sail Canada in the autumn. Hoping a central location with reading and itions room and also meetings will bring people to us. Well it is not. Yet the expence is great. I could just as well have remained 18 Uastletown Rd I would have achieve nothing less and the expen would have been nothing comprared with the present place. Here th is a double expence, my own living ~~xxxx~~ and the office. It makes m ill to spend money of the CNT-FAI or the SIA and see no results t we did get in about £75 in the form of contributions, that is out of the collection at our meeting Jan. 14th. But what is that in com ison what was collected at the meeting you attended and the money raised in Paris. Anyhow I am determined to write Vazquez that the we achieve Ralph Barr will be able to look after but that I must away to Canada because I feel paralysed here. I know how meagre t chances in Canada are especially now that Montreal is doubtful ow to the power of the damned Catholic Church. If I could go to rit Columbia it might be worth while. If only the fare were not so aw high and the distances so great. Or if I had somebody compeant t to organize meetings. If, if if.. However I mean to sail anyway si it will be impossible I fear to get a visa from here unless at th express instructions from Wash. This then is the situation my dea

It will sound overbearing when I say that ~~Sasha~~ Sasha and have forseen the frightfulness in Russia that we have said the T will become a State within a State and that it will eventually donw the whole rotten Bolshevist edifice. But even we never dream that it will come to such horrible butchery. One almost loses fai in the masses if they can support such crimes. But they go on in Russia, in Germany, in Italy and now in Austria. Fools that we are still believe in the triumph of truth over falsehood. Or is it mer -habit, the work of a life time that gets in ones blood and does let one go? I don't know. I only know that my inner conflict makes life a nightmare.

Dearie I wish you had not told Brand about my co espondence with Vazquez. After all it was more or less confidential. Besides you said yourself that Brand is not entirely reliable. You say Mollie and Senia must have misunderstood him. I don't think e They could not have invented the ~~phantasmic~~ stories he told them

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 March 15 [London to] Rose [Pesotta, Boston] / [Emma Goldman]. — 3 p.; 24 x 18 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17643

charges he made against the National Committee. No doubt being back in the States and working with the Spanish Delegation the things he reported no longer look so black. But he certainly made them appear black to Mollie and Senia. It is not a question of hurting Vazquez. I would care little about that. It is making our Spanish people see that whatever the CNT finds necessary to do in Spain we cannot do the same things outside of Spain. I mean in regard to the rotten Communists. Especially since the latest bloodbath. Well, I have heard nothing further from Vazquez about how I am to treat the gangsters. ~~xxxx~~ In any event I am determined to go my ~~work~~ way and speak my mind whenever the occasion demands and that straight from the shoulder.

We printed in last SPAIN and the WORLD the negotiations between the CNT, UGT. The stand of the FAI and also my criticism of the whole business. I am making a leaflet out of the whole material together with a very interesting diagram of the structure of the CNT and their strength at least numerically. I will send you some of course. Meanwhile it seems the pact has at last been concluded between the CNT UGT. But I am sure it will be like all pacts, the U.G.T. saturated with the Communist ~~poison~~ poison will undermine the unity. But our people will not listen so they must go through the experience as others have. But it makes it more and more difficult to ~~xxxxxx~~ rouse interest for the CNT.

~~xxxxxx~~ I don't know about the new Commissionaire of immigration. I hope he is progressive. Yes Cummings had something to do with my return to the States. I think Roger wrote me about it though I am not certain. Please whosoever will help you and especially Powers give them my thanks in advance, and give Powers my affectionate greetings.

Goodby Rose my dear. I cannot thank you, words would be too banal. But you know how I appreciate your help and your interest.

With love.

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 March 15, Hollywood, Calif. [to Emma] Goldman, [London] / Aldous Huxley. — 1 p. ; 24 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

C.A.Y.

3923

1340 N. Laurel Avenue,  
Hollywood,  
Calif.

12 Cayle v

13-111-33.

Dear Miss Goldman,

Your letter of February 10 has remained for long without an answer, owing to the fact that I have been sick for some weeks, and am only just out of hospital.

To my mind, the most urgent problem at the moment is to find a satisfactory technique for giving practical realization to the ideal of philosophical anarchism. If we are to have decentralization if we are to have genuine self-government, if we are to be free from the tyranny of political and big-business bosses, then we must find some satisfactory method by which people can become economically-independent at any rate in large measure. I am trying to collect relevant information on this subject and am convinced that the technique for realizing the libertarian ideal in practice could be formulated and would work perfectly well, if intelligent people were to desire this consummation and were to set their minds to it. Much is to be learned from the theoretical and practical work of Ralph Borsodi while certain contemporary ~~friends~~ trends of invention ---- Kettering's work on small diesel power plants for domestic purposes, Abbot's work on a machine for making direct use of solar energy---point clearly to the possibility of realizing that economic independence which must be the material basis of a libertarian society. Borsodi has demonstrated that about two thirds of all production can actually be carried out more economically in small domestic or coöperative units than in large, highly centralized mass-producing units. But so obsessed are modern men by the idea of centralization and mass production that they can think in no other terms. I feel strongly that this purely practical, material side of anarchism is the side that, in the immediate future, requires the most intensive study, together with practical application wherever possible.

Yours sincerely,

Sd. Aldous Huxley

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 March 15, Hollywood, Calif. [to Emma] Goldman, [London] / Aldous Huxley. — 1 p. ; 19 x 16 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

COPY.

1340 N. Laurel Avenue,  
Hollywood,  
Calif.

17488

15-111-39.

Dear Miss Goldman,

Your letter of February 15 has remained for long without an answer, owing to the fact that I have been sick for some weeks, and am only just out of hospital.

To my mind, the most urgent problem at the moment is to find a satisfactory technique for giving practical realization to the ideal of philosophic anarchism. If we are to have decentralization if we are to have genuine self-government, if we are to be free from the tyranny of political and big-business bosses, then we must find some satisfactory method by which people can become economically-independent at any rate in large measure. I am trying to collect relevant information on this subject and am convinced that the technique for realizing the libertarian ideal in practice could be formulated and would work perfectly well, if intelligent people were to desire this consummation and were to set their minds to it. Much is to be learned from the theoretical and practical work of Ralph Borsodi while certain contemporary friends trends of invention ---- Kettering's work on small diesel power plants for domestic purposes, Abbotts work on a machine for making direct use of solar energy---point clearly to the possibility of realizing that economic independence which must be the material basis of a libertarian society. Borsodi has demonstrated that about two thirds of all production can actually be carried out more economically in small domestic or co-operative units than in large, highly centralized mass-producing units. But so obsessed are modern men by the idea of centralization and mass production that they can think in no other terms. I feel strongly that this purely practical, material side of anarchism is the side that, in the immediate future, requires the most intensive study, together with practical application wherever possible.

Yours sincerely,

Sd. Aldous Huxley.

# The Emma Goldman Papers

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[Letter, 19]38 March 15, Hollywood, Calif. [to Emma] Goldman, [London] / Aldous Huxley. — 1 p. ; 26 x 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

COPY.

1340, N. Laurel Avenue,  
Hollywood,  
California.

15-111-38.

Dear Miss Goldman,

Your letter of February 15th has remained for long without an answer, owing to the fact that I have been sick for some weeks, and am only just out of hospital.

To my mind, the urgent problem at the moment is to find a satisfactory technique for giving practical realisation to the ideal of philosophic anarchism. If we are to have decentralisation, if we are to have genuine self-government, if we are to be free from the tyranny of political and big-business bosses, then we must find some satisfactory method by which people can become economically independent, at any rate in large measure. I am trying to collect relevant information on this subject and am convinced that the technique for realising the libertarian ideal in practice could be formulated and would work perfectly well, if intelligent people were to desire this consummation and were to set their minds to it. Much is to be learned from the theoretical and practical work of Ralph Borsodi while certain contemporary trends of invention - Kettering's work on small Diesel power plants for domestic purposes, Abbott's work on a machine for making direct use of solar energy - point clearly to the possibility of realising that economic independence which must be the material basis of a libertarian society. Borsodi has demonstrated that about two-thirds of all production can actually be carried out more economically in small domestic or co-operative units than in large, highly centralised, mass-producing units. But so obsessed are modern men by the idea of centralisation and mass production that they can think in no other terms. I feel strongly that this purely practical, material side of anarchism is the side that, in the immediate future, requires the most intensive study, together with practical application wherever possible.

Yours sincerely,

(Sgd.) ALDOUS HUXLEY.

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 March 15, London [to] Emma Goldman, London / John McNair.—  
1 p.; 25 × 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17678

## INDEPENDENT LABOUR PARTY NATIONAL ADMINISTRATIVE COUNCIL

Chairman: J. MAXTON, M.P.

Hon. Treasurer: F. W. JOWETT

Telephone: Central 3196  
Telegrams: Iper, Ltd, London



Secretary: A. FENNER BROCKWAY,  
35 St. Bride Street,  
London, E.C.4

March 15th. 1938.

Emma Goldman,  
21, Frith St.  
Shaftsbury Ave.  
London. W.1.

Dear Emma,

I received your letter of the 12th. inst. from Glasgow but unfortunately I am leaving for Scotland immediately myself tomorrow and shall be unable to meet you. In the mean-time, if you would send to the office any tickets or announcements for distribution I shall see to it on return that they are all sent out and we shall do our best to push the sale of tickets.

Yours fraternally,

*John McNair*

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 March 16, Paris [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Ethel Mannin. — 3 p.; 17 × 11 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

From Ethel Mannin.  
HOTEL DU QUAI VOLTAIRE  
PARIS

March 16th 1938

Dearest Emma, I had yr letter here, & my heart bleeds for you in Glasgow, with difficult audiences - God knows the Scot is difficult enough at the best of times. We've had some Glasgow meetings ourselves & know how deadly they can be.

The news about Sidonie Goossens & the singer is as astonishing as it is outrageous, but an item of good news to balance it is that I met Brian Howard here last night & he agreed to read one of his own Spanish poems, & also suggested reading Auden's famous poem about Spain - Auden is a close friend of his & he is confident that he would be only too glad to have him do so. Then also he knows Stephen Spender very well & I have written Spender & B.W. will send it with a covering note of his own.

The difficulty about asking people is that we can't give them a definite date if we are not going to stick to April 1st - and how can they know if they are free when they don't know the exact date? However I have told Brian Howard and Spender the possible dates & that I will let them know definitely next week - I hope we shall have settled our date by then. It would be a pity to make it later, I think, because we should almost sure to have to pay a part of the rent - or lose any deposit made when it was booked for April 1st.

Brian Howard and other people I've discussed the matter with have strongly advocated confining the occasion entirely to readings and speeches about Spain - unless the music and dances are essentially Spanish; they say that to put in odd songs and music would be out of keeping...there is something to be said for this, I feel, and it would solve the



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 March 16, Paris [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Ethel Mannin.—  
3 p.; 17 × 11 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

-2-

harrassing problem of having to find artistes...  
If we have poetry readings by Howard, Spender,  
Read, a speech by Rebecca, some Spanish dances  
by Argentina, and (if its not on the 1st and he  
can therefore come) a sketch read by Housman  
and if he's well enough to come and will do it  
something read or said by Chalmers Mitchell...  
that wouldn't be a bad program perhaps?

Nancy Cunard is in the S. of France, Howard says.

Well, well, let's not worry too much; a few items  
are reliable, and a program will shape somehow.

I am not sure whether we are coming back Thurs.  
night or Fri. night, but in any case we are  
making the night-journey as there is so much to  
do here (in connection with R's prison anthol-  
ogy, the French section of, and political  
people of interest to us both; we are going to  
see Victor Serge tomorrow) & it saves a day; so  
we'll be arriving in the early morning, and be  
unmeetable, though it was a sweet thought that  
you should meet us, Emma dear. I will ring you  
when we are back; I expect it won't be till Sat.

I've not yet received the Chalmers Mitchell  
book, but perhaps its been sent to my home  
address. (See p. 5.)

Emma dear, Reg says its out of the question that  
I should speak at Whittle's meeting; he says W.  
is responsible to his Bishop who has more than  
once slapped him over the knuckles for his Left-  
ism and unconventionality & if he found that W.  
had a divorcee billed there would be trouble; and  
that the suggestion that I should speak can only  
embarrass Whittle. Reg has written W that  
there was some misunderstanding, and that we will  
merely be there in the audience and not on the  
platform. Of course if W. likes to take a risk  
with his bishop that's another matter!

I was annoyed that Barr calmly wrote me that he  
had booked me for a meeting at Tooting (of all  
horrible places) on the 22nd. Really he had no  
right to do this—how does he know what date I

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 March 16, Paris [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Ethel Mannin. — 3 p. ; 17 × 11 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

-3-

17178

TS  
have ? I'm really preposterous booking people without asking them ! I don't know that I can do it - I'll have to see when I get back. It's very short notice, and goodness knows what awaits me in the rest of my mail at home. I really can't commit myself....as Barr must have known at the time, had he thought about it.

Barbara seems to have an idea that you have thought I was neglecting my revolutionary duties by leaving England these last 7 weeks. I felt a little sad when I read that, but perhaps she jumped to a wrong conclusion, being only a child, and anyhow I don't feel any need to 'indicate' myself. I serve as best I can and no one is more aware of my limitations in that respect than I am myself, alas.

Well, dear Emma, there have been so many phone calls and interruptions since I began this letter an hour ago that I must close it now and get it to the post.

I can only hope you are feeling less harassed my dear and that things are shaping.

(Christ another phone call ! Goodbye my dear, and love to you.



PS the book has just arrived.

*Have written all this under  
impossible circumstances,  
so make allowances —*

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

870930399

[Letter] 1938 March 16, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / Mariano R. Vázquez [and] Pedro Herrera. — 1 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Confederación Nacional del Trabajo

Federación Anarquista Ibérica

Relaciones Exteriores

Nº 309. E.

19248

BARCELONA, a 16 de marzo de 1.938.

A la Oficina de Propaganda E.N.T.-F.A.I. en Inglaterra.  
L o n d r e s.

Estimado camarada Emma Goldman:

De la carta remitida a S.I.A. con fecha 14 de febreroppdo., extractamos partes que corresponden a este Secretariado y pasamos a contestarte.

Sobre lo que se refiere al libro de Volin, hemos de indicarte que hace tres días justos ha llegado a nuestro poder el original y la traducción. Se editará lo antes posible.

Sobre la traducción del libro de Cánovas Cervantes, con esta fecha escribimos a la Oficina de París, indicándoles te remitan la traducción lo antes posible.

Nos interesaría una copia del discurso que hiciste en el Congreso de la A.I.T. para exacto conocimiento de la militancia de acá.

Sin otro particular, te saludan fraternalmente,

POR EL CTE. PENINSULAR FAI,

POR EL CTE. NACIONAL CNT.

Pedro Herrera,

Mariano R. Vázquez



533

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 March 16, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / Mariano R. Vázquez [and] Pedro Herrera. — 1 p. ; 20 x 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Comité Peninsular del Trabajo

Región Andaluza, Mérida

Relaciones Exteriores

Nº 319. E.

BARCELONA, a 16 de marzo de 1.938.

A la Oficina de Propaganda C.N.T.-F.A.I. en Inglaterra  
L o n d r e s.

Estimada camarada Emma Goldman:

Acusamos recibo a la tuya 14 de febrero ppdo., la cual examinada detenidamente, nos satisface grandemente por el trabajo que realizas.

Te saludan fraternalmente,

POR EL CTE. PENINSULAR F.A.I.

Pedro Herrera.



COMITE PENINSULAR  
Relaciones Exteriores

POR EL CTE. NACIONAL CNT.

Mariano R. Vázquez





# The Emma Goldman Papers

870925442

[Letter, 19]38 March 17 [London to Ethel Mannin, Paris (fragment)] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 20 x 16 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

SS1V2

17171

March 17th 38

Darling, I was glad to get your letter. Before I answer it I want to bid you welcome back to London. If I knew someone is in your house I would send you some more orchids. I will once I know you are back.

What a strange coincidence that you met Brian Howard. I wrote him two weeks ago asking for suggestions about poetry, he failed to answer. He may not have his mail forwarded. I am very glad to put him on and relieved to know he too has written Spender. I wrote him Tuesday and also George Orwell. Well, at least you will think as I do that our undertaking is in the grips of "evil" spirits. We cannot get Friends House for the week of the 6th 7th or 8th though? Ralph was told these dates were vacant. They gave what seems to me a perfectly idiotic reason. They have an exhibition in the small hall and according to the L.C.C. Council they may not have anything in the other Hall ~~when~~ when one is already used. I cannot believe the Friends would give such an excuse because they do not want us to have the Hall. It must be the stupidity of the L.C.C. nor would this be the first

The first date we can get the Friends House is Monday the 11th. Then we discovered that we can have the Scala for the 12th. But until this hour 3 P.M. I do not know whether Rebecca is free on either of the dates. I will call her at tea time and if anything is settled will add a line. Rebecca must think me a pest. I have changed dates so often. But we must have her as a drawing card for people who have never nor would they attend our affairs. Yes, it would be wonderful work if we could get L.H. Please, will you or Regie ask him, I mean if I can tell you in this letter before I mail it this letter.

I talked to Fenner today about bringing the children from street for the affair. John Mc Nair has that in hand. When he returns from Glasgow Monday I will talk it over with him. It will cost ten pounds to bring them from street. If they come a certain percentage of the SIA fund from the affair will have to go to the I.L.P. provided they really seriously help us with sale of tickets and publicity. We will see.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 March 17 [London to Ethel Mannin, Paris (fragment)] / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p.; 20 x 16 cm.

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17171

17172

We may be forced to confine our affair entirely to reading and speeches on Spain. But it is impossible to charge him admission for that. And the undertaking is for the purpose of raising funds, yes also to make known the purpose of the SIA. It occurred to me that we might call the affair a Literary symposium, in the sense of the danger of Fascism and Dictatorship to literature and poetic oration, or something like this. By the way I had asked Rebecca to speak on the need of freedom to creative expression, or some such thing I do not remember the right wording.

About Sidonie, since I returned I found out that it was really not her fault that she let us down at the last moment almost. You see she and Ureenbaum ~~were~~ are under contract with the B.B.C. The latter rarely called on her to play because the harp is not always used in concerts. But it was just our rotten luck that she should be called for just the date of our affair April first. Sidonie now swears she will make good, she will definitely make sure whether she will be free the 11th or 12th and will then tell us. She has a beautiful Spanish programme which would just be the thing if we can only pull off the undertaking. ~~xxxxxxxx~~ I confess I am completely worn out and weary from the effort. But then, it was the same thing last year. If only we can get Rebecca. If not we had better arrange something on a smaller scale, Conway Hall and with less expense and after Easter. What do you think?

Dearest what on earth induced Barbara to tell you that I considered it lacking in revolutionary zeal on your part to go away? In the first place I saw the girl only twice since you left and each time for a moment. In the second I would hardly have talked to Barbara what I thought of your going away even if I had ever entertained such an absurd thought. Barbara is a nice kid but I am afraid rather flighty. I certainly would not choose her as a confidant to speak about your affairs. Thirdly I am so set ~~xxx~~ in my belief of the right of my friends to do what they consider right it would never ~~xxxxxxxx~~ occurred to me to find fault with them for that. My dearest how could you believe such nonsense. I really am provoked with Barbara that she should have ~~xxxxxxxx~~ told you her impression for which I did not give her the slightest reason. Even her youth does not justify her to make hasty conclusions or invent silly stories.

Murburg sent me a copy of your book for which I am very grateful. Dearest own I have reread your dedication and your portrait of me. I am too filled with your sweet comradeship and the affection it expresses to be able to tell you in so many words how I feel about your tribute. Perhaps I will be able to do so when we are again together some evening away from others and the awful strain of my futile activities for poor bleeding Spain.

Yes indeed it was arbitrary of Ralph to put your name down on the Tooting handbill. worse luck he does not

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 March 17 [London to George] Photiades, [London] / [Emma Goldman].— 1 p. ; 24 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17831

March 17th 38

Dear Mr Photiades,

It is with the deepest regret that I have to tell you that we are compelled to give up the literary evening, concert and dance we had planned. After the most strenuous efforts we could not get the artists we wanted all of them being engaged in London or about the fill engagements in the provinces. I am frightfully sorry. We even wanted to postpone the affair until the 12th of this month so we could have it in the Scala but that too had to be abandoned because Miss Rebecca West who is foremost among women writers in this country is leaving for the continent the 10th.

However we are planning to have the affair after Easter and of course we will want Sinorita Emma Marques to dance at the affair. Just as soon as we know the date I will get in touch with you. In any event it could not be before the latter part of April as people are going away for Easter and usually do not get back before ten days or two weeks.

I will be at the office of the SIA tomorrow about 1 o/c. Perhaps you will call me up to tell me whether your wife is likely to be in London the last days of April and if she would still be good enough to dance for us.

Sincerely,

# The Emma Goldman Papers

870930401

[Letter] 1938 March 17, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / Mariano R. Vázquez [and] Pedro Herrera. — 1 p. ; 21 x 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Confederación Nacional del Trabajo

Federación Anarquista Ibérica

Secretaría Ejecutiva

Nº 321..B.

1938

BARCELONA, a 17 de marzo de 1938.

A la Oficina de Propaganda C.N.T.-F.A.I. en Inglaterra.  
Londres.

Estimado camarada Emma Goldman:

Acusamos recibo a la tuya 2 de los ctes. de cuyo contenido tomamos muy buena nota, separando de la misma los interesantes señales. Estamos conformes con la propaganda que van a hacer.

Con respecto a las concesiones que está haciendo la C.N.T. para poder llegar a la unidad de acción con la U.G.T., como tu bien dices, las circunstancias obligan a los mismos, pero debes tener confianza y seguridad que hacemos lo que debe hacerse y que a pesar de todo venceremos.

Te saludan fraternalmente,

POR EL CTE. PENINSULAR FAI.

POR EL CTE. NACIONAL C.N.T.

Pedro Herrera

Mariano R. Vázquez

SECRETARIO

SECRETARIO



## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 March 17 [London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Stella Churchill. —  
1 p. ; 20 × 13 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

14 Park Village East

Regent's Park, N.W.1

Euston 1314

17th March, 1938.

Dear Emma,

I am afraid you will think very badly of me but I have been laid very low with flu again and unable to get about. But let me have some notices of the meeting which I can distribute to my friends and I promise to take tickets, and am trying to fix up a large party with other people as well.

I have been for the last few days obsessed with the idea of Austria but I am now trying to set to end work for our meeting in two weeks time.

I am sorry you had such a poor visit to Scotland - not really worth while. You need a manager, like a film star.

With love,  
Yours ever,

Stella Churchill.

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 March 17, Wallington [England to Emma] Goldman, [London] / Eileen Blair. — 2 p. ; 11 x 9 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

TELEPHONE  
GREENWICH 0000.

an to Wallington, 17462  
near Blandford, (the S.)  
24, CROOMB HILL,  
GREENWICH, S. E. 10.

P. M. 17.

Dear Dr. Goldman,

I am sorry that your letter to my husband, George Orwell, has not been answered quite so promptly as you wished. Perhaps you will understand the delay, however, as he is ill today. We have a definite diagnosis of phthisis. He writes me to say that he will be very glad if the use of his name in your publicity is of any value, but it is unfortunately impossible for him to do anything himself as he has to remain

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 March 17, Wallington [England to Emma] Goldman, [London] / Eileen Blair. — 2 p. ; 11 × 9 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17463

absolutely at rest for a minimum  
period of three months. I should  
very much like to come myself to  
the entertainment in April but if  
this is possible but in any case  
we wish it very much. My  
husband is very sorry indeed  
that he cannot accept your  
invitation. Yours sincerely  
Eileen Blair.

## The Emma Goldman Papers

870925553

[Letter, 19]38 March 18 [London to] Rebecca [West, London] / [Emma Goldman]. —  
1 p. ; 20 x 16 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17398

March 18th 38

my dear Rebecca,

I dare say it will be a relief to you that I will no longer pursue you. It is your own fault. Your name carries so much weight and is such a drawing card everybody assured me that our affair would ~~have~~ be a great success if you were to ~~agree~~ to be announced. the poor kids in Spain whom I want so much to help will now be the losers since you will not be on the programme when the ill fated affair will take place after Easter. Franco's last raid of Barcelona has reduced the number of victims whom I am working for, but there are still many left who need help now more than ever. and so the affair will take place even if delayed.

I have inherited one definite Jewish trait, perseverance. I can never give up anything I undertake. I rather think this more than any other has saved the Jews from utter ~~the~~ extinction. Perhaps it has also ~~enabled~~ helped me to survive many things that seemed insurvivable.

I still have a request from you dear Rebecca. It is some message that could be read at the affair when it does take place. Please send it to me before you leave for your trip.

Affectionately.

542



## The Emma Goldman Papers

870929201

[Letter, 19]38 March 18 [London to] Fredric [J. Warburg, London] / [Emma Goldman].— 1 p. ; 24 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17848

March 18th 38.

Dear Fredrick.

Thanks for Ethel's book. I have been so busy I had no time to read it. I will on the way to Leicester and back this week end. We will be glad to call attention to it but with Ethel's dedication to me and her story about me it makes it rather embarrassing for me to say much about the work. I will try to get someone review it for Spain and the world. Why do you not place an ad in ~~NYK~~ Spain and the World? It reaches quite a large number of radicals in the States who would be interested in the book because ~~of~~ of Ethel's tribute to me.

About Rockers book I have not yet read the completed work but from what I learn about its many mistakes you do not seem to have taken much care of the many errors to which Rudolf Rocker, the editor of Spain and the World have called your attention. The is rather strange because you ~~complain~~ have complained about the errors in Spain and the World. I am sure it will hurt my old comrade Rocker very much indeed. He himself is so painstaking and accurate. Besides it is ~~extremely~~ most unfortunate to circularise a work so important as ANARCHO SYNDICALISM full of mistakes. The prejudices in this country in addition to the ignorance of this theme will certainly not win by bad get up.

However it is out and has to be brought before the widest possible reading public. Are you going to give it publicity? We at our end are quite willing to help. Next week we are covering about five thousand trade union branches with CNT material. If you will print ~~an~~ an announcement on this paper and let us have it not later than wed the 23rd of this month it will go with our stuff. This would prove a most direct way of reaching the workers with the meaning of Anarcho/Syndicalism.

Inclosed find my check for the dozen copies you sent

Cordially.

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 March 18, London [to] Spain and the World, [London] / Emma Goldman. — 1 p. ; 29 × 22 cm.  
Obtained from the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford, CA.

D THE WORLD, MARCH 18th, 1938

## W TRIAL

was going to save him. Tuchachevsky's wife denounced her husband. The son of General Poutna has been placed in an orphan's home. We must allow for nervous strain. For more than ten years all these men have been fighting a desperate struggle against humiliation and the restrictions exercised by the police, party discipline and their own consciences. During these ten years they have sacrificed their better selves in order to exist and to serve the party. In prison, they were eventually broken.

\* \* \*

The fundamental reasons for the extermination of the old Bolsheviks are evident. For roughly ten years, Stalin alone has held absolute power. He is alone responsible for the successive coups d'état which abolished all political life in the party. He alone carries the terrible responsibility for the ten black years which followed 1927. Forced collectivisation, expropriation, deportation and the death of several million agriculturists (kulaks), the destruction of livestock (which has fallen by 50%), the famine of the years 1930/35, which was so bad that it produced cases of cannibalism, chaotic industrialism, inhuman and costly, put into operation by terrorism, the wholesale executions of technicians, workers and peasants, the law of August 7th 1932, which punished by death the theft of a sheaf of corn; the disorganisation of transport, and the peasant uprisings; the establishment of the largest concentration camps in the world; for all this, the responsibility is on Stalin.

How can he escape this responsibility? Feeling himself hated, he has set himself to suppress all those who have any real popularity and who, in favourable circumstances, might have put themselves at the head of the forces of change.

\* \* \*

The slaughter will not cease un-

## CORRESPONDENCE

### Emma Goldman Appeals for Support of S.I.A.

To the Comrades of "Spain and the World."

You will be interested to know that the English Section of the SIA (International Anti-Fascist Solidarity) was organised in London. Among the sponsors are some of the most outstanding men and women in letters. We have already started a fund for the purpose. At our meeting on January 14th we collected £75. Since then we have received many contributions. We have organised an Exhibition which is held at the office of the SIA at 21 Frith Street, London, W.1, and we are organising a literary and musical affair at the Friends House, on April 1st for the same purpose.

The SIA organised in Spain only six months ago has already met with remarkable results. In Spain itself it has a membership of 100,000. The French section has members in every part of the country. Its members contribute a certain amount a month to the SIA voluntarily of course. Speakers canvas France from one end to another on behalf of International Solidarity.

In the United States the American

section also meets with great success. The same in Holland and Sweden. We hope that we will soon be able to say the same thing about England. We are certainly trying our utmost to make the English section as successful as in other countries. That it may not be a mere boast we need your help, co-operation and generous contribution. We want membership and anything you can give out of the fullness of your heart to the SIA.

If you do not yet know we wish to inform you that the SIA is covering tremendous ramifications in the way of succour and support to the thousands of thousands of refugee women and children, and to the care of our heroic fighters at the front and to the wounded at the rear. Surely a commendable undertaking. Will you respond? If so please send us contributions to the English section of the SIA.

We beseech you comrades and friends to do your utmost in your efforts for the SIA.

Fraternally,

EMMA GOLDMAN.  
March 1938.

## The Situation in Palestine

Editor,  
SPAIN AND THE WORLD.

Dear Comrade,

Owing to my absence from England I have only just received your issue of February 2nd and note your invitation for "comments" on Almoni's *Facts Concerning Palestine*.

It seems indeed strange to read in an Anarchist paper an article which is in effect a defence of governmental terrorism. Nobody who has even read the daily papers and the Parliamentary debates can doubt the fact that Palestine has been subjected to a régime comparable to that of Hitler and Mussolini, and that the object of that terror has been to maintain British rule in defiance of the known demand of the Arabs for democratic self-government.

Democracy is to our minds an inadequate demand and we may even doubt the sincerity of those who most loudly demand it. But surely those who have seen fit to

crees — naturally enough, for our fascist dictators only copied where British Imperialism had shown the way for nearly 200 years.

This is not a justification of Arab anti-Semitism any more than it is a justification of the fascist ideas which have spread among the Arabs since the working-classes of Britain, France and Spain made it clear that "democracy" was a European product and not for export. But if we want to trace the cause of anti-Semitism among the Arabs then we must ask how it came about that Jews and Arabs once lived together peaceably in Spain and other countries and cannot do so to-day in Palestine. The answer is, because it is and has been the avowed intention of the Zionists to make Palestine a Jewish country with the help of British imperialism and in spite of the wishes of the Arab population, which is still the majority population of the country. Such a policy could only be maintained by the dis-

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 March 18, Paris [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / [Helmut Rüdiger]. —  
2 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.  
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Stockholm, Sweden.



H. Rüdiger

Vol 1:1537

Paris, am 18. März 1938

Liebe Emma,

Dank für Deinen Brief vom 12. März! Bitte schreibe künftig doch lieber englisch — Deine Zeit ist kostbar, und mir schadet es nichts wenn ich mich mehr an englisch gewöhne!

Deinen Bericht über die Situation in England werde ich also dem Sekretariat vorlegen und wir werden sehen, welche offizielle Bindung wir herstellen. Meine These ist die, dass wir uns zunächst zu halten haben an die Tatsache, dass, wenn auch keine Sektion der IAA dort besteht, eine unserer Organisationen dort eine Vertretung hat: die CNT. Und die Vertreterin bist Du, infolgedessen auch massend für uns Deine Vorschläge.

Was an mir liegt, so werde ich mich schon einsetzen für Deine Wünsche in dem Falle, dass Du wieder nach Canada gehst.

Deine Schilderung der Lage in England und unserer Aussichten ist nicht rosig, aber doch scheint mir aus alledem hervorzugehen, dass Deine Arbeit durchaus nicht nutzlos ist, sondern ihre Früchte trägt. Vielleicht nicht direkt, nicht in der gewünschten Form, aber etwas wird hängen bleiben. Natürlich verstehe ich, dass es vor allem das Übermass der Arbeit und die gewohnten Fehlschläge in vielen Einzelheiten sind, die Dich verstimmen.

Was Ethel Macdonald betrifft, so hat die zweite Sitzung des Sekretariats der IAA, im Februar, beschlossen, sich an sie zu wenden mit der Frage ob sie bei uns als Übersetzerin und Büroangestellte arbeiten will. Eine andere Lösung der Schwierigkeiten einer englischen Ausgabe der Revue und des Pressedienstes der IAA sah niemand. Ich habe, im Auftrag, diese Korrespondenz geführt, und EM. hat zugesagt. EM. wird hier keinerlei persönliche Auffassungen vertreten oder Wünsche ihres englischen Milieus zur Geltung zu bringen, sondern lediglich für unsere Übersetzungen, Korrekturen usw. zu arbeiten haben.

Die Sache mit Boyer ist interessant und merkwürdig. Es wird in der Tat gut sein, wenn Du Dich offen an Vazquez wendest.

Ich schreibe Dir später wieder nach der Sitzung — vorläufig ist Mascarell in Spanien. Soeben Nachricht über Abschluss eines Vertrages mit der DGT. Auch darüber später noch. Kennst Du die Kritik der FAI an den Tho-

# The Emma Goldman Papers

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sen der DGT usw.? Dort kann man gut sehen, dass die Genossen ganz gut wissen, was sie tun und sich im Grunde nicht täuschen — sie erkennen aber eben politische Notwendigkeiten und das Gebot der Stunde an, und das ist eine sehr ernste Sache.

Heute sehe ich Cultura Proletaria — zwei Nummern, mit je einem ganzseitigen Artikel des Herrn Pierre Ramus über die FAI. Die Redaktion erklärt, dass sie mit dem Verfasser in keiner Weise einverstanden sei, aber sie seien anarchistisch und müsse jeden seine Meinung sagen lassen. Eine Auffassung, die schon viel Schaden gestiftet hat — aber es ist nicht dies und nicht der theoretische Inhalt des Artikels was mich interessiert, sondern der Verfasser: Es scheint, dass es in der anarchistischen Bewegung unmöglich ist, sich unmöglich zu machen. Wer sich einmal zum Anarchisten deklariert hat, der wird anerkannt, und mag er der grösste Gauner sein. Eine traurige Sache!

Nun viele herzliche Grüsse!





The Emma Goldman Papers

880726304

[Letter, 19]38 March 18, Vence [France to] Emma [Goldman, London] / [Martha Gordon Crotch]. - 2 p. ; 30 x 23 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

23990

Vence

18/3/38.

Dearest Emma,

The enclosed has just come.  
See about it as soon as you can -  
it is your electric light bill -  
I don't want the Co. to upset the  
other tenant in any way.

How are you my dear? Here  
things are broken - but everyone is  
so depressed - the appalling state  
of affairs - God alone knows what  
the outcome will be & only God  
knows I presume the reason why  
someone can't take a firm stand.  
It is just hellish. We all seem to  
have become a bit of craven spirit,  
yet who dare make a general  
confession? The idea is to keep  
the inferno localized - Hell who  
knows - I am sick about

# The Emma Goldman Papers

880726304

[Letter, 19]38 March 18, Vence [France to] Emma [Goldman, London] / [Martha Gordon Crotch]. - 2 p.; 30 x 23 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

23991

So glad to hear that things are going strong  
with you. All good wishes  
David.

Spain - it has knocked me all  
day long.

Nellie & Julie de Falco came  
to see me on Wed. Julie looked  
radiant. - I certainly liked her to N. A.

She amused him a good deal.  
The stories of Emma are pretty grim.

What is to become of her. I have  
not seen her - Really I am afraid to.

Send me a line when you can.  
I am always wondering how life  
is for her. At present I am

homeless - have a new floor in  
the kitchen & small room - then  
all the places painted. So you can  
guess the chaos. I had plenty of

homes offered to me. Robert Nichols  
is here & was anxious I should ~~not~~  
have him, etc. - but I am with

a friend quite near - sleep allowing  
in daily hot baths - central heating

a valet-de-chambre & other forgotten  
luxuries. Getting there in a cafe

with chatter all around. As soon  
as dear. Hope you are well. I am  
guess you are having a bad time  
about Spain & the rest of  
the world.

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938] March 18 [London to Emma] Goldman, [London] / P[eter] Chalmers Mitchell. — 1 p. ; 28 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

1 March 18

Dear Miss Goldman,

I sent a short letter to the Glasgow  
House in reply to Lady Maxwell-Scott,  
week-end, but don't know if they printed it.

Very sorry: I never seem to see any one. I  
haven't come across Spanish anti-fascist party.

I am getting on slowly but am  
still fit for very little.

Yours sincerely

P. Chalmers Mitchell



## The Emma Goldman Papers

870930238

[Letter] 1938 March 19 [London to] Helmut [Rüdiger, Paris] / [Emma Goldman]. — 3 p.; 25 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

18915

19th March 1938.

Dear Helmut,

After I had mailed my letter which I wrote in German while in Glasgow last Monday your letter of the 10th instant arrived. There is really not much to add to what I have already written, except to say that the Secretariat of the A.I.T. will probably regret having called Ethel Macdonald to work with them. There is nothing against her personally. She is a nice girl and I think sincere; but unfortunately she is the tool of the hands of Guy Aldred, and it is absolutely certain that he will use her and that whatever help she can get from the A.I.T. for his own purpose and propaganda. Even in that there would be no objection if the man really had the movement or Spain at heart; but he is possessed of a melange which is truly pathetic. For years, as Rudolf Hocker will be able to testify, he has used the movement for nothing else but his own personal egotism and engrandisement. You understand my dear I am not writing this out of any personal motives. Even if Aldred were here in London he would have no effect on the work we are doing, much less when his field of action is Glasgow; but he does interfere with whatever little or much the comrades of the Anarchist Communist Group in Glasgow try to do. For proof I have already given you in my last letter, namely that he arranged two meetings for the Sunday for which the Anarchist Communist Group had gone to great length and expense to organise a meeting for me. He has therefore undermined our efforts. You will realise that one cannot work with a man like that, and now that his friend is in your Secretariat he will have exactly what he wanted, the material and the authority to speak in the name of the A.I.T.; but that is the lookout of the Secretariat. I only don't want you to go in for it blindly.

Another objection to Ethel is the fact that her English is very faulty. I don't know whether she has gathered Spanish enough or not to be able to translate from that language. I am quite certain that she cannot translate adequately in the English language. You will agree that it is most important that whatever is put out by the A.I.T. for English or American use should be in an easy readable and correct language. The English bulletin from Barcelona when Ethel was doing it was pretty bad. Believe me I feel very rotten to have to call attention to these things. I am only hoping that you will not think that I am prompted by any personal motives. I can only repeat that if Ethel were working on her own she would be worth while developing and helping in every way; but as the tool of her friend she will do a lot of mischief.

In some of the things that come from America I can see the hand of Abe for which I am very glad; but I am certain that he is probably in the same conflict as I and other comrades are - wanting with all our intensity to help the comrades in Spain - at the same time feeling very that their concessions and compromises far from doing them good are doing them a lot of harm.



## The Emma Goldman Papers

870930238

[Letter] 1938 March 19 [London to] Helmut [Rüdiger, Paris] / [Emma Goldman].—  
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2

18914

It seems that Brand has also changed his mind. He is working very energetically by writing and speaking for the CNT-FAI. The startling thing to me was a letter from our comrade Rose Pecette to the effect that our friends in Paris in opposition to the CNT misunderstood Brand's report which he gave them when he passed through Paris. Frankly I do not believe that they misunderstood. It is probably the case that Brand has described some of the "harrowing" things he is supposed to have seen in Spain. Well whatever it was the main thing is that he is active for the CNT and that he feels as we do according to Rose's letter - that we must redouble our energies and efforts to help our Spanish comrades, rather than to criticize them publicly. However all that seems insignificant now in comparison with the appalling news about Barcelona and the general situation in all of Europe. I wish I could have some news what the situation in Barcelona is. The papers here report that the workers are demanding absolute control and threatening of everything from the Government, and that some of our people have been released, and a lot of other things, which knowing the honesty, I should say lack of honesty, of the press, seems most disturbing and confused. If only it were true that our people were getting more determined, there would be something to be joyful about; but as things stand, the ground seems to slip from under the feet of our people in Spain, and the work here is doubly hard, because we know nothing of the actual facts of the Spanish situation. Please, dear Helmut, if you have any news, send it on at once. Never mind if you have not the time to fully reply to this letter. Just send a few lines giving us some data. We are being asked by all sorts of people what is going on in Spain, and all we can do is to give them the meagre information we gather from the Soli and other Spanish papers which arrive with much delay.

Yes of course you can use what you like from my report of my second visit to Spain. So far I have managed to complete only the first part. Although we have achieved very little by our work, I seem to be busy from morning to night. There was a lot of work in connection with our proposed literary and musical event, which had to be postponed at the eleventh hour. Difficulties with halls and artists, and a lot of other things. We are now planning to hold it the latter part of April. We may turn it into a Spanish meeting or something of the kind.

I am sending this to your private address because I do not want the likelihood of anyone tampering with our mail in your office of the A.I.T. Besides this letter is only for you.

One more thing, we have received subscription lists from the A.I.T. I do not have to assure you that we would be only too glad to raise money on them; but I really do not see any possibility. We have sent out lists for the S.I.A. to the few friends we have got in England and America. We cannot possibly send them the list of the A.I.T. When I wrote to Herrera I intend to ask him whether he would, in the name of the S.I.A., permit us to contribute say £10 or £15; but of course I cannot do it without Herrera's permission. I am very anxious to help the collection started by the A.I.T. and the Combat. I realize how desperate are the needs of the refugee comrades in France and everywhere else. While dictating this letter to comrade Barr, he says that he will con-

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

870930238

[Letter] 1938 March 19 [London to] Helmut [Rüdiger, Paris] / [Emma Goldman]. --  
3 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

3

18916

He will contribute £5 towards the fund for the refugees. I enclose  
his cheque. Now don't go away with the idea that our comrade has joined  
the millionaire class. Needless to say he has no money of his own;  
but has a little money given him for the purposes. I am so relieved  
that he is able to contribute something. Perhaps it will be possible  
to get a little from our individual friends. Will you please report this  
to the comrade who sent the list. We will keep them for a while, and  
send them back if we fail to raise something on them.

The only ray of light as the result of our activities is that  
of the Trade Unions and Trade Councils. This in response to the CNT  
structure we sent out to them. We are now getting out a leaflet which  
contains the proposals of the UOT, the counter-proposals of the CNT,  
and the position taken up by the FAI - also a diagram of the industries  
under the control of the CNT. This together with the Structure and a  
personal letter will go out to about 5,000 local branches. We are hoping  
something will come from that. You will see by the publication of the  
General & Municipal Workers Journal which I am sending to you by sep-  
arate post, that the CNT structure has been written about and discussed.  
Also we have requests from quite a number for more structures for dis-  
tribution to their members. It is certainly uphill work - yet it seems  
the only channel through which to go on with, for the work of the CNT.

Please write me by return mail any news you have about the  
situation in Spain and Catalonia.

Fraternal greetings.

552

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 March 19 [London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Stella [Churchill]. — 2 p. ; 20 × 13 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17494

14 Park Village East

Regent's Park, N.W.1

Euston 1314

19.3.38

dear Emma.

How kind of  
you to remember me  
with those lovely roses  
& white flowers.

I feel a useless log  
lying here for a week  
but hope to get up  
tomorrow actually it  
is a good thing that I  
could not join the  
'children' at my cottage  
this weekend. for three  
Austrian refugees are  
coming

## The Emma Goldman Papers

870929004

[Letter, 19]38 March 19 [London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Stella [Churchill]. — 2 p. ; 20 x 13 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

117498  
two of them tomorrow —  
have just phoned me from  
Paris — & the other on  
Monday from Zurich!  
Also I have been able  
to do some agitating  
over the telephone about  
turning these people back  
at the Customs; it is too  
much.

Spain fills one with  
such despair that it is  
a relief to be able to do  
something — however small  
for Austria.

Hoping to see you as soon  
as I am better

With love & thanks

Yours Stella



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 March 21, London [to] Dorothy [Rogers, Scarborough Bluffs, Canada] / Emma [Goldman]. — 4 p. ; 29 x 22 cm.

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DOROTHY ROGERS

orig

C.N.T.

A.I.T.

F.A.I.

Representing—THE NACIONAL CONFEDERACION OF LABOR  
AND REGIONAL COMITE C.N.T.-F.A.I.—BARCELONA  
INTERNATIONAL PRESS SERVICE

London Office:

21 FRITH STREET  
SHAFTESBURY AVENUE  
LONDON, W.1

London, 21st March 1938.

TELEPHONE: GERRARD 2636

Dearest Dorothy,

While I have a moment and comrade Barr is also free for a short time I can dictate this letter to you in answer to your of the 18th February.

First of all I want you to get over your anxiety of thinking you annoy me with your personal life. One cannot separate ones personal self entirely from the movement. ~~It seems~~ I have always taken a keen interest in the personal struggles, tragedies and comedies of my friends. Not that I ever pry into their lives; but I was always glad they shared whatever was disturbing their minds and was making life difficult — so you need never hesitate to tell me all you feel you need to say.

I was also interested in what you write me about the Jewish Group. It is unfortunately true that our Jewish comrades on the American continent have always kept aloof from our activities in English. Even while Sasha and I were in the States and publishing Mother Earth, we received small help from our Jewish comrades, although there were exceptions to the rule. Some of the groups were helpful in organising meetings when I came to their cities; but even then they concentrated more on the Jewish meetings than the English. It is tragic but speaking generally in the past our people have never acquired the language of the country they lived in, and for ought they knew of the life and philosophy of the natives, they might just have remained in their small Jewish or Polish towns. The deeper tragedy to me is that they have done nothing to acquaint their children with the ideas for which they were willing to sacrifice so much. The irony of it is that the younger generation have drifted away and certainly never acquire the Yiddish, and consequently do not know what is going on in the Freie Arbeiter Stimme or formerly in the Arbiter Freind. Of late the Jewish comrades have become more Jewish than they were thirty years ago. That seems to me to lie in the terrible situation of the Jews in the whole world. The mad persecution of millions of people, the denial of asylum and shelter has again brought the wandering Jew to the fore. All this does not help us in our work; but the tragedy must be understood nevertheless.

You were quite in sending your answer to the CNT regarding the silly letter which Vasques sent to a number of groups. I myself was so enraged that I simply did not use it at all. There was no excuse whatever for the statement that the comrades who had to flee Spain, forced by the counter-revolutionist Negrin and Marxist gang, are "unworthy of help". The only extenuating excuse for that letter is the Spanish temperament which rushes into print at the slightest provocation and just as quickly changes its attitude and method. You may already know by this time that the CNT has consented to the proposition of the AIT and the French section of the AIT to create a joint fund for the suffering refugees from Spain in France and the Scandinavian countries, which goes to prove that Vasques, stubborn as he is, can be prevailed upon to undo some of his mistaken action.

555

## The Emma Goldman Papers

840522045

[Letter] 1938 March 21, London [to] Dorothy [Rogers, Scarboro Bluffs, Canada] / Emma [Goldman]. — 4 p. ; 29 x 22 cm.

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2.

In any event you and the comrades were quite correct in sending your protest. I have done the same in one of my letters to Vasques, calling his attention to the harm the letter sent out by him for the CNT would do if printed, and how unjust it was of anarchists to use the term "unworthy" in regard to comrades who have fought at the front and have helped Spain to the best of their ability. No, our Spanish comrades are not angels by any means; but they are great fighters and courageous to the point of going into the risk of death with open eyes. Besides they are the only ones in the whole world who have created a huge anarchist movement and an organised force. They are also the only ones who in the whole world who fought Fascism from the very beginning and who are fighting it to the bitter end. What with the recent raids, the loss of so many lives, the closer alignment of all imperialist forces— the errors our comrades make are very small indeed and hardly worth bothering about.

About our work here. I must say I am terribly discouraged. If I were superstitious I would think that some curse rests on everything we try to do. Last year I thought that perhaps our work was not so adequate as we tried to make it because it was done from a private place, so we went into a heavy expense for offices. We organised a beautiful exhibition of drawings of children in Catalonia n schools. The latter was a complete flop, and so far as the returns are concerned from all the efforts we have made, we could easily have carried on at 13 Casteltown Road, with a much smaller expense than we have now. The only bit of light in the dark horizon in this country comes from a few Trades Councils and Trade Union Branches. We have sent out thousands of copies of the CNT structure with a covering letter. We have received some replies asking for more of the structure. We have also learned that it was being discussed in some of the Trade Union branches. We have come to the conclusion that though this is a uphill method and may take many years to really create something on a large scale, it seems to be the only one, so we are going ahead with some new material in the form of a leaflet giving the negotiations between the UGT and CNT and the stand of the FAI which has appeared in Spain, and also a diagram of the Industries under the control of the CNT. We will send you copies when they are ready. Of course we do not neglect all propaganda. The trouble is it cost a terrible lot of money to organise a decent meeting, not less than 100 dollars, and the results are not comparable with the expense. If we could get dates with organisations but so far there are very few who will have us — besides the meetings usually turn out pityfully small, such as in Scotland where I spent 10 days and had to speak before the most inert and ~~stagnant~~ crowd. Well there is nothing to do but go on, even if the results are often heartbreaking. By the way why could not the Freedom Group circularise the Canadian Trade Unions. That would be a definite and constructive piece of work.

I received from Joe some Canadian addresses. We have done nothing about these. We think it much more practical to have the Unions covered from your end. We will be very glad to send you our material. Talk it over with the group and see what can be done. If you think it would help I might induce Vasques to send you or Joe a credential. It might help to reach the Unions easier. Anyway let me know soon what you think of it.

I am more than ever determined to go to Canada sometime this Autumn. What work there is to be done here comrade Barr will continue

556

## The Emma Goldman Papers

840522045

[Letter] 1938 March 21, London [to] Dorothy [Rogers, Scarboro Bluffs, Canada] / Emma [Goldman]. — 4 p. ; 29 x 22 cm.

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3

and be in charge. Perhaps we can get one or two comrades, amongst them our friend Sonia Edelman to co-operate with him.

*Yours*  
*Barbara*  
Although I am resigned to my fate, a letter from Rose Pesette contains some encouragement regarding a possible visa to the States. I am not banking on it, nor am I foolish enough to expect greater results than I have had every time I was there. In point of fact it may be missed because of the difficulty of having anything public in that rotten Catholic Quebec. There is one thing I am hoping to carry out and that is to tour all of Canada. Certainly there are possibilities in the West if I could only get as far as Columbia. I realise it will necessitate a large expense, and the travelling expenses alone will cost almost as much as a trip from Europe to America; but more than the money, I am concerned in getting ~~some~~ *competent* ~~Americans~~ *marriage* who could do advanced work and organise meetings. I know you are tied with Riger; but is there not a decent place where you could leave him for several months. I am sure you could be of great help with a Canadian tour. Meanwhile you might get after the IWW since you say that you have established definite contact. They must have contacts in different parts of Canada. Could not these be utilised for a tour on Spain. I wish you would talk it over with some of them and write me in detail. Of course the late Autumn is still far off; but I would like to know where I stand, and I shall want time to leave everything in working order at this end. Our office has been rented for a year. If I should leave we might make arrangements to have only part of the place. Anyway we do not mean to stop the work for our comrades in Spain just because I will not be here.

I am enclosing a copy of the first part of my report on my second visit to Spain. I hope the to goodness I will get time soon to finish the second part. I have meetings this coming week. Before this letter leaves I will be able to tell you about my success in Leicester.

Are you people going to get some copies of Anarcho-Syndicalism by Rudolf Hocker. You should try as much as possible to sell this book. It is the first detailed piece of literature we have got on Anarcho-Syndicalism.

By the way I forgot to tell you the Anarcho-Syndicalist Union which was started here last year is now in the form of reorganisation. I am hoping that something may come of it, though so far it has done very little indeed; but there one goes on hoping as long as one lives.

Yes I can imagine that Mollie asked you to get Abe's re-action to his Spanish experience. Poor Mollie will be heartbroken when she finds that Abe bluestein, on his return to New York, did not begin an opposition campaign against the CNT-FAI. She had banked on him more than anyone else. I daresay Abe after getting wider perspective has realised that whatever blunders of the CNT-FAI they are not motivated by either desire for power or by a "betrayal". So long as every comrade of the CNT-FAI are themselves in the front rank of the struggle, in daily danger, ready to sacrifice everything, it is preposterous to charge them with either wanting power or treachery. Abe may have realised that. At any rate he has joined the Spanish delegation in New York and is rendering valuable service there. ~~It is so easy to be hasty in ones judgment that one need not fear to be turned.~~ I dread to think how many of our people were killed in that butchery two days ago. I tell you I see red when I get letters condemning the CNT-FAI I myself am no lover with the concessions our comrades have made, and I tremble for the consequences to them.; but I would rather cut off

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4

my hand and never again use my pen than to attack the CNT-FAI.  
Good bye my dear and write soon again.

Affectionately,

*Emma*

P.S. The meeting at Leicester was well attended, and I was able to raise a little money for the S.I.A. We showed our film "Fury Over Spain" and I spoke on the constructive efforts of our Spanish comrades.

Dear Comrade,

I am glad you got all the copies of the Estampas through without having to pay duty. I have charged them up to you at the rate of 2/6 each that makes a total of £1-10-0. Please also add 4/- postage.  
Fraternally.

Do you remember the name of Finkman.

*MB*

*MBarr*

558



# The Emma Goldman Papers

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18243

21st March 1938.

Dearest Dorothy,

While I have a moment and comrade Barr is also free for a short time I can dictate this letter to you in answer to your of the 18th February.

First of all I want you to get over your anxiety of thinking you annoy me with your personal life. One cannot separate ones personal self entirely from the movement. It seems I have always taken a keen interest in the personal struggles, tragedies and comedies of my friends. Not that I ever pry into their lives; but I was always glad they shared whatever was disturbing their minds and was making life difficult - so you need never hesitate to tell me all you feel you need to say.

I was also interested in what you write me about the Jewish Group. It is unfortunately true that our Jewish comrades on the American continent have always kept aloof from our activities in English. Even while Gesha and I were in the States and publishing Mother Earth, we received small help from our Jewish comrades, although there were exceptions to the rule. Some of the groups were helpful in organising meetings when I came to their cities; but even then they concentrated more on the Jewish meetings than the English. It is tragic but speaking generally in the past our people have never acquired the language of the country they lived in, and for ought they knew of the life and philosophy of the natives, they might just have remained in their small Jewish or Polish towns. The deeper tragedy to me is that they have done nothing to acquaint their children with the ideas for which they were willing to sacrifice so much. The irony of it is that the younger generation have drifted away and certainly never acquire the Yiddish, and consequently do not know what is going on in the *Fraie Arbeiter Stimme* or formerly in the *Arbiter Fraind*. Of late the Jewish comrades have become more Jewish than they were thirty years ago. That seems to me to lie in the terrible situation of the Jews in the whole world. The mad persecution of millions of people, the denial of asylum and shelter has again brought the wandering Jew to the fore. All this does not help us in our work; but the tragedy must be understood nevertheless.

You were quite right in sending your answer to the CNT regarding the silly letter which Vasquez sent to a number of groups. I myself was so enraged that I simply did not use it at all. There was no excuse whatever for the statement that the comrades who had to flee Spain, forced by the counter-revolutionist Negrin and Marxist gang, are "unworthy of help". The only extenuating excuse for that letter is the Spanish temperament which rushes into print at the slightest provocation and just as quickly changes its attitude and method. You may already know by this time that the CNT has consented to the proposition of the AIT and the French section of the AIT to create a joint fund for the suffering refugees from Spain in France and the Scandinavian countries, which goes to prove that Vasquez, stubborn as he is, can be prevailed upon to undo some socialist mistaken action.

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About our work here, I must say I am terribly discouraged. If I were superstitious I would think that some curse rests on everything we try to do. Last year I thought that perhaps our work was not so adequate as we tried to make it because it was done from a private place, so we went into a heavy expense for offices. We organized a beautiful exhibition of drawings of children in Catalan schools. The latter was a complete flop, and so far as the returns are concerned from all the efforts we have made, we could easily have carried on at 13 Casteltown Road, with a much smaller expense than we have now. The only bit of light in the dark horizon in this country comes from a few Trades Councils and Trade Union Branches. We have sent out thousands of copies of the CNT structure with a covering letter. We have received some replies asking for more of the structure. We have also learned that it was being discussed in some of the Trade Union branches. We have come to the conclusion that though this is a uphill method and may take many years to really create something on a large scale, it seems to be the only one, so we are going ahead with some new material in the form of a leaflet giving the negotiations between the UGT and CNT and the stand of the FAI which has appeared in Spain, and also a diagram of the Industries under the control of the CNT. We will send you copies when they are ready. Of course we do not neglect all propaganda. The trouble is it costs a terrible lot of money to organize a decent meeting, not less than 100 dollars, and the results are not commensurate with the expense. If we could get dates with organizations but so far there are very few who will have us — besides the meetings usually turn out pitifully small, such as in Scotland where I spent 10 days and had to speak before the most inert and stupid crowd. Well there is nothing to do but go on, even if the results are often heartbreaking. By the way why could not the Freedom Group circulate the Canadian Trade Union. That would be a definite and constructive piece of work.

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3 18245  
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Affectionately,

P.S. The meeting at Leicester was well attended, and I was able to raise a little money for the S.I.A. We showed our film "Fury Over Spain" and I spoke on the constructive efforts of our Spanish comrades.

Dear Comrade,

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Fraternally.

Do you remember the name of Pinkman.

562



## The Emma Goldman Papers

871001168

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3 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

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19699

21st March, 1938.

My dear Jeanne,

It was good to get your letter of February 26th. I have written to Aaron as you suggested, and I will write Angelica when I am less depressed. Heaven knows she is gloomy enough. I do not want to add my gloom to hers. She is certainly a tragic figure and her life is tragic. Think of what it must mean to her to see her erstwhile pupil, Mussolini, bluffing the whole world and turning Italy into a desert of Sahara, and then her erstwhile comrade in Russia, the butchery that is going on there, and the complete collapse of all the great promises ushered into the world by the Russian Revolution. It is a wonder to me that she survived it all. The fact is Angelica is like Father Time, in Jude The Obscure. She was born tragic and old. If I have not permitted myself to sink into such utter bleakness, it is because I can still retain my sense of humour. I can still see the comedies and not only the tragedies in the human species. I do not mean to say that it adds to my faith in the masses. The last few years have shaken that faith very considerably, especially in the masses outside Spain, and their criminal indifference to the tragedy that is being enacted there.. Just think of it, my dear, in the fact of the continued bombardment, of the loss of thousands of lives of innocent women and children, nothing is being done except a few large meetings where the C.P.s. and the Labour party adherents let off steam, to satisfy their conscience. But nothing is being done for Spain. My misery, however, consists in my own helplessness. We are so poor in helpers and in means that we cannot even hold a large meeting to express more drastic ideas and call for more drastic measures than is being done from other platforms. It is really this which makes my life and work here a daily torture. Yet I must go on. I feel that if I let go even for a week I could not bear it any more. I would have to go the way of Sasha.

The terrible things going on in Austria now have drawn away whatever interest there was in Spain, so that it is doubly difficult to achieve anything with the efforts I am making.

563

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19700

-2-

I have just gone through the same painful experience with the affair I planned to arrange, as last year. At the eleventh hour some of our musicians backed out, so we had to give the venture up and are now planning to have it at the end of April. It was to be for International Anti-Fascist Solidarity, perhaps to gain members and raise money for the marvellous work the Spanish organisation is doing. The French Section has also had a phenomenal success, and I have heard from Rose Pesetta that the New York Section at a meeting attended by 6,000 people raised 4,000 dollars for the C.I.A. You can imagine how rotten I feel to be forced to waste my energies on piffling things when I could do so much in the States.

The last letter from Rose seemed more encouraging. She is working hard on interesting people in a possible visa for me. I am sure there is no one else who will work so hard and who has the necessary connections to achieve the result if it is at all humanly possible. Anyway, I am determined to sail for Canada in the fall.

I will let you know, my dear, when the money will be needed. It is not now. If this reaches you in California, I hope you will see our people there and get them to contribute to the fund. The more I think of it, the more I feel that it would be folly to go to Canada only for some lectures in Toronto. I must make an effort to cover all of Canada up to British Columbia. I realise that the large available cities and far and few between, and that the railway expenses are very high. Nevertheless I feel confident I could make it go if only I could have some means to invest and if possible have someone act as my manager. We have a very able and willing English comrade in Canada who has been most active in the group which I organised. I am sure that she will want to do advance work for me. I have written her about it. With this in view it will be necessary to raise a substantial fund. That is why I think that an appeal to the Los Angeles comrades ought to be made. The Kropotkin Group always manages to raise considerable funds.

564

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19701

-3-

And Dr. Holz may be willing to help. Anyway try your charms.  
They seem to work.

I am enclosing a copy of the first part of my report  
of my trou in Spain. I am hoping to have the second part  
ready perhaps before the week is over or early next week. The  
detail of the organisational work I am going for the comrades in  
Spain seems to take up all my time. Then, too, I tire easily -  
much more so than in the past. But then I am getting on, my dear.  
I certainly have no right to complain as far as my physical  
condition is concerned.

I am glad that you were able to go to California. The  
winter must have been very strenuous in Chicago. A few weeks  
there will do you good. I wonder if you received my letter  
wherein I asked you to induce Julia to prevail upon Emmy's  
sister to help her in her present predicament? True, she is  
helping her mother and another sister, but it is criminal to  
neglect Emmy the way she does. I realise that the poor child  
suffers from hysteria which is really the main cause of her  
stomach trouble. She finally had her operation, but would  
insist on leaving the hospital barely two weeks after. She is  
now in a room and the only person who gives her whatever time  
she possibly can is Nellie Harris. From the latest reports she  
must have her hands full. It is a pitiful case, but what can  
one do except to help her to one's best ability in a monetary  
way. Unfortunately what I can send her is not enough to live  
on, but it is a shame that her relatives show such indifference.

Please give all the comrades in Los Angeles my loving  
greetings. Tell them if I should succeed in getting a visa,  
I will fly to California. I will not be done out of that chance  
next time, as I was four years ago. It will be a great event  
in my life if I can see them all again and spend a little time  
with them. Give my affectionate greetings to Tom Bell, to  
V. Cook and to Jaffee and also Dr. Holz, in fact everyone.

With love,

565

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C.N.T.

A.I.T.

F.A.I.

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INTERNATIONAL PRESS SERVICE

London Office

21 FRITH STREET  
SHAFTESBURY AVENUE  
LONDON, W.1

London, 21st March, 1938.

TELEPHONE: GERRARD 3636

Dear Samuel,

Michael was here the other day. He showed me your letter and your question why I do not write to you. I have been rather busy the last two months with moving to our new offices, with the organisation of an exhibition, with a large meeting and with ten days in Scotland and ever so many other things which neglected my correspondence. However, I have written to Mark and have sent him the first part of my report of my second tour in Spain. Naturally I hoped that he would give you my greetings, which I begged him to do. I thought that by this time I would have the report completed, but I have not been able to do so, other things having intervened. However, I shall work on it the end of this week, and perhaps by next sailing I may be able to send it.

The latest harrowing events in Spain have sort of paralysed me. My work seems so futile and so inadequate in its results. If it were not for the fact that our Spanish comrades insist on my continuing the work here I would certainly return to Spain. I feel my place is there. But naturally I must help them to the best of my ability and bring their cause to the attention of the few people in England still capable of feeling and responding on their behalf.

I am, however, determined to go to Canada in the autumn. Rose Pesetta is working very hard to interest people who are connected in Washington, and may succeed in getting me a visa. But whether they do not, I mean to get away for a time from here. Unless there is no other place where I can be of use, it has to be Canada. The only thing is that it will have to be a tour all through Canada as far as British Columbia. Otherwise it would be a waste of money just to cover Toronto. The drawbacks to such a tour are many. First, that we have no contacts as far as I know that would be of use for English meetings. You know that I do not object to speaking before Jewish audiences, but it is ridiculous to come to an English-speaking country and cover only the Jewish population. Without contact, it will be



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TELEPHONE: GERARD 2636

-2-

extremely difficult to organise meetings, but I have in mind our very good comrade, Dorothy Giessecke, who has been very active in the libertarian group in Toronto. She is a very able and efficient woman and I am sure she would be just the person to help me with advance work in the western part of Canada. The question will be some capital for advance expenses. You know yourself that the cities in Canada are far and few between and that travel is extremely expensive. Nevertheless I feel it is worth undertaking the experiment.

I gather from your last letter that you have stopped working for the fund that you had begun to raise for my Canadian tour. Will you please take it up again and see what you can do. Our good friend, Jeanne Lavey, has raised some money, and I believe the Toronto comrades have also raised some. However, we shall need considerably more. As I have written you before, if I succeed in getting into America there will be no difficulty in covering more than any expense I might have. If I do not, I think a tour through Canada properly organised would also bring results and pay for itself. It is only the initial expenses, and that I must beg you and the comrades through you to raise.

Before I mail this letter, I will find out how many of the A.B.C. have been sold. I know we have got rid of all of the Tragedy of Cain, although a number of them were given away free. I will then enclose a cheque for whatever has been sold. There is one thing, however, — the price for the A.B.C. You wrote me that you would charge 75 cents. That means 3/-. It is impossible to dispose of it for this price, even if we were willing to let it go for what we have to pay your organisation. I am sorry, but you will have to reduce it to 50 cents. Let me know about it, won't you?

I suppose you know that Rudolph's book on 'anarchism' has appeared. That, too, costs more than the average worker in England can afford. It is 3/6. But I would suggest that you write for some copies and try to sell them in America. The information it contains is as necessary for the United States as it is here.

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E.A.T.

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REPORT OF THE NATIONAL CONFEDERATION OF LABOR  
AND THE NATIONAL UNION OF MINERS  
INTERNATIONAL BUREAU OF LABOR

-5-

This week I hope to send you some of our leaflets we are working on which give the negotiations between the U.N.T. and the U.G.T. and also a diagram of the industries still under control of our people. We have been engaged on a venture of reaching Trade Union Councils and Trade Union branches with the structure of the national confederation of labour. We have actually had some response, though nothing in comparison to the number sent out - about 3,000. We have another 3 or 4 thousand addresses which we mean to cover, especially now, with the leaflet. It is an exasperatingly slow process, but we have come to the conclusion that it is the only way of reaching the workers direct over the heads of their leaders. Eventually we may have something worth while for Spain as well as England may evolve out of it. But for one with such nervous energies as mine it is sheer torture to be engaged in such slow and unsatisfactory work.

Well, my dear, I must close. I have really dictated this letter to-day in order to reassure you that I have not forgotten you, but I simply have been in the dumps, unable to throw off the weight on my heart because of the appalling conditions in Spain.

Remember fraternally to all the comrades. Give my greetings to your family.

Affectionately,

Emma Goldman

As I have to lecture to night which always makes me all gay the whole day. I therefore cannot go over our literature and send you the check I promised I will when I get a little more time. The enclosed letter to our comrades in Spain may interest you. The enclosed additional note to the first sent Mark cover the first part of my report on Spain. The second part will be mailed next week. do

## The Emma Goldman Papers

900117037

[Letter] 1938 March 21 [London to] Samuel [Freedman, New York] / [Emma Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 28 x 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

23834

21st March, 1938.

Dear Samuel,

Michael was here the other day. He showed me your letter and your question why I do not write to you. I have been rather busy the last two months with moving to our new offices, with the organisation of an exhibition, with a large meeting and with ten days in Scotland and ever so many other things which neglected my correspondence. However, I have written to Mark and have sent him the first part of my report of my second tour in Spain. Naturally I hoped that he would give you my greetings, which I begged him to do. I thought that by this time I would have the report completed, but I have not been able to do so, other things having intervened. However, I shall work on it the end of this week, and perhaps by next sailing I may be able to send it.

The latest harrowing events in Spain have sort of paralysed me. My work seems so futile and so inadequate in its results. If it were not for the fact that our Spanish comrades insist on my continuing the work here I would certainly return to Spain. I feel my place is there. But naturally I must help them to the best of my ability and bring their cause to the attention of the few people in England still capable of feeling and responding on their behalf.

I am, however, determined to go to Canada in the autumn. Rose Pesetta is working very hard to interest people who are connected in Washington, and may succeed in getting me a visa. But whether they do not, I mean to get away for a time from here. Unless there is no other place where I can be of use, it has to be Canada. The only thing is that it will have to be a tour all through Canada as far as British Columbia. Otherwise it would be a waste of money just to cover Toronto. The drawbacks to such a tour are many. First, that we have no contacts as far as I know that would be of use for English meetings. You know that I do not object to speaking before Jewish audiences, but it is ridiculous to come to an English-speaking country and cover only the Jewish population. Without contact, it will be

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23835

-2-

extremely difficult to organise meetings, but I have in mind our very good comrade, Dorothy Glessecke, who has been very active in the libertarian group in Toronto. She is a very able and efficient woman and I am sure she would be just the person to help me with advance work in the western part of Canada. The question will be some capital for advance expenses. You know yourself that the cities in Canada are far and few between and that travel is extremely expensive. Nevertheless I feel it is worth undertaking the experiment.

I gather from your last letter that you have stopped working for the fund that you had begun to raise for my Canadian tour. Will you please take it up again and see what you can do? Our good friend, Jeanne Levey, has raised some money, and I believe the Toronto comrades have also raised some. However, we shall need considerably more. As I have written you before, if I succeed in getting into America there will be no difficulty in covering more than any expense I might have. If I do not, I think a tour through Canada properly organised would also bring results and pay for itself. It is only the initial expenses, and that I must beg you and the comrades through you to raise.

Before I mail this letter, I will find out how many of the A.B.C. have been sold. I know we have got rid of all of the Tragedy of Spain, although a number of them were given away free. I will then enclose a cheque for whatever has been sold. There is one thing, however, - the price for the A.B.C. You wrote me that you would charge 75 cents. That means 3/-. It is impossible to dispose of it for this price, even if we were willing to let it go for what we have to pay your organisation. I am sorry, but you will have to reduce it to 50 cents. Let me know about it, won't you?

I suppose you know that Rudolph's book on Anarcho-Syndicalism has appeared. That, too, costs more than the average worker in England can afford. It is 3/6. But I would suggest that you write for some copies and try to sell them in America. The information it contains is as necessary for the United States as it is here.

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

900117037

[Letter] 1938 March 21 [London to] Samuel [Freedman, New York] / [Emma Goldman].— 3 p. ; 28 x 21 cm.

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23836

-3-

This week I hope to send you some of our leaflets we are working on which give the negotiations between the C.N.T. and the U.G.T. and also a diagram of the industries still under control of our people. We have been engaged on a venture of reaching Trade Union Councils and Trade Union Branches with the structure of the National Confederation of Labour. We have actually had some response, though nothing in comparison to the number sent out - about 3,000. We have another 3 or 4 thousand addresses which we mean to cover, especially now, with the leaflet. It is an exasperatingly slow process, but we have come to the conclusion that it is the only way of reaching the workers direct over the heads of their leaders. Eventually ~~may~~ something worth while for Spain as well as England may evolve out of it. But for one with such nervous energies as mine it is sheer torture to be engaged in such slow and unsatisfactory work.

Well, my dear, I must close. I have really dictated this letter to-day in order to reassure you that I have not forgotten you, but I simply have been in the dumps, unable to throw off the weight on my heart because of the appalling conditions in Spain.

Remember fraternally to all the comrades. Give my greetings to your family.

Affectionately,

571

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938 March 21, London to Samuel Freedman, New York (enclosure)] / [Emma Goldman]. — 4 p. ; 24 x 19 cm.

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Institutional Location: Solo Linder Archive.



end. to S. Freedman,  
21-3-38

21st March 1938.

Dearest Dorothy,

While I have a moment and comrade Herr is also free for a short time I can dictate this letter to you in answer to your of the 13th February.

First of all I want you to get over your anxiety of thinking you annoy me with your personal life. One cannot separate one's personal self entirely from the movement. It seems I have always taken a keen interest in the personal struggles, tragedies and comedies of my friends. Not that I ever pry into their lives; but I was always glad they shared whatever was disturbing their minds and was making life difficult - so you need never hesitate to tell me all you feel you need to say.

I was also interested in what you write me about the Jewish group. It is unfortunately true that our Jewish comrades on the American continent have always kept aloof from our activities in English. Even while Jessa and I were in the States and publishing Mother Earth, we received small help from our Jewish comrades, although there were exceptions to the rule. One of the groups was helpful in organising meetings when I came to their cities; but even then they concentrated more on the Jewish meetings than the English. It is tragic but speaking generally in the past our people have never acquired the language of the country they lived in, and for ought the, knew of the life and philosophy of the natives, they might just have remained in their small Jewish or Polish towns. The deeper tragedy to me is that they have done nothing to acquaint their children with the ideas for which they were willing to sacrifice so much. The irony of it is that the younger generation have drifted away and certainly never acquire the Yiddish, and consequently don't know what is going on in the Freie Arbeiter Stimme or formerly in the Arbeiter Freund. Of late the Jewish comrades have become more Jewish than they were thirty years ago. That seems to me to lie in the terrible situation of the Jews in the whole world. The persecution of millions of people, the denial of asylum and shelter has again brought the wandering Jew to the fore. All this does not help us in our work; but the tragedy must be understood nevertheless.

You were quite right in sending your answer to the CNT regarding the silly letter which Vasquez sent to a number of groups. I myself was so enraged that I simply did not use it at all. There was no excuse whatever for the statement that the comrades who had to flee Spain, forced by the counter-revolutionist Negrin and Marxist gang, are "unworthy of help". The only extenuating excuse for that letter is the Spanish temperament which rushes into print at the slightest provocation and just as quickly changes its attitude and method. You may already know by this time that the CNT has consented to the proposition of the AIT and the French section of the AIT to create a joint fund for the suffering refugees from Spain in France and the Scandinavian countries, which goes to prove that Vasquez, stubborn as he is, can be prevailed upon to undo some of his mistaken action.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

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 Lin

In any event you and the comrades were quite correct in sending your protest. I have done the same in one of my letters to Vasquez, calling his attention to the harm the letter sent out by him for the CNT would do if printed, and how unjust it was of anarchists to use the term "unworthy" in regard to comrades who have fought at the front and have helped Spain to the best of their ability. No, our Spanish comrades are not angels by any means; but they are great fighters and courageous to the point of going into the risk of death with open eyes. Besides they are the only ones in the whole world who have created a huge anarchist movement and an organized force. They are also the only ones who in the whole world who fought fascism from the very beginning and who are fighting it to the bitter end. What with the recent raids, the loss of so many lives, the closer alignment of all imperialist forces — the errors our comrades make are very small indeed and hardly worth bothering about.

About our work here. I must say I am terribly discouraged. If I were superstitious I would think that some curse rests on everything we try to do. Last year I thought that perhaps our work was not so adequate as we tried to make it because it was done from a private place, so we went into a heavy expense for offices. We organized a beautiful exhibition of drawings of children in Catalonia in schools. The latter was a complete flop, and so far as the returns are concerned from all the efforts we have made, we could easily have carried on at 10 Casteltown Road, with a much smaller expense than we have now. The only bit of light in the dark horizon in this country comes from a few Trades Councils and Trade Union branches. We have sent out thousands of copies of the CNT structure with a covering letter. We have received some replies asking for more of the structure. We have also learned that it was being discussed in some of the Trade Union branches. We have come to the conclusion that though this is a uphill method and may take many years to really create something on a large scale, it seems to be the only one, so we are going ahead with some new material in the form of a leaflet giving the negotiations between the CNT and CNT and the stand of the CIO which has appeared in Spain, and also a diagram of the industries under the control of the CNT. We will send you copies when they are ready. Of course we do not neglect all prospects. The trouble is it costs a terrible lot of money to organize a decent meeting, not less than 100 dollars, and the results are not compatible with the expense. If we could get dates with organizations but so far there are very few who will have us — besides the meetings usually turn out pitifully small, such as in Scotland where I spent 10 days and had to speak before the most inert and scattered crowd. Well, there is nothing to do but go on, even if the results are often heartbreaking. By the way why could not the Freedom Group circularize the Canadian Trade Unions. That would be a definite and constructive piece of work.

I received from Joe some Canadian addresses. We have done nothing about these. I think I must more practical to have the Unions covered from your end. We will be very glad to send you our material. Talk it over with the group and see what can be done. If you think it would help I might induce Vasquez to send you or Joe a credential. It might help to reach the Unions easier. Anyway let me know soon what you think of it.

I am more than ever determined to go to Canada sometime this Autumn. What work there is to be done here comrades Barr will continue

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and be in charge. Perhaps we can get one or two comrades, amongst them our friend Sam Stelman to cooperate with him.

Although I am resigned to my fate, a letter from these recette contains some encouragement regarding a possible visit to the States. I am not banking on it, nor am I foolish enough to expect greater results than I have had every time I was there. In point of fact it may be missed because of the difficulty of having anything public in that rotten Catholic Quebec. There is one thing I am hoping to carry out and that is to tour all of Canada. Certainly there are possibilities in the West if I could only get as far as Columbia. I realise it will necessitate a large expense, and the travelling expenses alone will cost almost as much as a trip from Europe to America; but, more than the money, I am concerned in getting some competent American who could do advanced work and organize meetings. I knew you are tied with Lager; but is there not a decent place where you could leave him for several months. I am sure you could be of great help with a Canadian tour. Meanwhile you might get after the law since you say that you have established definite contact. They must have contacts in different parts of Canada. Could not these be utilized for a tour on Spain. I wish you would talk it over with some of them and write me in detail. Of course the late autumn is still far off; but I would like to know whether stand, and I shall want time to leave everything in working order at this end. Our office has been rented for a year. If I should leave we might have to arrange to have only part of the place. Anyway we do not mean to stop the work for our comrades in Spain just because I will not be here.

I am enclosing a copy of the first part of my report on my second visit to Spain. I hope this to go (ness I will get time soon to finish the second part. I have meetings this coming week. Before this letter leaves I will be able to tell you about my success in Leicester.

Are you people going to get some copies of Anarcho-Syndicalism by Rudolf Rocker. You should try as much as possible to sell this book. It is the first detailed piece of literature we have got on Anarcho-Syndicalism.

By the way I forgot to tell you the Anarcho-Syndicalist Union which was started here last year is now in the form of reorganisation. I am hoping that something may come of it, though so far it has done very little indeed; but there one goes on hoping as long as one lives.

Yes I can imagine that Collette asked you to get Abe's reaction to his Spanish experience. Poor Collette will be heartbroken when she finds that Abe Bluestein, on his return to New York, did not begin an opposition campaign against the CNT-FAI. She had banked on him more than anyone else. I daresay Abe after getting wider perspective has realised that whatever blunders of the CNT-FAI they are not motivated by either desire for power or by a "betrayal". So long as every comrade of the CNT-FAI are themselves in the front rank of the struggle, in daily danger, ready to sacrifice everything, it is preposterous to charge them with either wanting power or treachery. Abe may have realised that. At any rate he has joined the Spanish delegation in New York and is rendering valuable service there. ~~It is so easy to be happy in one's judgment that one need not fear to be wrong.~~ I dread to think how many of our people were killed in that butchery two days ago. Tell you I see red when I get letters condemning the CNT-FAI myself am no lover with the occasions our comrades have made, and I tremble for the consequences to them; but I would rather cut off

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P.S. The meeting at Leicester was well attended, and I was able to raise a little money for the B.I.A. We showed our film "Fury Over Spain" and I spoke on the constitutive efforts of our Spanish comrades.

Dear Comrade,

I am glad you got all the copies of the stamps through without having to pay duty. I have charged them up to you at the rate of 2/6 each that makes a total of £1-8-0. Please also add 4/- postage.  
Fraternally.

Do you remember the name of Linkman.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

851210000

[Letter] 1938 March 21 [London to] Eileen Blair, [London] / Emma Goldman. —  
1 p. ; 27 x 22 cm.

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England. Institutional Location: Orwell Collection.

S · I · A

## SOLIDARIDAD INTERNACIONAL ANTIFASCISTA

(International Anti-Fascist Solidarity)

Sponsors—  
Mr. W. H. AUDEN . . . .  
Mr. THOMAS BURKE . . .  
Dr. STELLA CHURCHILL . .  
Miss NANCY CUNARD . . .  
Mr. HAVELOCK ELLIS . . .  
Mr. LOUIS GOLDING . . .  
Miss SIDONIE GOOSSENS . .  
Mr. LAURENCE HOUSMAN . .  
Mr. BRIAN HOWARD . . .  
Mr. C. E. M. JOAD . . . .  
Mr. MILES MALLESON . . .  
Mr. GEORGE ORWELL . . .  
Dr. C. V. PEARSON . . .  
Mr. JOHN COWPER POWYS . .  
Mr. LLEWELYN POWYS . . .  
Mr. HERBERT READ . . .  
Mr. REGINALD REYNOLDS . .  
Miss REBECCA WEST . . .  
Rev. JAMES WHITTLE

ETHEL MANNIN  
Hon. Treasurer  
EMMA GOLDMAN  
Hon. Secretary

London Office :  
21, FRITH STREET,  
SHAFTESBURY AVENUE,  
LONDON, W.1.

Telephone: GERard 2636

21st March, 1938.

Dear Miss Eileen Blair,

I am frightfully sorry to learn that Mr. George Orwell is so ill. I hope sincerely that the rest which the physician has imposed on him will bring back his health. Needless to say my friends of International Anti-Fascist Solidarity will regret very much indeed that your husband will be unable to participate in the literary evening we have in mind. We have been compelled to postpone it to the latter part of April, owing to a number of difficulties in regard to the kind of musicians we are trying to get.

Thank you very much for your kind offer to help by means of our announcements. As soon as we have the date definitely fixed, I will write you again.

With very best wishes for the speedy recovery of your husband, and kind greetings,

Yours sincerely,

Emma Goldman

G21202

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

870925588

[Letter] 1938 March 21 [London to] Eileen Blair, [London] / [Emma Goldman].—  
1 p. ; 20 x 16 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17464

21st March, 1938.

Dear Miss Eileen Blair,

I am frightfully sorry to learn that Mr. George Orwell is so ill. I hope sincerely that the rest which the physician has imposed on him will bring back his health. Needless to say my friends of international anti-fascist solidarity will regret very much indeed that your husband will be unable to participate in the literary evening to have in mind. We have been compelled to postpone it to the latter part of April, owing to a number of difficulties in regard to the kind of musicians we are trying to get.

Thank you very much for your kind offer to help by means of our announcements. As soon as we have the date definitely fixed, I will write you again.

With very best wishes for the speedy recovery of your husband, and kind greetings,

Yours sincerely,

577

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 March 21 [London to] Aaron [Halperin] / [Emma Goldman].—  
3 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

19702

21st March, 1938.

Dear Aaron,

The letter from Jeanne tells me that you have as usual been generous in contributing towards the fund raised for my trip to Canada. Words always seem inadequate when it comes to express one's deep appreciation for friendship and help given us by our friends, but I am sure that you will believe me when I say that I was very touched by your confidence and your contribution. I am quite determined to go to Canada some time in the late fall. I have no illusions about its possibilities, especially in Quebec, owing to the Catholic opposition to anything done for Spain, in as good as out of my reach. I am hoping, however, that I may succeed in leaving Canada as far as British Columbia. Unfortunately the distances are terrific—large cities far and far between, and the cost of travel from one place to another is enormous. But I really feel that I must make an effort to go west and not stick to Toronto alone.

Needless to say my main hope is that a visa will be sent for me to enter the States again. Friends of mine are working on it, but I am not banking too much on the favourable outcome. Nevertheless I will go to Canada. Conditions here as far as my work for Spain is concerned, are not disheartening. Yet the need was never greater in Spain, nor the suffering. But now that Hitler has taken possession of Austria, people have almost forgotten Spain. The Spaniards can hardly be blamed. Hardly a day passes but what there is a new outrage and new acts of inhumanity to man. Even at best, people do not grow excited over the suffering and treason of other people removed from their own country and sphere, and the events of the last few years have been so harrowing that human sensibilities have become stultified. Especially does it seem to be the case in England.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 March 21 [London to] Aaron [Halperin] / [Emma Goldman].—  
3 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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-2-

I therefore must not even if only to change the scene which is really getting on my nerves. I will feel sad if I cannot get back to my erstwhile field of work and to my friends, but at least you, Julia and the other dear friends of mine will be able to come to Canada to see me. That will be something. I feel frightfully cut off from everybody and I long so much for my own.

The situation in Europe is growing graver every day. It is entirely due to the poverty of statesmanship. Never before has England been so poor in men who undertake the situation at home and abroad. As a result a whole people are being permitted to bleed to death. It is only too obvious that the National Government is fascist. Especially is this true of the Premier. It were laughable if it were not so tragic to see members of parliament begging the Premier almost on their bended knees to tell them what his policy is going to be. Perhaps one should not be impatient with Mr. Chamberlain when the Labour M.P.s are such a weak and conservative group of men. I hold them more responsible for the non-interventionist Pact than the British Government. They supported it in the first place, and so did the so-called popular Front Government in France. In point of fact the people everywhere seem to have lost their backbone. No matter how great the abuses of the dictators, the masses take them indifferently. Anyway, the action towards Spain and the invasion of Austria is leading the world swiftly to a new war which promises to be more terrible than the last. Certainly will be sacrificed as a result. But I still cling to my faith in the Spanish people. I know that they will fight to the bitter end, and I still hope that they will conquer.

Well, you can imagine that I am not very cheerful, but I go on with the work. This year I am concentrating on helping

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 March 21 [London to] Aaron [Halperin] / [Emma Goldman].—  
3 p.; 25 × 20 cm.

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...in spite of which it would be ...  
...the ... the ... the ...  
...the ... the ... the ...  
...the ... the ... the ...

Dear John, this letter is naturally meant for you to  
read. I wonder how you have been and are doing. I hope  
you are well and do not be too busy, and write me a line soon.  
Love,  
Emma

Respectfully to Aaron and yourself and kind regards  
to your other children as well as our friends.

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

870929288

[Letter] 1938 March 21 [London to] Anita [Karfunkel Kaminski, Paris (fragment)] / [Emma Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 24 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

21st March, 1938.

Dearest Anita,

I have not forgotten you, but the struggle here and the futility of it all have oppressed me to the extent of paralysing my energies. Of course the immediate work at hand had to be attended, but my correspondence has suffered. If it is any consolation to you, I want you to know that you are not the only one I have neglected. I am sorry.

I was nevertheless very happy to get your letter and to know about your and Sam's doings. I thought of you a great deal when the Bakunin life by Professor Carr appeared. I have not yet read it, but I have read many reviews, and I have had reports from those who have read it that it was a most inadequate work, the author being steeped in his middle class traditions and conceptions of life: he failed to reach Bakunin. That is not at all surprising. Bakunin was the stormy petrel of the revolution, ever in flight to the highest zenith of his revolutionary fire and passionate faith. How could a man like Carr understand such an idealist? Perhaps it is just as well. It will create greater interest in the work Sam and you are doing. I rather think that one will even be able to find a publisher. I am now very closely in touch with Bockert and Warburton. They are by no means the most important publishers, but they do hold quite a good position. They have just put out Rudolph Bockert's work on Anarcho-Syndicalism, and I mean to approach them naturally, if you wish me to, when your Bakunin is finished.

You two are certainly wonderful people if in addition to the strenuous labours of the Bakunin life you are also able to write another book. You told me about the work of Meline, which as you said was very anti-aesthetic, and your intention of inducing a number of French writers to reply to it. You can imagine how eagerly I would read both works, but so far I have not seen either, nor have I read any mention of it in the literary reviews of the papers I read such as The Times.



# The Emma Goldman Papers

870930294

[Letter, 19]38 March 21, Barcelona [to] Emma [Goldman], London / P[edro] Herrera. — 2 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

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19024

Barcelona, Via Durruti 30.68  
21 - 3- 38

T.251/38

Solidaridad Internacional  
Antifascista

Consejo General

National Council of the  
English Section of S.I.A.  
21 Frith street  
L O N D O N W.1

Dear Emma,

We have here two letters of yours to answer. The first one, of february 14, sent by airmail reached us together with the one of march 2nd, on march 12th.

All your activities you have developped meet with our approval and we are pleased that they are opening the way to public opinion inspite of the opposition of the communists and reactionaries. As for us, we are sending you as usual, all the literary and graphic material we have, which you can use corresponding to the special needs of your section. But you must keep in mind, that we - the General Council - do not directly edit the material. This is done by the sections and we only dispose of a certain number of copies, which we send out to all sections to stimulate their work and to inform them on the activities of their brothers in other countries. Therefore we are unable to send you quantities of such material, especially of posters.

Photos we shall send you one of the next few days. You can be sure that we are sending all we have and possibly can. Imagine the sums the General Council would need, had it to provide all the sections with propaganda material.

Of the poster representing a bombardement, we shall see if the French section still has some left and recommend that they should send you however much they can spare.

We are sure that you will be successful with your propaganda tour in Scotland. Don't forget to send us reports on the meetings for publication in our organic bulletin and to make it known to our comrades of the National Sections and the press, which sympathizes with our work. If you can also send us the texts of your speeches, all the better.

Concerning the question Besnard, we want to state the following: S.I.A. is a well structured organization, with responsible organisms which take care of the functioning of the organization and of the practice of Solidarity which is its norm. Nobody but its councils are to determine the use of the collected funds. The National Councils of the sections, in agreement with the General Council are the only ones to decide the matters of S.I.A. If at some moment, organism on the margin of S.I.A. want it to collaborate in some good work, they should demand this collaboration in a responsible manner, and submit it to the General Council for examination.

We have send a note to the General Secretary of the AIT to call the attention of these comrades, so that they don't produce

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

870930294

[Letter, 19]38 March 21, Barcelona [to] Emma [Goldman], London / P[edro] Herrera. — 2 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

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19028

T.25

Page 2

*Solidaridad Internacional  
Antifascista*

*Consejo General*

confusion and keep from interfering in the development of the mission assigned to every organisation.

For all the above explained, you will understand, that the English section must consult and understand each other with the General Council.

We learned of the interest, the demand of Paperpade and pencils for our milicias, has awakend in you. We advice you to collect all, the readers of your bulletin will be able to send, in your office, and send it from there to Camara. This is preferable, first, because you will have a better control about what the English Section has given, and secondly, because the address of our comrade Camara should not be given such publicity that everybody can use ~~them~~ it.

This is all for the moment. Expecting your news,  
we are

Fraternally Yours

For the General Council of S.I.A.

P. Herrera - Secretary



583

# The Emma Goldman Papers

870929206

[Letter] 1938 March 21, London [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Fredric J. Warburg. — 1 p. ; 24 × 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

MARTIN SECKER AND WARBURG LTD  
22 Essex Street, London, W.C.2  
Publishers

March 21, 1938

Miss Emma Goldman,  
21 Frith Street,  
Shaftesbury Avenue,  
W. 1.

My dear Emma,

Thank you for your letter of March 18.  
A copy of Ehel's book has gone to Spain & the World,  
and we shall no doubt advertise it, with Rocker's book  
during the next two or three weeks.

It is a great pity that Rocker's book is  
so full of misprints but the author had a set of  
the proofs himself and must have missed many of the  
corrections. Let us hope, however, that the first  
edition sells out quickly and we shall then be able  
to make the corrections in reprint. With reference  
to publicity it has been advertised in The New  
Statesman & Nation, The Spectator, Time & Tide, and  
shall go into the Times Literary Supplement quite soon.  
One cannot afford to spend much on a 3/6 book with only  
the possibilities of a limited sale. /litman

The balance due to Rocker has gone to him  
some time ago.

With reference to an announcement on thin  
paper, we cannot prepare one by the 23rd, but I think  
V. Ray, of Spain and the World has prepared one and  
if you got in touch with him I have no doubt he would  
be able to supply you with it in a very short time.

With kind regards.

Yours sincerely,

Fredric J. Warburg

584

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938 March? 22? London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Ethel [Mannin]. —  
1 p. ; 10 × 16 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Tuesday

17128

Emma dear,

In greatest haste to catch post, and very tired at  
end of terribly tiring day, what with housework and cooking  
and an article that was commissioned and had to be finished  
today, and piles of letters, ...but to ask you, would you  
like me to say a few introductory words before the film on  
Thursday? Or what? Suggest it might be a good plan if I  
introduced the film and you spoke afterwards; we can hardly  
make an appeal, can we, since it's a poor district and it will  
be all poor people there, and if they've paid to come in we  
can hardly ask for more?

Am thinking of you tonight but I couldn't possibly  
have got along; shall be working till ~~midnight~~ as it is, as I have  
to go out tomorrow and can do nothing then.

Great haste but love as always

*I wrote Goldman & Spender  
yesterday re 29th Apr.*

*JH*

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 March 22 [London to J.] F[al]k [Liverpool, England] / [Emma Goldman]. -- 2 p. ; 20 x 16 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

March 22nd 38

Dear Comrade Falk,

I received your letter yesterday but could not reply because I could not locate the man who is in touch with the I.L.P. in Liverpool in re the meeting they have arranged for April 10th. In fact I have not yet gotten hold of him. I may before this letter is mailed, you see unless the I.L.P. goes through with their meeting I could not come to Liverpool as it would hardly be worth while to make the journey for just a Yiddish meeting. Also it would mean too great an expense for only your meeting, however I am hoping that the arrangements of the I.L.P. has not changed and the I will have to speak for them April tenth. I therefore suggest the following unless I can get in touch with the part before this evening you will hear from me by wire tomorrow. In other words if I do not tell you in this letter to go ahead you will hear from me by telegram otherwise you can go ahead.

As regards the Hall I am not in a position to tell you whether the hall you mention is the right place or not. You living in Liverpool ought to know better. As to the handbills they should absolutely be in Yiddish if ~~the meeting~~ an expected to speak in Yiddish. Naturally if I am to speak in English the handbills should be in English. Since I do not know which it is to be I cannot send you a text of the English handbill. Surely you ought to be able to find someone who knows English and who can write out the text for it. I mean if your meeting is to be in English. If in Yiddish you surely will know how to do it yourself.

As to the subject here are a few

THE STRUGGLE IN SPAIN AND ITS CONSEQUENCES FOR THE INTERNATIONAL PROLETARIAT.

THE PART OF THE NATIONAL CONFEDERATION OF LABOR AND THE ANARCHIST FEDERATION OF IBERIA IN THE ANTI-FASCIST STRUGGLE

MY TWO VISITS TO SPAIN 1936 and 1937 WHAT I SAW AND EXPERIENCED

THE CONSTRUCTIVE WORK CARRIED ON BY THE CNT, NATIONAL CONFEDERATION OF LABOR AND THE ANARCHIST FEDERATION OF IBERIA.

As you see you have four subjects to choose from.

In case I do come to Liverpool and stay over the 11th I will have to ask you first to arrange for my stay over night from



## The Emma Goldman Papers

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18279

Monday to Tuesday. Secondly that I shall have the right to make an appeal for international Anti-Fascist solidarity, or the MIA as it is called which means for the refugee women and children of Catalonia. For this it will be necessary that you should organise in advance your collectors. My time is entirely given to our heroic comrades in Spain so I simply must raise funds for them. I hope you understand that.

fraternally.

# The Emma Goldman Papers

870930215

[Letter] 1938 March 22 [Paris to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Helmut [Rüdiger]. — 1 p.; 27 x 20 cm.

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Adresser toutes les communications à

18870  
ASSOCIATION INTERNATIONALE des TRAVAILLEURS  
INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION  
INTERNATIONALE ARBEITER-ASSOCIATION  
ASOCIACION INTERNACIONAL DE LOS TRABAJADORES  
ASSOCIAZIONE INTERNAZIONALE DEI LAVORATORI

22. März 1938

Liebe Emma,

diesen Brief, um Dir die Übersendung des Scheckes über fünf Pfund, mit der Unterschrift des Genossen Barr, zu quittieren. Besten Dank, ich übergebe ihn Doussot. Eine sehr willkommene Hilfe.

Die Lage der französischen Genossen ist in dieser Hinsicht verzweifelt. Jede Woche müssen jetzt schon zwischen 2 500 und 3 000 fr. ausgezahlt werden — für den Einzelnen der Hungersatz von 15 fr. pro Tag. Dabei können jeden Tag neue Genossen kommen — wir hoffen es, dass sie kommen — obwohl wir wissen, dass sie hier dann dem Hunger und — neuer Ausweisung ausgesetzt sind.

Durch die Konflikte des Fonds, in seiner früheren Form, mit der CNT ist die regelmäßige Geldzusendung unterbrochen worden und kommt nicht wieder in Gang. Neuerdings äussern die CNT wieder ihre Unzufriedenheit mit der Form der Organisation des Fonds — es wird neue Streitereien geben. Alles auf dem Rücken und zum Schaden der hungernden Unterstützungsempfänger...

Aus Barcelona haben wir keine besonderen Nachrichten. Mascarell ist dort wir erwarten ihn in diesen Tagen. Wenn er uns ein Stimmungsbild gibt, schreibe ich Dir davon. Ich sprach einen französischen Genossen, der am 17. März früh aus Barcelona wegfuhr, unmittelbar vor den schlimmsten Bombardements, aber schon unter dem Eindruck des Zusammenbruches eines Teiles der Front von Aragon. Er behauptete, politisch und im Leben der Stadt habe sich nichts geändert. Von Entlassung anarchistischer Gefangener wissen er nichts. Die dies heutzutage Pressemeldungen, auch die über verstärkten oder gar ausschlaggebenden anarchistischen Einfluss in verschiedenen Gegenden, scheinen in allem wesentlichen erlogen zu sein. Immerhin habe ich die Gelegenheit benutzt, von Nationalkomitee und einem halben Dutzend Regierungsteilen durch Telegramme, Einschreibbriefe usw. erneut Interventionen zugunsten der ausländischen Gefangenen zu verlangen.

Der Gedanke, von der SIA die Autorisierung zu erbitten, aus ihren Fonds etwas zum OSI in Paris zu zahlen, scheint mir gut — ist aber wahrscheinlich bei der bekannten Einstellung der CNT aussichtslos. Trotzdem ist es u.ä. von grossem Wert, dass Du diese Anregung machst.

Damit genug, und herzliche Grüsse.

Helmut

# The Emma Goldman Papers

830414019

[Letter] 1938 March 22 [Paris to] Emma [Goldman, London] / [Helmut Rüdiger]. —  
1 p. ; 27 x 22 cm.

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11 2. 4. 1938

22. März 1938

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870930203

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2 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

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22. März 1938

Liebe Emma,

nun noch einige Worte zu Deinem Briefe vom 19. März, die rein privat sein sollen. Du wirst verstehen, dass ich solche Korrespondenz und die andere der IAA, von der ich Kopien im Archiv haben und sie auch zur Verfügung der anderen Sekretäre halten muss, jetzt auseinanderhalten gezwungen bin.

Es ist in dieser Hinsicht eine gegenseitige Kontrolle und Kollektivität organisiert worden - wohl nötig, wenn auch etwas starr - aber ist das ja immer. Zwischen Organisation und Menschlichem ist immer ein kleiner Gegensatz.

Ich wollte Dir noch zum Fall Ethel M. schreiben. Der Beschluss ist, ein Sekretariat, das aus fünf Mann besteht. Dazu nahm auch eine Sitzung der Sitzende der CGTSR teil, dieser machte den Vorschlag EM., und da er eine andere Lösung wusste, da aber unsere Publikationen in Englisch sein sollen, wurde er akzeptiert, und ich musste die Korrespondenz führen.

Nir selbst war bei der Sache nicht allzuwohl zumute - aber ich habe nichts gesagt, zumal ich keinerlei anderen Vorschlag wusste. Die Sache hatte einen doppelten Grund: ich habe, aber das ist rein persönlich, ohne jedes sachliche Motiv, EM. niemals leiden können und habe in Barcelona meine Beziehungen zu ihr immer auf das schlichte Minimum beschränkt. Ausserdem aber hatte ich den Verdacht (ohne ihn begründen zu können) dass sie zu denjenigen gehöre, die an öffentlichen Herunterlassen der CGTSR ein Vergnügen finden. Aber Du wirst verstehen, dass ich mich in der Sitzung zurückhielt, da ich dachte: Meine persönliche Antipathie darf nicht mitsprechen.

Ich besann mich wohl auf unser Gespräch bei Molli, nur wusste ich nicht mehr genau, ob Du von einer Beziehung zwischen diesem "englischen" "Ramus" und ihr gesprochen hattest. Aber meine Frau berichtete mir, dass Du gesagt habest, sie sei ein guter Genosse, die Ethel. So beruhigte ich mich wieder; aber Dein Brief erzeugt wieder das gegenteilige Gefühl.

Aber sei gewiss, dass ich jede tendenziöse Äusserung zugunsten eines Aldred hier unterdrücken werde! Und ausserdem habe ich im Sekretariat die Meinung vertreten, und werde sie weiter vertreten: in englischen Sachen halten wir uns an Dich, denn Du bist die Vertreterin der CGTSR in England!

Dies ist vielleicht mehr die persönliche Seite der Sache. Bedenke, dass schwerer wiegt nun aber die Frage ihrer Fähigkeiten. Du schreibst, Du schreibe ein ungenügendes Englisch. Das wäre katastrophal! Ich besann mich nur auf Äusserungen Souchys, der den englischen Pressedienst in Barcelona als gut gemacht bezeichnete... Aber dessen Urteile über Englisch dürften auch nicht weit her sein. Jedenfalls sage ich nun, dass sind z.B. Arbeiten objektiv schlecht, dann wird die Sache wieder rückgängig gemacht. Nach Erscheinen der ersten englischen Ausgabe der CGTSR



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und des PD. werde ich sowohl an Euch wie nach New York schreiben und um ein Urteil bitten - da ich dies nicht fällen kann. Davon machen wir dann das weitere abhängig.

Im Ubrigen, versuchen wir die Sache. Alles ist ja nur ein Versuch... das ganze IAA-Büro. Das Erfreulichste für mich, die Zusammenarbeit mit Besnard. Hätten wir immer an einem Ort zusammenarbeiten können, dann wäre der grosse Konflikt nicht entstanden. Sprechen wir nicht von eigentümlichen Charaktereigenschaften - Besnard hat die einen und ich die meinen. Aber sachlich gesehen ist es die Dummheit von Calvé, die die ganzen Konflikte möglich gemacht hat!

Das IAA-Büro... weist Du, das ist beinahe etwas komisch. Es ist wohl das erste Mal in der Geschichte der IAA, dass ein Genosse den "General" abgibt, der von der IAA, ihrer Geschichte, ihrem Ursprung, ihrer Entwicklung in verschiedenen Ländern und der Gesamtsituation der internationalen freiheitlichen Bewegung keinen Schimmer hat. Aller Ehren wert der Wille, für die CNT zu arbeiten, Spanien zu verteidigen, das wollen wir ja alle. Aber wichtig ist doch auch der Rahmen, in dem wir arbeiten. Aber der internationale Rahmen dieser CNT-Aussenvertreter ist ja lächerlich - sie glauben internationale Politik treiben zu können und gescheiter zu sein als wir Ausländer, die wir in unseren Ländern Jahrzehnte bitterer Erfahrungen hinter uns und immerhin eine gewisse Menge von Kenntnissen haben. (Voriges - kein Wort gegen den internationalen Charakter der CNT.)

Jetzt grosser Reinfall mit der PSI. Besnard hatte ja schon immer gewarnt. Aber auf Beschluss des Kongresses hatten wir mit den Leuten eine Korrespondenz angefangen. Besnard und Mascarell hatten sogar Herrn Schevenels gesprochen. Mascarell in Spanien hatte nichts eiligeres zu tun, als von einem Vertrag zwischen PSI und AIT zu sprechen und zu schreiben und grosse Ereignisse anzukündigen. Jetzt kommt inzwischen die endgültige und reichlich klare Absage der PSI an die AIT. Schevenels will sogar die Behauptungen der CNT-Presse über eine Zusammenarbeit PSI-AIT öffentlich dementieren!!! Nach Besnards Rat hätte die ganze Korrespondenz mit der PSI schon nach der ersten Absage abgebrochen werden müssen - aber die CNT und Mascarell bestanden auf der Beibehaltung usw. Jetzt dies! Wenn Mascarell zurückkommt, wird er über die Resultate seines ersten weltpolitischen Auftretens erstaut sein. Im Grunde ist dies alles ~~kontinuierlich~~ tragisch, aber es enthält auch nicht der Komik.

Bitte benutze diese Dinge noch nicht gegenüber anderen - wir werden erst im Pressedienst dieser Tage darauf eingehen.

Herzliche Grüsse!

Helmut

# The Emma Goldman Papers

870930206

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Persönliche Notizen über den ausserordentlichen Kongress der IAA.

Der Kongress sollte am 6. Dezember 1937 beginnen, da aber die Spanier noch nicht da waren, konnten nur einige Vorfragen Regelung finden und die eigentliche Tagung begann erst am 8., um am 17. zu enden.

Die "Vorfrage" war der Fall Souhy. Die DAS hatten einen Antrag eingebracht, der allen Delegierten vorlag, in dem verlangt wurde, Souhy dürfe auf absehbare Zeit nicht mehr und in keiner Sektion der IAA sein. Unter internationaler Bedeutung benutzt werden, da er der Hauptschuldige am Konflikt CNT-IAA sei und die IAA in Barcelona sabotiert habe. Es schloss sich, dass Souhy, der anwesend war, nur als Privatberater des Schweden Andersson fungieren und erst das Wort ergreifen dürfe, wenn unter "Verschiedenes" sein Fall behandelt würde.

Zu Beginn der eigentlichen Verhandlungen wurde in Anwesenheit der Spanier das Begrüssungsschreiben Rookers verlesen.

Die ersten Punkte der Tagesordnung, obwohl nur technischen Charakter, lösten endlose Diskussionen und grosse Spannungen aus, sodass der Kongress nahe daran war aufzufliegen. Die Spanier begannen damit, zu fordern, dass den Illegalen Sektionen das Stimmrecht entzogen werde und man im Übrigen ein Proportionelles Stimmrecht einführe: von einem bis zu hunderttausend Mitgliedern, eine Stimme, von 100 000 bis zu 500 zwei Stimmen, und darüber drei. Also praktisch: Spanien drei, jede der übrigen Sektionen eine. Richtig wies man darauf hin, dass doch die Stimmenfrage wenig bedeute, dass es hier auf Argumente ankomme, und die Schweden als einzige zogen daraus die Konsequenz, in der Abstimmung für den spanischen Vorschlag einzutreten. Der Vorschlag wurde abgelehnt, obwohl die Spanier vorher ihren gegen die Illegalen Sektionen gerichteten Antrag freiwillig wieder zurückgezogen hatten. Dann wurde, wie der gegen die Spanier und zu deren grosser Überraschung, beschlossen, dass der Kongress nicht die Vollmachten eines ordentlichen und also kein Recht zur Änderung der Statuten und Prinzipien haben solle. Man wies darauf hin, dass für solche Änderungen infolge völlig mangelhafter Vorbereitung in den Sektionen föderalistisch nicht die geringste Möglichkeit sei, die Spanier aber verlangten sie mit Rücksicht auf die ausserordentliche Situation. Nach ihrer doppelten Niederlage waren die Spanier nahe daran sich zurückzuziehen.

Aber es zeigte sich, dass der Wille durchzuhalten stärker war. Sie blieben, obwohl sie eigentlich mit den Entschlüssen in keinem Punkte zufrieden waren und fast alle ihre Anregungen unter dem Tisch floss.

Zu den Berichten der Sekretäre sprachen diese selbst und in endlosen Debatten die Delegierten. Der Hauptangriff der Spanier richtete sich gegen Besnard, vorliegend gegen dessen Rundschreiben Nr. 13, in welchem er die Frage der Opposition in der CNT und ihrer finanziellen Unterstützung durch die IAA aufgeworfen hatte. In der Abstimmung wurde der Bericht gegen die Stimmen der Spanier und Schweden angenommen.

Der sogenannte Bericht Galves (Galve hatte in Wirklichkeit garnicht als IAA-Sekretär gewirkt) wurde trotz einiger Gegenstimmen und bei einigen Enthaltungen angenommen.

Zu meinem Bericht setzte ich noch einmal mündlich die Frage der Sabotage der IAA in Barcelona und die Nichterfüllung des Novemberbeschlusses durch die CNT auseinander (ohne Souhy zu erwähnen). Vasquez antwortete, was er sehr loyal aber vollständig ausweichend und auf die Sache selbst garnicht eingehend. Die französischen Genossen - mit denen ich in der allerletzten Zeit in einige Berührung getreten war - brachten beschlussgemäss, ihrer Landeskongress folgend, einige kritische Bemerkungen ge-



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gen meine Tätigkeit vor, aber sehr gedämpft, und stimmten dann in der Abstimmung auch für meinen Bericht, der als einziger einstimmige Annahme fand.

Hierauf legte die CNT einen schriftlichen Bericht vor, der durch mündliche Ausführungen ergänzt wurde. In diesem wurde vorwiegend die wirtschaftliche Lage geschildert und des interessanten Programmes des erweiterten Plenums über ökonomische Fragen Erwähnung getan, das die CNT für Januar vorbereitet. Ausserdem schilderte Vasques ~~inzwischen~~ die Frage der Militarisierung, die Xer als "bittere Pille" bezeichnete. Er behauptete, mit der Ablehnung der Militarisierung habe die CNT in den letzten Monaten an die Kommunisten entscheidend Terrain verloren, das noch nicht wieder zurückerobert sei. Trotzdem wies er nach, dass die CNT in der Heere nach Einsetzung der Regierung Negrin noch stark ihre Positionen vermehrt hat. Vasques behandelte auch die Gefangenensfrage, er wandte sich gegen die Überbetonung dieser Frage in der Propaganda verschiedener Sektionen und behauptete, die Frage sei sehr kompliziert und nur ein kleines Teilproblem neben vielen anderen, das man ihnen überlassen solle. Er bemerkte auch, dass die CNT sich garnicht für alle Gefangenen mit voller Kraft einsetzen könne, und er war in diesem Augenblick nahe daran, die Spanier mit zu bringen, wonach z.B. die Motive der Verhaftung unseres Genossen Lewin "dunkel" gewesen seien. Ich unterbrach ihn an dieser Stelle und forderte ihn auf, nicht fortzufahren, denn ich war entschlossen, alles hochfliegen zu lassen, wenn man sich auf dieses Gebiet der freien Vereinigung begab... ~~und~~ Vasques unterbrach seine Ausführungen, um zu einer anderen Sache überzugehen.

Mit diesem Punkt zusammen wurde ein anderer behandelt, indem die CNT eine Entschliessung zugunsten der Unterdrückung der Kritik und Beschränkung der CNT und Einführung einer organisatorischen Disziplin vorlegte, die m.E. mit einigen Abänderungen, zu denen sich die Spanier bereit erklärten, hätte angenommen werden können, aber nicht angenommen wurde. Praktisch kam es nur zur Annahme eines Beschlusses über Herausgabe einer internationalen Revue für die Militanten, in der die strittigen Fragen künftig erörtert werden sollen. Im Übrigen beschloss man, den Bericht der CNT, den Antrag und die gesamte Kongressdiskussion den Sektionen zum Studium zu überweisen. Dies Material wird ausserordentlich interessant sein. Besnard und ich bereiten das Protokoll vor, das so ausführlich wie möglich sein soll.

Von besonderem Interesse waren zu diesem Punkte die Schlussworte von Vasques und Xena (Katalonien), die sehr detailliert und "sehr menschlich" (Charakterisierung durch Emma Goldman) eine Zusammenfassung alles dessen vornahmen, was sie über die Lage der CNT zu sagen wussten. Ich fand ihre Thesen durchaus richtig. Nachdem erteilte man noch "regelmässigerweise" Emma Goldman das Wort, die ihre Eindrücke über ihre letzte Spanienreise vorbrachte, im Sinne der letzterwähnten Ausführungen. Ihre Rede war ausgezeichnet und hat auf mich einen tiefen Eindruck gemacht. Sie ging von der Feststellung aus, dass die Kritiker sehr viel Recht haben könnten, um mit der Versicherung zu schliessen, dass sie lieber ihr Leben lassen wolle, als öffentlich im Auslande ein Wort gegen die CNT zu sagen, sie sei mit der CNT und werde immer mit ihr sein. Dazu aber gab sie ausgezeichnete Details aus Spanien selbst - über die Höherentwicklung der Kollektiven und den Geisteszustand der Kameraden, und sie brachte zahlreiche Einzelheiten vor zur Stützung der These Vasques - dass nämlich die CNT moralisch und zahlenmässig heute sogar besser dastehe als vor einem Jahr, obwohl man "weniger Fahnen und weniger Genossen mit einem Gewehr auf dem Rücken in den Strassen" sehe. Von grossem Interesse waren auch ihre freimütigen Darlegungen über die Notwendigkeit einer militärischen Organisation und ihre Deutung der Kollaborationspolitik der CNT wel-

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ohne gegenüber dem "grösseren Übel" einer anarchistischen Diktatur doch eine Art Rettung unserer freiheitlichen Ideen gewesen mit neuen

Ich empfinde es als einen Beweis von der Vitalität unserer Ideen, dass eine Kameradin wie Emma Goldman nach einem ganzen Leben des Kampfes für sie nicht nur als aktive Mitkämpferin weiter auf ihrem Posten steht und ein weites Feld völlig neuer Tätigkeit aufbaut, sondern sogar mit so klarem Blick neue Wirklichkeiten und neue Notwendigkeiten ohne Rücksicht auf frühere Auffassungen in das Bild der freiheitlichen Gesellschaftsauffassung einbaut und mit gleichem Enthusiasmus wie immer für die Ideen weiterarbeitet. Mir ging das um so mehr nahe als ich weiss, dass Emma bei alledem unsere Spanier auch sehr kritisch betrachtet und ihre Fehler nicht nur sieht, sondern auch ihnen selbst gegenüber energisch bekämpft.

Hierauf ging man zu einem geheimnisvollen Punkt über, von dem ausser den Antragstellern, den Spaniern selbst, niemand wusste, was er bedeuten sollte: Verantwortlichkeit des Generalsekretärs der IAA für sein Verhalten gegenüber der CNT. Es war, wie sich herausstellte, eine moralische Hinrichtung geplant: Besnard sollte für immer unfähig erklärt werden, ein Amt in der IAA zu übernehmen. Natürlich musste sich alles dagegen, mit dem Bemerkung, dass die Gegner der Tätigkeit Besnards ja schon in der Abstimmung seines Berichtes Gelegenheit gehabt hatten, gegen ihn zu stimmen, und sie bei der Wahl eines neuen Sekretärs noch einmal haben würden.

Zu der Frage der Bildung einer antifaschistischen Einheitsfront in Weltmasstabe legten die Spanier ein fantastisches Projekt vor, in welchem nach einer dunkel gehaltenen und verworrenen "Analyse" der Weltlage verlangt wurde, dass die IAA sich an alle anderen bestehenden Internationalen wenden solle, um mit ihnen ein Einheitskomitee zu gründen usw. In der Diskussion wurde dies allgemein als utopisch verworfen und vor allem eine antibolschewistische Kampagne gefordert, bis die Spanier plötzlich erklärten, unter bitteren Vorwürfen gegen alle, man habe die ganze Geschichte missverstanden: der Plan solle nur agitatorisch aufgefasst werden, die Ablehnung der anderen Internationalen sei sicher und dann werde die IAA eine ausgezeichnete eigene Plattform haben usw. Es kam der schüchterne Einwurf dass es garnicht ausgeschlossen sei, dass die Kommunisten akzeptierten, und dann wären wir die Hereingelegten und die Verantwortlichen eines Programms, das in Wirklichkeit nur die Aufwärmung aller kommunistischer Fragen bedeutet. Es kam zu keiner Einigung, bis Besnard plötzlich zusammen mit den Franzosen eine Vermittlungsresolution vorbrachte, die das Wohlgefallen aller fand. Sie wurde angenommen, trotzdem Schapiro sie im letzten Moment noch gegen den Willen aller zu Fall bringen wollte mit einigen spitzfindigen Einwänden. Typisch für die Spanier übrigens war, dass sie freimütig erklärten, sie hätten in Spanien bereits alle ihre Anträge (!!!) in der Presse veröffentlicht und grosses Lärm dafür geschlagen... Über die angenommene Resolution und ihre Folgen wird das Protokoll noch Aufschluss geben. Für die Spanier ist es typisch, dass sie noch immer von den Schwierigkeiten des internationalen Anarchismus keine Ahnung haben und keine haben wollen - sie glauben, es liegt alles daran, dass wir nicht solche Kerle sind wie sie und dass wir eben nichts machen. Sie waren nun der festen Meinung, den Propagandatrick mitgebracht zu haben, wonach die IAA endlich einmal aus ihrer selbstverschuldeten Stagnation gerissen werden könne - ohne eine Ahnung zu haben, welche verzweifelte Versuche schon gemacht worden sind. So führte Vasquez an einer Stelle aus, sie wären heute ebenda wo der russische Anarchismus sei, wenn sie dessen falsche Politik angewandt hätten, und Prieto verstieg sich zu der Behauptung, dass



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es nicht zu Hitler gekommen sei, wenn die FAUD statt auf den "heiligen Prinzipien" herumsureiten "irgendwie, ich will nicht sagen wie, ich will nicht sagen sogar durch einen Appell an nationalistische Gefühle, die öffentliche Meinung herangerissen hätte" - Formalisierungen, die Gold wert sind! Aus diesen Gründen sind sie eben davon überzeugt, dass sie ihre eigene internationale Politik machen können, und wenn einer sonst Kenntnis des Englands Nordamerika bereist hat, dann sind sie überzeugt, dass dort nun in einigen Monaten eine IAA-Sektion von ca. 50 Mitgliedern entstehen werde, während sie in Frankreich eine Solidaritäts- und Antifaschistische gründen mit einigen schwankenden Literaten und Führern der CGT die Anhänger der Nichtinterventionspolitik und Gegner des revolutionären Syndikalismus par excellence sind... So stolpern sie in allen Ländern herum, richten viel Schaden an und natürlich auch verschiedenes Gute, das wir nicht fertig gebracht hätten, weil sie eben Vertreter einer realen Macht, einer handgreiflichen und die Welt bewegenden Masse sind, und wir ein Bäckerdutzend verächtlicher Ideologen.

Im Finanzbericht wurden die vorliegenden Berichte der Sekretäre fast ohne Diskussion gutgeheissen und über die Zukunft gesprochen. Die IAA hat im Jahre 40 000 Francs Einnahmen, wobei es als alte Regel galt, dass die CNT nie zahlte. Nun erklärte sie, dass sie die 10 Cent nicht zahlen könne, aber bereit sei, als Minimum 300 000 Pesetas d.h. jetzt 195 000 Francs zahlen zu wollen, wahrscheinlich noch mehr, aber ausserdem sei sie bereit, in besonderen Fällen besondere Beträge abzuführen.

Die Spanier scheinen nun der Überzeugung zu sein, dass die IAA grosse Dinge zu tun hat, denn sie bestanden auf Schaffung eines Sekretariats von 5 bezahlten Sekretären. Ohne weiter zu konkretisieren, sprachen sie viel von der "Verlagstätigkeit", die die IAA in grossem Stile zu entfalten habe und die übrigens auch wieder eine Menge Geld einbringen könne. Die hohe Zahl der Freigestellten fand viel Widerspruch, die Spanier aber liessen sich nicht sureden und versicherten stattdessen, zu den genannten Summen noch den Gehalt zweier Sekretäre extra zulegen zu wollen, damit niemand sich beschwere über zu hohe Belastung durch Gehälter. Beschlossen wurde dann so:

Ich hatte den Spaniern schon seit Tagen erklärt, dass sie von jeder Nennung meines Namens Abstand zu nehmen hätten und hatte mich öffentlich vor dem Kongress eingesetzt für Schaffung eines Sekretariats aus neuen Leuten, die im vergangenen Konflikt nicht mitgeopfert hätten. Wir als Deutsche schlugen Rucker oder Jensen als Generalsekretär vor, die Spanier erklärten, auch an Rucker gedacht zu haben, der aber nicht in der Lage sei, und auch ihre sonstigen Versuche, jemand unter den Ausländern zu gewinnen, seien gescheitert. Die Franzosen brachten den Vermittlungsvorschlag de Jong vor, für den man vielleicht gestimmt hätte - wenn er nicht erklärt hätte, dass er infolge der Beschlüsse, wonach das Sekretariat in Paris zu sein habe, nicht annehmen könne - er wollte sich seine IAA mit nach Heemstede nehmen. So sind die Leute. So blieb fast nichts anderes als einen Spanier vorzuschlagen, zumal auch ärgerlicherweise für uns Jensen ablehnte (die Schweden haben noch nie einen Sekretär gestellt, ebensowenig die Amerikaner). Die Spanier akzeptierten, und man einigte sich darauf, nicht Personen, sondern Sektionen zu ernennen, die jede einzelne im siebten Tagen je zwei Kandidaten für jeden Posten zu nennen hätten, über die dann binnen weiterer zwei Wochen per Referendum abgestimmt werden würde. S. Schweden schlug jede Übernahme eines Sekretariats ab, und so wurde beschlossen, dass Sekretäre zu stellen seien von Spanien (2), Portugal, Frankreich und Deutschland. Hier aber wurde das Prin-

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zip durchbrochen. Es wunderte mich schon, dass Spanien ausgerechnet die DAS vorschlug, denn die CNT ist unserer Gruppe ja garnicht gütlich, sondern hält sich lieber an die Souchylügen über uns - aber des Pedals Kern wurde sofort offenbar, als Vazques hinsatete, dass die Spanier Interesse daran hätten, dass ich im Sekretariat sei. Ich lehnte dies sofort ab und erklärte ausserdem, im Widerspruch zu meiner eigenen deutschen Bewegung zu stehen, was unser Delegierter Lewin aber in der Gegenklärung leugnete. So wurde Deutschland mitgewählt, "mit der moralischen Verpflichtung, dass R. vorgeschlagen werde". Ich protestierte in der nächsten Sitzung nochmals, aber die Spanier erklärten sich gegen mich, d.h. für meinen unbedingten Eintritt ins Sekretariat. Ich wollte dann in der Gruppe selbst erklären, dass man mich auf keinen Fall aufstellen dürfte, hatte aber am Tage nach dem Kongress eine längere Unterhaltung mit Besnard und eine zweite mit Vazques, die beide empfahlen, dass ich noch eine Weile bleiben solle. Dessen taten beiden taten - und eben auch Besnard, der übrigens seine Haltung mir gegenüber völlig geändert hat, hat mich schliesslich umgestimmt im Sinne einer provisorischen Akzeptierung, und ich habe den DAS-Senat erklärt, dass sie mich aufstellen können, wenn sie wollen. So war ich ab.

Dieses Mandat geht höchstens bis August, zum ordentlichen Kongress, zu dem die Spanier mit dem durchgearbeiteten Material für eine Änderung der IAA-Verfassung anrücken wollen. Es ist natürlich möglich, dass meine Tätigkeit auch früher endet - ich bin mir noch garnicht sicher, dass die Zusammenarbeit gut geht, und ausserdem ebensowenig, dass ich mich in Paris legalisieren kann.

Die Spanier jedenfalls wollen zum Sekretariat ihre grossen "Kanonen" schicken, wie mir Vazques nachher andeutete. Sie sind entschlossen, die IAA ernst zu nehmen, das heisst sie ganz an sich zu reissen. Auch noch besser als diese bisherige Aussenpolitik... Im neuen Sekretariat nun wird es sehr spanisch zugehen, denn unter fünf Sekretären sind zwei selbst Spanier, und der Portugiese stets ihr bedingungsloser Parteigänger. Ich selbst gehe ja trotzdem auch weit mit ihnen.

Übrigens habe ich auf dem Kongress eine interessante Erscheinung beobachtet: die Zersetzung der CGTSR-Delegation. Zwei der fünf Delegierten waren am Ende des Kongresses völlig verwandelt, und ich fand sie in heftiger Diskussion gegen einige deutsche "Hundertprozentige" verwickelt, welche den Standpunkt der sog. Amigos de Durruti verteidigten, der ja früher der der CGTSR war. Und Richard selbst geriet gegen Ende des Kongresses in einen heftigen Konflikt mit Schapira, den er anklagte, ein abstrakter Intellektueller zu sein ohne Berührung mit den sozialen Realitäten (dies geschah nicht öffentlich vor dem Kongress, ward aber allen offenbar). Die versöhnliche Schlussresolution über die antifaschistische Einheitsfront, die Besnard ausgearbeitet hatte, fand grösste Sympathie bei der CNT, und in eine neue Resolution, die er ausarbeitete, nahm er das in meinem Bericht geforderte Prinzip der taktischen Autonomie der Sektionen der IAA auf.

Unter Verschiedenes konnten einige der wichtigsten Dinge nicht mehr geklärt werden - so die Frage der Widersprüche zwischen der CIA und der IAA, die Frage der Unterstützung der aus Spanien Ausgewanderten und Flüchtigen, die von der CNT nach wie vor beschimpft und verunglimpft werden, die praktischen und Einzelfragen der künftigen Zusammenarbeit zwischen IAA und Aussenpropaganda der CNT. Die Zusammensetzung des Sekretariats schliesst Gefahren ungerechter Entscheidungen und des Ausbruch mancher Konflikte ein.. es wird nicht leicht sein. Hoffen wir

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dass die Personenauswahl erträglich ausfällt.

Die Anklage Seuchy konnte nicht mehr gelöst werden... was ihn zu einigen wütenden Zwischenrufen und Vasquez zu einer Erklärung zu seinen Gunsten provozierte. Eine Resolution der Franzosen über die Forderung nach Befreiung der Gefangenen in allen Ländern, die vor allem auf Russland einging und die russischen Zustände als schlimmsten aller Faschismen hinstellte, löste noch eine heftige Diskussion aus. Die CNT lehnte sie ab, da eine derartige Attacke gegen Russland in Spanien nicht möglich sei. Die CNT, erklärte Vasquez, bekämpfe den Bolschewismus, und vielleicht mehr als wir alle, sie kämpfe täglich mit ihm, aber eine solche Resolution sei inopportun, weil die augenblickliche politische Lage einfach die sei: Negrin wollte den Krieg beenden, die spanischen Revolutionäre wollen ihn gewinnen, und als einzige russische Macht steht Russland zu ihnen, insofern es sie - immer noch - bewaffnet. So musste die Resolution angenommen werden mit einer Anspielung auf alle Regimes und einer bescheidenen Erwähnung derjenigen, dieselben selbst als antifaschistisch bezeichnen, aber ohne Nennung und besondere Charakterisierung Russlands.

An dieser Stelle einige Bemerkungen zu einem besonderen Punkt des Berichtes von Besnard. Dieser, nach einigem Herumreiten auf seinen fantastischen Plänen über Marokko und Portugal, welche die CNT in ihrem Gegenrapport als kindisch bezeichnet, spricht auch davon, dass er in der Lage gewesen sei, der CNT oder der Regierung der Republik Waffenlieferungen zu beschaffen, die die spätere Schaffung des Monopols der Russen unmöglich gemacht hätte. Abgesehen von der Fragwürdigkeit des konkreten Falles, muss erklärt werden, dass das hundertprozentig lächerlich ist. Der spanische Krieg konnte und darf nicht geführt werden mit Waffen, die "Fachleute" wie Besnard, ich oder sonst einer der Unseren irgendwo einkaufen, wobei es sich letzten Endes schliesslich, im besten Falle, um Handfeuerwaffen und leichtere Artillerie hätte handeln können - sondern er forderte und fordert jeden Tag mehr eine hochwertige, hochentwickelte Bewaffnung wie sie nur und nur von einer Regierung eines grossen Staates geliefert werden kann. Diese Bewaffnung ist ausserdem völlig wertlos, wenn sie geliefert wird ohne das hochqualifizierte Personal - hochqualifiziert im technischen und militärischen Sinne. In diesem Sinne war unsere an sich natürlich sehr berechtigte Protestaktion gegen die Waffenlosigkeit der Front von Aragon z.T. auf falschen Voraussetzungen aufgebaut. Man pflegte zu sagen: gebt uns Tanks, gebt uns Flugzeuge, und wir geben Euch Zaragoza, Terruel und Huesca. Offen gesagt, was hätten wir mit Tanks, Flugzeugen, hochspezialisierten Artillerie usw. angefangen? Gewiss, diese Front hätte vielleicht noch mit primitiveren Waffen in Bewegung kommen können, als der ganze Krieg noch nicht so vorgeschritten war - aber man bedenke, dass die Faschisten von Anfang an besser bewaffnet und organisiert waren. Mit den Tanks usw., die wir forderten, mussten wir die Techniker, Offiziere, das Personal und seine Organisation mit in Kauf nehmen, eben den Militarismus, gegen den man mit kindischen Generalversammlungsmanieren "kämpfte", "kämpfen" konnte, weil gottseidank die Faschisten nicht angriffen, sonst wäre die Sache schnell zuende gegangen. Dies soll übrigens nicht bedeuten, dass ich glaube, die Schicksale unserer Aragonfront hätten uns wenn wir uns freiwillig militarisieren hätten, sofort mit Waffen und russischen Offizieren beglückt - das keineswegs. Aber das ganze war ein kompliziertes politisches Spiel, dessen Bedeutung wir wie die ganze politische Arbeitsnotwendigkeit nicht verstanden haben, weil wir glücklich waren, auf falsch verstandenen und nicht organisch weitergebildeten Prinzipien herumzureiten. Glaubt man, wirkliche militärische Fachleute

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seien unter den Anarchisten vorhanden gewesen oder man habe sie mit der Fixigkeit ausbilden können, mit der nur ein Automatenfeuer hergestellt werden kann? Ausgeschlossen. Militantische Führer in dieser Zeit, die zugleich Techniker sein müssen und Organisationsdenken Drill. Die entscheidenden Krieg, im Rahmen derer alle anderen Gegebenheiten. Schapirosche Deklamationen gegen den neuen Militarismus und seine Gefahren und alberne Reden von einer Notwendigkeit des Appells an das "Volk" gegen Tanks und Flugszeuge sind geradezu krimineller Unfug, und es war mir eine ganz besondere Genugtuung auf dem Kongress über diese Frage sehr ernsthafte und entschlossene Worte Emma Goldmans zu hören, die auch den beliebten Vergleich mit dem russischen Bürgerkrieg ablehnte.

Die spanischen Kameraden sprachen zu diesen Dingen ebenfalls sehr ernsthaft und mit schwerwiegendem Material. Übrigens wiesen sie darauf hin - was auch wieder Emma bestätigte und belegte - dass unsere Militantenschaft nicht durch den Militarismus korrumpiert wird, sondern erst jetzt auf die Höhe komme, die erforderlich sei, um später eine ernsthafte Revolution kriegerisch zu gewinnen, jetzt nachdem sie aufgehört haben, mit kleinen Pistölehen und Schrotflinten allein umgehen zu können und Erfahrungen sammeln in der Anwendung der modernsten Bewaffnung, und in militärischer Organisation. Aber die innerspanischen Möglichkeiten kusserten sie sich in diesen und anderen Zusammenhängen sehr zuversichtlich für den Fall, dass es möglich sei, den Krieg durchzuführen, wozu jetzt alles an Kraft, Disziplin und Politik eingesetzt werden müsse, was irgend eingesetzt werden könne.

Dem Kongress lag noch ein interessanter Bericht über Polen vor, zu dem beschlossen wurde, der AFP eine regelmäßige Subvention zu geben, um ihr eine systematische publizistische Arbeit im Rahmen des IAA für die syndikalistischen Ideen zu ermöglichen.

Soweit eine allgemeine Übersicht über den Kongress - vor Erscheinen des Protokolls. Alles Praktische wird vom Sekretariat abhängen; dem man sicher Mittel geben wird und dass viel arbeiten kann, wenn die Personenfragen einigermaßen erträglich gelöst werden. Ich habe ein bisschen Angst vor den Spaniern - sie leben zu sehr unter sich und zu wenig in Kontakt mit uns, sie sind misstrauisch und sagen uns nicht gern alles, was uns beschäftigt - hier liegt die Gefahr.

Dieser Kongress nun war eigentlich der erste der IAA, auf dem nicht im luftleeren Raume prinzipielle und taktische Fragen diskutiert wurden, sondern versucht wurde aufzubauen oder sich wenigstens erst einmal zu verständigen auf der Basis realer sozialer und politischer Erscheinungen, in die ein Teil unserer Internationale als handelnder Faktor verwickelt ist. In den ersten Tagen fürchtete ich, dass alles zuendeginge. Ich führte während der Verhandlungen eine Art Notizen in dem ich vorwiegend bittere Bemerkungen über den brutalen Militarismus, den Egozentrismus, die Herrschsucht unserer spanischen Kameraden aufschrieb. Ich wollte diese Notizen als Grundlage einer späteren privaten Aufzeichnung benutzen, kann sie aber jetzt nicht mehr finden. Vielleicht gut so. Nach den ersten drei vier Tagen hatte ich nämlich sowieso wieder aufgehört, diese bitteren Notizen zu machen, und die Debatte begann mich zu ergreifen und zu interessieren. Das Merkwürdige war, dass die Spanier ihren ganzen Ärger und ihre Terrorisierungssucht an den kleinen Dingen ausliessen, während während ihre Interventionen zwar immer noch, bis zum Schluss, einen Hauch von Verbitterung trugen, aber doch auch viel sachlicher waren, was allem bemerkte jeder ihre unerschütterliche Entschlossenheit, dass

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bleiben... Der chilenische Delegierte, der eine sehr dumme Theorie von angeblichen Widersprüchen zwischen der Basis und der Führung der CNT vorbrachte und dadurch viel Ärger erregte, prägte bei einer gewissen Gelegenheit das bittere, aber wahre Wort, das die Spanier erst noch begreifen müssen, wenn sie wirklich ganze Anarchisten werden wollen: *Lealdad no es sinonimo de servilismo*. Das wissen sie noch nicht. Sie haben ihre Stiefelputzer gefunden und die ausländischen Leuten, die sie suchten, und das ist der Faktor, der in der Hauptsache eine Vorwärtsentwicklung des spanischen Anarchismus zu einer international "sozialen" Bewegung verhinderte. Das ist übrigens ein Punkt, in dem ich mit Bernard ganz einer Meinung bin.

Auf der anderen Seite - ich kann nicht aufhören, mich auch immer wieder über die skandalische Kritik gewisser ausländischer Genossen zu hören. Was das zum Beispiel der belgische Delegierte in seinem Bratenrock mit schulmeisterlich erhobenem Bleistift für Fragen an die CNT stellte, warum sie das und jenes getan oder nicht getan habe da sie doch so gross und mächtig sei usw., nun - ich verstehe da ganz einfach einen Vazquez der dann mit mit ironischem Lachen und einer verächtlichen Geste reagiert... Es mag falsch sein, aber ich verstehe es. Dabei habe ich nicht einmal etwas gegen den Belgier, trotz seines Bratenrocks und seines Bleistiftes, er ist ein guter Kerl, aber ein lächerlicher Schulmeister, der die Grösse und das Irrationale der sozial bewegenden Kräfte eben nie kapieren wird. Werauf er sich aber noch etwas einbildet; das ist das Tragikomische. Und so geht es vielen.

Ich sprach mit jemandem während des Kongresses über die Resolution der CNT zur antifaschistischen Einheitsfront, die eine schreckliche Präambel hat, die sie sich wahrscheinlich von irgendeinem dieser ahnungslosen Halbintellektuellen haben verfassen lassen, die heute mit der Bewegung sympathisieren und denen man überträgt, was man selbst eben nicht versteht und leider hinterher auch nicht beurteilen kann. Ich sagte: das ist wie ein Klumpen mit einander verfilster und ver-schleimter Wasserpflanzen, man kann keinen Faden herausziehen...

Später aber fiel mir ein: darin liegt etwas Typisches. Das Gedankengebilde eines kritisch denkenden Mannes wie Schapire ist wie eine stählerne Konstruktion - sie beruht auf der Mathematik, sie ist unangreifbar, sie hält. Die CNT - sie hat im Gegensatz dazu etwas Vegetabilisches. Man kann vielleicht sogar sagen, dass sie gar keine anarchistische Bewegung im Sinne der Theorien ist, obwohl sie irgend etwas davon an sich hat. Sie ist nur... "nur" ein Lebewesen, das sich regt, wächst und den zur Verfügung stehenden Raum auszufüllen versucht - ein Ziel dem sie trotz aller Vernichtung immer wieder nahe kommt. Darin ist nichts Logisches, keine Klarheit, sondern nur - wie der dieses zweifelhafte "nur", Vitalität. Eine Vitalität, die das noch ein bestimmtes Gestaltungsgesetz in sich trägt. Mit "Anarchismus" ist es sicher ungenügend, vielleicht sogar falsch formuliert - wer kann es wissen? Ein Wille zur Freiheit ist es sicher. Die heutigen Dirigenten machen gigantische Anstrengungen, diesem Prozess des Werdens eines Volkes Formen aufzuprägen, es zu klären, zu organisieren, zu disziplinieren - wenn doch einer der Kritiker dies einmal zu bemerken geruhte? Aber sie sind zu dumm, oder zu sehr in ihre dumme "Klugheit" verstrickt. Was heisst Recht haben. Wo liegt die Kraft, die schöpferisch eine neue Zukunft gestalten kann? Das ist die Frage. Die menschliche Gesellschaft ist keine Stahlkonstruktion - gewiss auch kein Pflanzengebilde. In dem Murbilologischen arbeitet ordnender Geist. Dieser aber bleibt unschöpferisch oder wird zerstörend, wenn er nicht dem Leben dient, das aus sich selbst treibt und wächst. Si-

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aber aber ist die spanische CNT-Bewegung etwas lebendiges. Man kann sich da nicht abschieben stellen, man muss zu ihr stehen. Ich hoffe, dass man dabei in Gefahr kommt, den geraden, ausgefachten Weg der alten Theorie um einige Grade zu verlassen, was schadet es.

Der Kongress selbst war gewiss kein schönes Erlebnis. Das Ganze war durchdringbar aufreibend. Aber wenn auch das Resultat zunächst nicht befriedigend ist und sicherlich in dem neuen Sekretariat und zwischen den Sektionen neue Konflikte nicht fehlen werden, so habe ich doch die Überzeugung, dass das alles, was auf diesem Kongress gesagt worden ist, so gegensätzlich manches nebeneinander stand, in mehr oder weniger kurzer Zeit zu einer organischen Synthese in den Hirnen unserer Kameraden zweier Kontinente zusammenwachsen wird. Es kann und muss zu einer Durchdringung der alten Ideen und der neuen Erfahrungen kommen, aus der etwas ganz Neues geboren werden kann.

Auf dem Kongress vertreten waren: Spanien, Portugal, Frankreich, Holland, Belgien, Deutschland, Schweden, Polen, Italien, Chile und Argentinien, der argentinische Delegierte hatte auch noch ein Mandat Uruguay zu erhalten, das zu vertreten er aber ablehnte, weil seiner Meinung nach in der Resolution, die er vertreten sollte, eine ungenügende Kritik der CNT enthalten war. Übrigens stimmte er selbst nicht mit ab, da seiner Angabe nach in Argentinien die Tagesordnung nicht diskutiert werden konnte.

Der ganze Kongress war in der Tat nicht im föderalistischen Sinne vorgearbeitet, weshalb die Genossen in der Diskussion über den Charakter des Kongresses immerhin Recht hatten, wenn sie sich gegen die Forderungen der CNT wandten. Die CNT hatte aber auch recht, wenn sie darauf hinwies, dass die Sache eilig sei und man sich nicht an papierene Dinge halten dürfe... es gehe um Leben und Tod von Hunderttausenden.

Dieser Fehler brachten die Spanier immer wieder vor. Oft in grober und verletzender Weise, wie Prieto, als er auf die Diskussion über den spanischen Einheitsfrontvorschlag antwortete mit der Bemerkung, dass er sich nicht wundert, denn in beschränkten Hirnen können der spanische Vorschlag schliesslich keine andere Aufnahme finden... dass aber auch in tiefergehender Weise, wenn sie immer wieder betonten, dass die Probleme anders aussehen, wenn sie in einem Zirkel alter Freunde diskutiert werden, und wieder anders, wenn von der praktischen Entscheidung des Schicksals von Millionen abhängt und die Welt auf einen Blick.

Paris, 20. Dezember 1937

H. R.

18847

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600



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938 March 22, Paris to Emma Goldman, London (enclosure)] / [Helmut Rüdiger]. — 10 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

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Helmut Rüdiger

Fra Emma

Paris 20. Dezember 1938

Dies ist geschacht nur

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Das ist geschacht nur als ein man Russland ein

Das ist geschacht nur als ein man Russland ein

Das ist geschacht nur als ein man Russland ein

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

871001024

[Letter] 1938 March 22, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / Martin Gudell. —  
2 p. ; 22 x 18 cm.

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19342

C. N. T.

A. I. T.

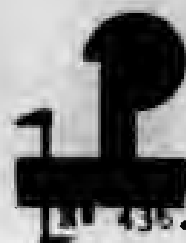
F. A. I.

**CONFEDERACIÓN NACIONAL DEL TRABAJO  
FEDERACIÓN ANARQUISTA IBÉRICA**

CASA C. N. T. - F. A. I.

VIA DURRUTI, 32

BARCELONA

**OFICINA DE PROPAGANDA EXTERIOR**SECRETARIADO - DEPARTAMENTO 84  
TELÉFONO 14731 - 41**TELÉFONOS:**

CENTRALITA 14731

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Barcelona 22 marzo 1938.

Camarade EMMA GOLDMAN,  
Londres.

Chère camarade,

Votre amie M<sup>re</sup>. Adams est venue me visiter. Elle m'a montré la lettre que vous l'avez adressée. En même temps j'ai répondu aux problèmes qui vous intéressent et je lui ai donné le livre dont je vous parlait dans ma précédente lettre et qui vient de sortir à la vente. Je suppose que ce livre sera en votre possession avant d'arriver la présente, car M<sup>re</sup>. Adams m'a dit qu'elle allait partir au commencement de cette semaine.

Maintenant, j'ai quelques problèmes à vous exposer:

1<sup>er</sup> - Un rédacteur de "Catalunya" vous prie de collaborer dans son journal. "Catalunya" c'est le journal du Comité Régional de Catalogne. Ils vous seraient grés de bien vouloir leur faire un article par semaine. C'est vous même qui devez élire le thème. Ils aimeraient que vous écriviez sur les principales thèmes de l'anarchisme et que vous fassiez vos articles de façon que la censure d'Espagne permette leur publication. Ils m'ont assuré qu'ils sont disposés à payer la collaboration.

Je sais que vous n'avez pas le temps pour cela, car vous êtes très occupées, mais je vous prie que, si vous ne pouvez pas écrire des articles pour "Catalunya", de le faire parvenir, au moins, une copie des articles que vous écrivez pour d'autre presse. Vous pouvez le faire en anglais et ici nous trouverons des traducteurs. Les articles vous pourrions les remettre à mon adresse et je les ferai parvenir au directeur du journal.

2<sup>e</sup> - L'année dernière, quand Bluestein était ici, il a insisté plusieurs fois afin d'envoyer un colis avec matériel de propagande à l'adresse de W. Farrer. Bluestein

....

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

871001024

[Letter] 1938 March 22, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / Martin Gudell. — 2 p. ; 22 x 18 cm.

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19343

avait ajouté à ce colis une collection de plusieurs affiches. Dans ce colis avaient 600 brochures sur les événements de mai en Barcelone. La maison d'exportation qui a fait l'envoi, veut de nous communiquer que Farrer ne veut pas retirer ce colis, car il doit payer £ 1.2.2. Je ne connais pas vos relations avec Farrer, mais je crois qu'on n'a pas le droit que pour ne pas payer 1 £, on laisse perdre tout ce matériel. Je vous prie que, si vous pouvez intervenir, de payer cette somme de £ 1.2.2. et de prendre ces brochures et affiches.

Je ne désire pas faire cet envoi, mais Bluestein a voulu le faire et maintenant nous nous trouvons avec cela.

Je vous serais gré de bien vouloir me communiquer aussi tôt que vous aurez quelque nouvelle sur cette affaire.

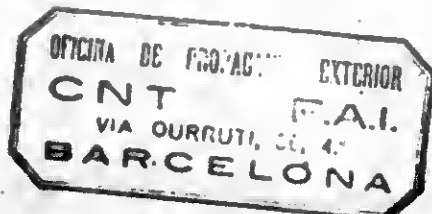
3<sup>e</sup> - Je vous prie de me communiquer par votre prochaine lettre ce qui représente cette Unión Anarco-sindicalista d'Angleterre et combien d'adhérents compte.

4<sup>e</sup> - En ce qui concerne les livres édités en anglais, j'ai parlé sur cela au Comité National et Péninsulaire. Vazquez et Herrera sont d'accord d'acquiescer tous les livres que l'on a édités concernant la guerre civile espagnole. Pour cela, il faut que vous nous envoyiez immédiatement une liste des livres et de ses auteurs, indiquant son prix, afin de vous faire parvenir la somme nécessaire.

Ces derniers jours Barcelona a dû supporter des bombardements comme l'on n'a pas vu jamais. Pendant 3 jours et 3 nuits venaient périodiquement des escadrilles de la base de Palma de Mallorca et ils ont détruit plus de la moitié de la capitale. C'est une chose inénarrable. La maison de la C.N.T.-F.A.I. a encore de la chance. Les bombes ont tombé en face et par derrière. Vous rappelez-vous de la Banque à laquelle nous allions faire quelques enquêtes ? L'une de ces bombes est tombée dans cette Banque. Dans la même Via Durruti a tombé aussi une autre bombe à côté de cette même banque. Derrière de la maison C.N.T.-F.A.I. est tombée une autre bombe. Dans la maison dont j'habite ont tombé aussi très près des bombes et ont cassé tous les vitres de chez moi. La maison où habitait Totó est détruite. Sa compagne se trouve à l'hôpital avec des graves contusions. Barcelone est en deuil. Il y a plus de 3.000 morts. Si vous viendrez une autre fois, vous n'allez pas la reconnaître. Commencant par la place de Catalogne jusqu'à la place de l'Université, c'est tout détruit et ainsi l'Hotel Colon. En général il n'y a pas une rue qui n'ait pas quelques maisons détruites. Nous espérons notre tour.

A vous lire, recevez mes salutations fraternelles,

Martin Gudell



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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Postcard] 1938 March 23 [London to] Emma Goldman, London / Ethel [Mannin]. —  
2 p. ; 7 × 11 cm.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Postcard] 1938 March 23 [London to] Emma Goldman, London / Ethel [Mannin]. --  
2 p. ; 7 x 11 cm.

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Wed evening

17264

Have yr card which crossed with hurried note I wrote you last night. I have to be in town tomorrow, Thursday, and will make a real effort to come into the office - wanted to ring you there tonight to discuss a time but can't find your phone number anywhere; stupid of me; anyhow I will hope to come in about 4.30 - I have an appt at 6 to meet Reg and B (prior to going out to Peckham -) but perhaps we could all go out together? (B isn't coming - merely eating with us before-hand) If I came along to you about 4.30 we could have a talk and then go along to meet Reg and B at six? If I have a letter from you in the morning with phone number will ring you then. If not will almost sure to be along about 4.30.  
Haste. Love. *EG*

605

## The Emma Goldman Papers

870930280

[Letter, 19]38 March 23, Barcelona [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / P[edro] Herrera. — 1 p. ; 29 × 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

18994

Barcelona, 23-3-38

Dear Emma,

I am addressing myself to you personally hoping that you will do me a favour, in which the comrades of Paris have failed me though six months have passed since I asked them.

We need a copy of the English edition of the book: MODERN SCIENCE AND ANARCHISM (the Spanish title is: La ciencia moderna y el anarquismo) by Kropotkin. I don't know if the title is the same in English. We ignore the name of the editor, but it should not be difficult to find out as it had been edited in London.

I need the book because a friend of mine, Catalan editor, wants to publish it in his regional language. We have copies of the Spanish and French translation, but he has the principle to translate only from the language in which the work had originally been written. Therefore we are looking for a copy of the English edition.

It is of great importance that we introduce our literature in Catalan, because in spite of the fact that Catalonia is the region of Spain, which has distinguished itself by the strength of the anarchist organizations, hardly anything has been edited in Catalan. Strange as it may seem, this book by Kropotkin will be one of the few works edited in Catalan.

I hope that you will make an effort to help me and that I shall be able to thank you soon for the book; I promised the editor to get it quickly, so that he can immediately order the translation. I am sure you have the means of getting hold of a copy at once.

Have you received the Catalan review? They published a very good photograph of yours in their first number, praising you as an anarchist fighter. It seems that in this country even the elements of the "Esquerra" (Catalan Left) have fallen in love with you.

Fraternally  
yours





## The Emma Goldman Papers

870919099

[Letter] 1938 March 23 [Scotia, N.Y. to Emma Goldman, London] / [W.S.] Van [Valkenburgh].— 1 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

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23 March 1938

11811

Dear Faithful:

Whether I ever acknowledged your letter of January third or not I do not and cannot know because I have not always had a typewriter available, nor have I always been able to use one if I had. However, I have never heard further about the IWMA conference in Paris and your impressions which I am most anxious to know. About a week ago I saw Rose Pesotta at the first meeting where Abe Bluestein has spoken since his return. Abe gave a splendid talk at a joint meeting where the socialist and a P OUM ist- (Bertram Wolff) also spoke. Abe openly challenged Wolff to debate the position of the CNT since July 19th. I don't know whether Wolff accepted or not. However, Abe has kept very much to himself since coming back to NY- I don't know why. Rose told me much of her elaborate Washington plans and promised to write me more about them but she hasn't as yet. Since she is keeping in touch with you, there is no need repeating what she told me. Of course you know Perkins will have absolutely nothing to do with matter but I understand Rotaling is in a position and quite open to the idea and that his hands will not be tied provided he is willing to take full responsibility for whatever he does. You should know that neither Rose Pesotta nor Abe Bluestein, to my knowledge, ever called a meeting of the comrades, as you indicated in one of your recent letters they would do upon their arrival in the USA.

As soon as you can approximate the time as to when you would want to sail, the committee will get busy again and revive interest in the project- things slowed up for a number of reasons. But you should remember that as soon as people find an excuse for doing nothing they are not slow to grab it- hence when the announcement came that instead of going to C last fall, you were returning to Spain, they stopped coming to meetings and the collections stopped coming in. Jean Levey, to whom I have written several letters has not answered my last two. Of course I know she is working on her own among people she knows personally, but it would be much better if we, here in New York, knew about much she has raised so far...

I do want to get your impressions of what is going on- about the IWMA meeting- about the situation in Barcelona- what there is to this talk of the CNT again planning to enter the government and well, you know how decidedly we are in the dark as to what is really going on - save that we know that everything is horrible..... That comrade Seguidia was the comrade of Liza Brilliant-Bora Brilliant's niece and mother in law of Dominick Solito. Seguidia was a member of Cultura Proletaria group- he went to Spain last summer and was killed in Madrid in January, but news only reached here last week.....

Please write me at length whenever you can for I am hungry for news and I also know you are too busy to write endless personal letters, but do the best you can and I will try to write a more extended letter next time.

Greetings

van

*your answer  
pand as that of  
Spain & the world?*

*r*  
*\$ 1*

607

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 March 24 [London to] Martin [Gudell, Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p. ; 20 x 16 cm.

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1938

24th March 1938.

Dear Martin,

Your letter Number 394 reached me on my return from Scotland. I found a lot of things to do, also I waited till the enclosed leaflet containing the negotiations between the CNT and UGT were printed as well as the stand of the FAI which you sent me in addition. As you will see we also have the diagram of the industries under CNT control.

While we cannot boast of encouraging results to the amount of work we are doing, we nevertheless feel we must go on. I believe I have already told you in my last letter that the only ray of hope held out is the response, few I admit, we have received from the Trade and Labour Councils, and Trade Union Branches. It is certainly uphill work and far too slow for the peace of my mind; but I don't see what else can be done. Certainly we have tried everything possible, but we simply have not succeeded in attracting the attention of the workers much less the intellectuals to the work we are doing for the CNT-FAI and also the work for the SIA brings nothing. The exhibition of the children's work was a complete failure. We did not even cover expenses small as they were. My meetings in Scotland for the CNT and the SIA were attended by small inert and lifeless crowds. Actually we have invested a fortune in all sorts of ways including advertising.

The reason for our poor results are twofold. First the numerous Spain aid organisations and groups under different names, yet exclusively communists, have worn the people out in giving. Secondly is the fact that Spain is no longer of such insistent news as it was months ago, especially since the invasion of Austria and the frightful results of it there. Lastly is the reactionary tendency of the Labour Party and the Trade Unions. The Government, fascist to the core, has eventually realised that to push through its armament programme it needs appeal for the support of the Members of Parliament of the Labour Party, and through them to the workers. It is certain that the Labour Leaders will support the Government and turn over the mace to the war needs of the Government. You will therefore see that we are confronted with a desperate situation, and therefore do not be surprised that our efforts so far may have meagre results.

I hope you will not be angry if I tell you that the English in the bulletin continues to be very bad. I am sorry that you have such difficulties with the English translator. I wish there were someone here who could be suggested. You remember Ruth Prothero. She is a beautiful, earnest and firm comrade. Unfortunately her English is also deficient. It were different if there were someone here who could polish her translations from Spanish into English. She would be better for German and French. She is most eager to return to Spain, and actually asked me to write you whether she could be used working with you. I do not feel justified in misleading you about her English. It is faulty; but the one you have doesn't seem to be doing much better, especially the last bulletin had an awfully lot of errors. I don't know of— who or what to suggest. I am sorry. If the method of transmission

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 March 24 [London to] Martin [Gudell, Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p. ; 20 x 16 cm.

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2

19359

were as formerly, I would suggest what I suggested while I was in Spain, that the text of the bulletin should be sent to us by Air Mail, and we should send back by Air Mail a corrected copy. At best it would mean a delay; but even that would be preferable to a bulletin which gives misrepresentations of the Spanish and is generally confused. Of course under the present circumstances, when a letter takes a month, that suggestion is useless.

The artistic affair for the SIA we were to have on the 1st April had to be postponed until the latter part of April. At this moment I do not yet know whether we will be able actually to go through with it. Difficulties about halls, theatres, artists etc. You must not forget that we are a boycotted people because everyone knows we are anarchists and English people especially are afraid of that term and keep aloof.

Next week we shall be issuing circulars - we shall be sending to several thousands of Trade Union branches, local branches, the material as per enclosed. At the same time we are preparing an exhibition of photographs of the collectives I have visited with Augustin and with you. I wish I had more of the photographs; but it seems impossible to get that from your end. I have begged and begged; but without avail - so we will do the best we can. Also we are preparing our reading room. Last but not least we have put at the disposal of the re-organised Anarcho-Syndicalist Union our large room for meetings every week.

I have been so busy with one thing or the other that I have not yet attended any of their meetings; but I mean to do so very soon to see what they have achieved.

One of our next steps is preparing for 1st May demonstration. If at all in our power we mean to make a big affair out of it, with posters, flags and banners. We may do it together with the I.L.P. as we were refused last year permit for a van in the park. We had to use one of the I.L.P.s - so we may as well arrange it together.

There are so many more things that I would like to write you; but I cannot do it. I am expecting somebody at 2 o'clock for an interview and at three my secretary is coming to take dictation for my preface to the collection of Berneri's letters and articles which the Italian comrades are getting out in book form - so you must be satisfied with this for the present.

With fraternal greetings.

P.S. You say in your letter that you will soon send us the constructive film. I am not quite clear what you mean by this. Am I to understand that Frank is not bringing the film himself? That would be a great mistake; because to send anything by mail even via Feris will take months, and we have already lost many valuable months of our activities that could have been tremendously enhanced by the film. I would therefore like to impress upon you, dear Martin, also upon Herrera that the films should be sent with Frank as soon as possible. Let me hear from you about that.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 March 24 [St. Tropez to] E[mma] G[oldman], London / Robert Sandström. — 2 p. ; 30 × 21 cm.

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R. SANDSTRÖM

Mme E.G. COLTON, A Londres

L. 24 Mars 1938

FOLIO 1

Chère Amie,

J'ai bien reçu votre lettre du 17 courant. Comme je vous l'ai déjà écrit, vous n'avez plus à vous soucier des factures à payer pour tout ce qui concerne "Bon Esprit" depuis que vous l'avez vendu. Vous n'avez qu'à ne pas répondre et laisser ceux qui vous réclament de l'argent se débrouiller avec ceux qui ont acheté votre maison.

En ce qui concerne notamment l'abonnement au téléphone, il n'y a qu'à laisser le Receveur des Postes de St-Tropez réclamer à qui il voudra les sommes qui peuvent être dûes; s'il n'encaisse rien, soyez tranquille, il ne versera pas un sou de sa poche, et l'Etat Français ne pourra pas vous obliger à payer, puisque 1° vous avez dénoncé l'abonnement depuis longtemps, et 2° puisque vous n'avez plus rien en France.

Soyez donc tranquille au sujet de cette nouvelle réclamation venant de St-Tropez, et ne bougez pas. Quant à moi, j'estime complètement inutile d'aller voir le Receveur à ce sujet.

Comme je ne me promène pas beaucoup à St-Tropez, je ne savais pas si May était encore ici; J'ai demandé aujourd'hui si elle était partie. Il paraît qu'elle est toujours ici, mais je n'ai pu savoir ce qu'elle fait actuellement.

En ce qui concerne ce que vous me rappelez au sujet de la tragédie Espagnole, mon point de vue n'a pas changé depuis la soirée déjà lointaine, pendant laquelle nous avons discuté à ce sujet avec Mollie et vous. Il ne fallait pas intervenir dans une guerre civile, ni d'un côté ni de l'autre; or, la "non-intervention" a été violée en faveur des deux côtés, personne ne peut le nier actuellement. Et, à mon avis, cela a été une grave erreur de la part des politiciens tarés qui, pour soutenir une idéologie ou une autre, ont fait appel au concours de puissances Etrangères à l'Espagne, car ce ne sont plus des frères qui se sont battus pour défendre leur idéal, chacun de leur côté, mais bien des intérêts politiques étrangers qui se sont affrontés, Hypocritiquement, dans le champ clos espagnol. L'appui militaire et financier a été fait plus ou moins ouvertement de part et d'autre, et aussi, il faut le dire, plus ou moins massivement, mais cet appui a été fait et est encore pratiqué. Aussi, quel que soit le sort des armées qui s'affrontent en Espagne, le résultat sera certainement, sinon la perte, tout au moins une diminution de l'indépendance politique de ce pays, et c'est là le tragique côté de la question.

Du fait que des puissances étrangères sont intervenues dans les deux camps Espagnols, il est impossible de concevoir maintenant que le pauvre peuple Espagnol puisse vivre désormais libre dans une République démocratique; il sera inévitablement bolchevisé ou nazifié.

Et voilà ma conclusion, qui reste toujours la même: tous ceux qui, par idéologie pure ou par politique intéressée ont favorisé l'intervention en Espagne, sont responsables de la ruine certaine et de la perte de l'indépendance future de ce malheureux pays.



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 March 24 [St. Tropez to] E[mma] G[oldman], London / Robert Sandström. — 2 p. ; 30 x 21 cm.

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24005

Si la grande Révolution Française de 1789 a pu libérer le Peuple Français, c'est précisément parcequ'il n'a pas toléré l'intrusion des Nations étrangères dans ses affaires de famille. Ainsi, il a pu se libérer lui-même et gagner sa liberté sans rien devoir aux autres peuples, au contraire.

L'Histoire se répète toujours, et la fin de l'aventure tragique Espagnole en sera une nouvelle preuve.

Il fallait intervenir pour sauver les vies humaines innocentes, là, il n'y a pas un homme de cœur qui aurait pu prétendre le contraire; mais cela a été une folie criminelle d'intervenir pour augmenter le massacre dans les deux camps, sous le prétexte hypocrite "d'aider" l'un ou l'autre.

Maintenant, il est trop tard pour revenir sur ce qui a été fait. Mais tout le mal n'est pas encore accompli: le guépier espagnol est capable d'entraîner une conflagration générale, avec la situation déjà très tendue en Europe à la suite de l'Anschluss et des visées Hitlériennes sur la région des Sudètes de Tchéco-Slovaquie et sur le "Couloir de Dantzig". Ce ne seront pas les conversations italo-britanniques qui pourront changer grand chose à cette situation.

Ma Chers Amis, je crains bien que l'idéal pour lequel vous et Sasha avez combattu toute votre vie, est plus loin que jamais d'être atteint. Au lieu de progresser vers la Paix et le bien-être, l'Humanité se précipite vers la guerre et la misère générale.

L'Humanité est folle et les politiciens sont des criminels plus ou moins conscients.

Ceci dit, attendons les événements, sans espoir, mais aussi sans crainte exagérée.

Ce que vous me dites au sujet d'Emmy ne m'étonne pas du tout; si on l'a mis hors de l'hôpital après quinze jours, c'est certainement parcequ'elle a dû ennuyer tout le personnel avec ses réclamations continuelles. Je plains cette pauvre madame Harris de s'être chargée d'un "colis" aussi encombrant et embêtant. Je me demande toujours comment Sasha a pu vivre si longtemps avec un poison pareil.

Notre santé est toujours assez bonne; malheureusement, du côté travail et financier, ça va plus mal que jamais et je me demande si nous ne sommes pas condamnés, ma femme et moi, à crever comme des bêtes, seuls sans parents ni amis, à St-Tropez. Notre vie ici est bien triste, croyez-le.

Nous espérons que vous êtes toujours en bonne santé, et nous vous souhaitons de réussir comme vous le désirez dans la tâche que vous essayez d'accomplir.

Bien affectueusement vôtre:



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 March 24 Stroud [England to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Tom Keell Wolfe. — 1 p. ; 24 x 20 cm.

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Whiteway  
Stroud  
Glos.

24/3/38

Dear Emma Goldman

You may remember that after the meeting in Edinburgh the other week I agreed to assist you on April 1<sup>st</sup> with your social. Could you let me know when and where I will be wanted — will you need help early on the Friday for getting things ready? I could be in town by about eleven a.m. on the Friday, and will be available all day and evening.

Please let me know details as soon as is convenient to you so busy as yourself.

All best wishes to you, and to U.P. and the others in the group.

Yours fraternally

Tom Keell Wolfe

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 March 25, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / Mariano R. Vázquez [and] Pedro Herrera. — 1 p. ; 17 x 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

BARCELONA, a 25 de marzo de 1938

A la Oficina de Propaganda C.N.T.-F.A.I. en Inglaterra.  
London.

Estimada camarada Emma Goldman:

Para los efectos de reproducción y propaganda, le presento el discurso del Secretario del Comité Nacional C.N.T. en el mitin de Alianza radiado anoche a toda España, romance de nuestro camarada Antonio Agraz, recitado por el mismo.

Sin otro particular, te saludan fraternalmente,

POR EL CTE. PENINSULAR FAI.

POR EL CTE. NACIONAL CNT

Pedro Herrera.

Mariano R. Vázquez

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 March 25 [Paris to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Helmut [Rüdiger]. —  
1 p. ; 26 × 21 cm.

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Adresser toutes les communications à

ASSOCIATION INTERNATIONALE des TRAVAILLEURS  
INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION  
INTERNATIONALE ARBEITER - ASSOZIATION  
ASOCIACION INTERNACIONAL DE LOS TRABAJADORES  
ASSOCIAZIONE INTERNAZIONALE DEI LAVORATORI

18820

Emma Goldman

25. März 1938

Liebe Emma,

ich erhielt das Gewerkschaftsblatt mit dem Artikel über die CNT. Wenn dieses auch lau ist — so finde ich, dass die Sache als ein Erfolg betrachtet werden muss! So wird die CNT wenigstens ~~et~~ dem Namen nach bekannt und die Sache hat irgendwelche Folgen. Dies wird Dich sicher ermutigen!

Eine Bitte. Ich nehme an, Du weißt ungefähr, welche Adressen beim englischen Bulletin in Barcelona vorhanden waren. Ich habe sie hier, und werde sie benutzen als Grundlage für eine Adressenliste für unser jetziges Bulletin. Wenn Du noch andere ~~Interessenten~~ Interessenten und ihre Adressen, für die englische Ausgabe, weißt, dann teile sie uns bitte mit.

Anbei Quittung von Doussot.

Heute ist ein Freudentag für mich. Die 5 Genossen, die noch in Segorbe gefangen waren, sind, endlich, frei. Sie schreiben mir eine gemeinsame Karte aus Valencia. Mir fällt ein Stein vom Herzen. Unter ihnen ist mein Freund (und Schüler) Michel, mit dem ich seit 15 Jahren eng verbunden bin und dessen Los mir besonders am Herzen lag. Jetzt sind sie frei! Du kannst Dir denken, wie froh ich bin.

Herzlich grüsst

*Froh ein großer  
Freund von Rüdiger!*

*Helmut*





# The Emma Goldman Papers

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[Letter] 1938 March 25 [Paris to] Emma Goldman, [London] / [Helmut Rüdiger].—  
1 p.; 30 × 22 cm.  
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Emma Goldman

25. März 1938

Liebe Emma,

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Herzlich grüsst



H. Rüdiger

Joh 11 1937

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615

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938] March 26 [London to Martha Gordon Crotch, Vence, France] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 28 x 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

23996

March 26th 37

Dearest Auntie.

I received your letter and the inclosed statement of the Fulham Borough Council for £5. 5.10. Knowing that I had never permitted my bills to lay around for more than a few days without paying them, and also that I had issued a check for £3.10.6 which you had sent to me I understood at once that there must be some error. Ralph has been to the electric people and has found out that the three pounds ten and six I paid was for the use of the electricity up to end of Dec. 1937. Since then ~~until~~ I have sent a check for £2.2.10 which paid up until the 11th of Feb. the day I left your flat.

The £3.5.4. is the charge for the unexpired term of a two years agreement you entered into. Naturally your new tenant will have to pay that as he will want the stoves and other electric fixtures that remained in your flat. I certainly do not want you to lose anything my dear or to be the cause of any inconvenience to your other tenants. But neither should I be expected to pay for the use of the stoves and boiler in the kitchen for another year when for people I have nothing to do with. I hope you will see the ~~xxxxxxx~~ that while I certainly do not want you to be the loser neither can I pay for your new tenants. All I can offer is to pay part of the cost until Feb. 11th. I hope my dear you will not feel injured or peeved with me.

I have no idea what is to become of Emmy. I am sending her a monthly allowance which while not enough to step out on it ~~xxx~~ should keep her from want. I wish I could do more. But I simply cannot. I think she has written to Stein and he may help her. As to her condition I fear it will continue to the rest of her life. Nellie wrote me that E. now claims the operation was not done well. I do not see how she can get well if she does not keep to her bed for a time. Nancy leaving the hospital two weeks after the operation. She claims they made her go. If that is really true then the people in the hospital are brutal and should be exposed. But I have my doubts about it. They never drove Sasha out.

## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938] March 26 [London to Martha Gordon Crotch, Vence, France] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 28 x 21 cm.

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23997

I appreciate your fear of seeing E. Still I hope if you will find a half day or while you are in Nice you will see her. She is an unfortunate case.

Our experience this year with an affair for International Solidarity is like last year. Some musicians backed out at the last moment. We had to postpone it until after Easter. I will know Monday or Tuesday just what date we can have it. It is the same struggle and no end. No end to the suffering of the people in Spain. But nothing moves the masses here not even the frightfulness of the last raids of Barcelona, or the calvary of the people in Austria. I am sure human sensibilities have become atrophied since the world war. No wonder it can so easily be driven to the brink of another conflagration.

I see Stella is to speak at a protest meeting Monday in Friends House. I may go to hear her.

With love.

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 March 26, London [to] Banque Seligman, Paris / [Emma Goldman]. —  
1 p.; 28 x 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

March 26th 38

23998

Banque Seligman.  
45, Boulevard Haussmann  
Paris.

Gentlemen.

I'm moving from 18 Castletown Rd London W.14 to  
6. Sneath Avenue London N.W.2. I unfortunately lost or mislaid the  
last statement you sent me of my account in dollars, francs and  
pounds and also a check book containing the stubs of issued  
checks between July 27th ~~in~~ 37, to Jan. 12th 38. No doubt you can  
give me in your statement. ~~the~~ amounts issued in the lost check  
book. Kindly do so as soon as possible.

Thanking you for your favor.

Yours truly.

• sent to Jan. 12th 38

as the checkbook with stubs between July 26th ~~and~~ Sept 37  
have unfortunately mislaid the last statement you sent me as well  
dollars, pounds and francs of 37 ~~mislaid~~ up to date. I  
Please send me a complete statement of my accounts in

Gentlemen.

Banque Seligman  
45 Boulevard Haussmann.  
Paris.

London March 26th 38



## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 March 26, London [to] Banque Seligman, Paris / [Emma Goldman]. —  
1 p. ; 12 × 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

London March 26th 38

Banque Seligman  
45 Boulevard Haussmann.  
Paris.

Gentlemen.

Please send me a complete statement of my accounts in  
dollars, pounds and francs of 37 ~~xxxxxxx~~ up to date. I  
have unfortunately mislaid the last statement you sent me as well  
as the checkbook with stubs between July 26th ~~and~~ Sept 37  
~~and~~ to Jan. 12th 38 .

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27/3/38

9 Fair. 18280  
90 Helt Rd  
Kensington  
Liverpool. 7.

קדושתו וטהרתו!

[illegible]



## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 March 28 [London to Mariano R.] V[á]zquez, Barcelona / [Emma Goldman].— 8 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.

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28th March 1938.

19066

Dear Comrade Vasquez,

I have received the following from you. No.294e.  
No.309e. No.319e. No.321e.

I am sorry that I have delayed in acknowledging them before. I was away for ten days in Scotland and on my return found a lot of work to do which could not be postponed. Also this week I had to speak twice, last Tuesday and yesterday.

On Tuesday I had the first experience with a number of <sup>British</sup> Fascists. They resemble each other completely - are ignorant and violent. Fortunately it is still possible to use methods in England which in other European countries would not be tolerated - I mean in the sense of giving the fascist opponents at the meeting a chance to express themselves. It damns them more than anything - more than anything our side can bring in the way of arguments against them. The Fascist woman who was given the chance to shriek a few words from the platform even turned one of her own comrades against her creed. I realize that in an armed campaign with that dreadful tribe one cannot practise tolerance; but I rather think it is the best method in this country.

Now to reply to yours as per the above numbers.

First of all I am sending you with this letter our bulletin we got out dealing with your negotiations with the UGT - also the stand of the FAI in regard to the propositions made by the UGT. You will also see that we have stated that the pact has come about and that the minimum programme which you conceded will be published latter on. Lastly you will also see that we have the diagram as per the copy you sent us. A comrade who is a great artist has made a drawing with the English text of the



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manish from which we have made a copy, and will now be also be able to permit our comrades of the small group of the Anarcho-Syndicalist Union in this city to benefit by it. You can rest assured, dear comrade, that every instruction you send which we consider important for England is immediately utilised either in "Spain & The World" or in similar bulletins as enclosed and whenever there is a chance of a meeting we give-quote from the-matters most important parts you send us that is not confidential.

Dear comrade, I have tried a number of times to explain to you the situation in England and how utterly impossible it is to get the least help from the Labour bodies in this city. I am afraid you do not seem to realise it all. I am therefore compelled to repeat once more what I have written you a number of times, namely that the workers in the Labour Party and the Trade Unions have absolutely nothing to say as to the decisions of their leaders. The leaders on the other hand are absolutely attached to the National Government. The latest proof is the fact that the Prime Minister has addressed himself to the Trades Union Council for co-operation in re-armament. He has thrown out a ~~plan~~ <sup>here</sup> to them in the promise that a hundred thousand or more unemployed will be given jobs. There is no doubt in our minds that the Trade Unions and Labour Party leaders will sacrifice the masses on the block of imperialist war which seems to be eminent in Europe. It is therefore childish naivety on your part -(forgive me if I hurt you - I did not mean to do it) - to ask us to notify the Labour unions of the <sup>pact with</sup> ~~fact/that~~ the UGT and to ask them to send telegrams of congratulation. We might as well address ourselves to Chamberlain's party for all the impression we would make or the help we would get from it, and it is the same about the Labour Party and the Trade Unions. What we might do once we have your completed programme is to send a copy to the I.L.P. and ask their General Secretary, Renner Brockway, to

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

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19087

and you wires and congratulations. However it seems as if the I.L.P. also is no longer as keen as they were in the beginning to co-operate with any of our efforts for the CNT-FAI. We have approached them for co-operation in a protest meeting we were planning to protest against non-intervention and also against the criminal invasion of Austria. The I.L.P. has declined. True it may be because they are keeping up an intensive propaganda of their own of a political nature and as they have few outstanding speakers they may not be able to co-operate with us. I like to give them the benefit of the doubt. Anyway we will try the I.L.P. with our bulletin together with the minimum programme you have conceded. Naturally we would have sent you a telegram but it is necessary that we ourselves should see what concessions you were forced to make. You say in one of your letters that we should have confidence in the CNT-FAI. Dear comrade, we could not continue our work if we did not have infinite and abiding trust in you; but you must realise that in doing public work and trying to arouse interest in the masses it is not enough that we believe certain conditions were imposed upon you - it is necessary to have documentary evidence to carry conviction. That is why we want to have the programme before we send you congratulations. I hope you will understand.

As with the Labour and Trade Union parties in regard to your pact with the UGT so it is with the Anti-Fascist groups and organisations. Perhaps you will understand what I say better when I will tell you that in point of fact there are no real Anti-Fascist organisations in England. They call themselves Anti-Fascist and go by different names; but at the back of every one of them are the communists and they direct the course of these bodies, and whatever finances <sup>are</sup> collected go to places decided upon by the communists. I wish you would take that to heart. Perhaps you

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[Letter] 1938 March 28 [London to Mariano R.] V[áz]que[z, Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman].— 8 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.

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19088

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would then realise the difficulties in our way.

As a result of our efforts we have really achieved very little. It pains me deeply to have to admit that; but it is no use misleading you or arousing false hopes.

There is a gleam of light however and it comes <sup>as</sup> from the result of the canvas we have made of the Trade and Labour Councils with your Structure and with the accompanying letter copies of which we have sent you long ago. We have had <sup>replies</sup> ~~replies~~ from some of them, few in comparison with the thousands I sent out. They have asked for more material and we know the matter is being discussed in quite a number of these organisations. Next week we are sending out another three thousand to local Trade Union Branches - not only the Structure and the letter - but also the enclosed bulletin. I admit it is a slow and painful uphill work; but we have come to the conclusion, comrade Barr and myself, that it is the only way which gives us hope to reach the organised workers over the heads of their leaders. Perhaps in due time it will be possible to get the support of these workers.

There is one medium which would have helped us more than anything else, that is the constructive film which has been in the process of making since last November. Unfortunately we have lost that chance and valuable time which we could have employed with great advantage for the CNT. You know yourself the great power of the film. We have shown and do show the one which we call "Fury Over Spain". Only last night I spoke at a meeting where the film was shown; but after all that represents the beginning of your heroic efforts and it must be followed up by the constructive work you have continued in the face of danger and death. I cannot beg you sufficiently to see to it that the friend who has been

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 March 28 [London to Mariano R.] V[á]zquez, Barcelona / [Emma Goldman].— 8 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.

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5.

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Working on the thing, Louis Frank, brings it to this country. From a constructive point of view it will do more good in England than anything previously done, yet you concentrate a tremendous amount of time, energy and money <sup>for</sup> the work in France. Do not imagine that I fail to realise the great importance <sup>and</sup> of the assistance you have received from the French comrades and workers. Don't you see dear comrade that to arouse the British workers is like bringing the dead to life. It requires much more powerful appeal than to the French workers who have a revolutionary tradition. I repeat - rush that film to us and we will concentrate on covering London and the provinces demonstrating to the workers that our talk on the constructive work of the CNT does not consist of merely a theories or subjective reports but <sup>an</sup> actuality.

While the SIA exhibition has met with very little <sup>response</sup> support ( I am writing Herrera a special report about that) we are nevertheless organising another exhibition of the photographs of the CNT industrial and agricultural collectives. I did bring out a lot of photographs with me. I wish I had more; but Herrera has already explained your difficulty in the way of photographic material. However "Campo" has, I know, from my visit to the comrades there could furnish us with photographs - for instance of the laboratory in Barcelona, some of the collectives in Lerida and the provinces of Lefida - some in the Levant and Castille. I know interviews and articles have appeared in that paper illustrated, so it ought not to be difficult to send us more photographs and all those things which we ought to add to our exhibition. Now that you have a more direct way of reaching us I hope you will not delay in complying with our request.

I am delighted to hear that you plan publishing Voline's reply to that dreadful book on our comrades in Russia. I take it that



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6.

19090

the manuscript is in French. It would be as well to send us a copy that could be translated into English at this end.

This brings me to another matter which I know will mean a great disappointment to you. The English text of Cervantes book. It is absolutely inadequate— so much so that several publishers whom I have approached have turned it down unless the whole thing is rewritten. I said as much to Roca in December when I was in Paris. I only had to read the first few pages to see that it is in impossible English, and which no publisher would accept for the reading public in this country. It was money wasted. There is ~~ama~~ man here sympathetic to our ideas who knows Spanish and of course his own language to perfection. In fact ~~he~~ ~~wrote~~ ~~it~~ it was he who wrote the review about the Cervantes book which aroused the interest of Secker & Warburg, the publishers /I had hoped would accept the work. He is quite willing to rewrite and get it into "His Majesty's English". Whether we agree with "His Majesty" or not, dear comrade, I prefer the English "Shakespeare" better than his. The name of this friend is Charles Duff. By the way he has written a small book about his Spanish experience, but by no means so important as the work by Sir Peter Chalmers Mitchell, "My House in Malaga".

Our comrade who has been working with us faithfully, and who is a well-known writer, Ethel Mannin, is now writing a review of the book which will appear in SPAIN & THE WORLD. By the way, some weeks ago I wrote Martin Gudell that the CNT-FAI or the S.I.A. should buy up the most important ~~works~~ numerous works that have appeared on Spain in the English language. It will be of considerable value for the future. He replied that there was to be some sort of a conference which would decide the matter. If you want us to do that let us know

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19091

7.

in your next letter and the amount you want us to spend.

Aprapos expenditure. I am sorry to have to report that our expenses this year are going far beyond the budget I gave you, and worst luck that brings small results. There is no way of appealing for finance for the CNT-FAI. The only appeal we can make is for the SIA which we have already done and will do. But here ~~again~~ again the results have been small in comparison with the cost of meetings, exhibition, printing, rent etc... Just as soon as we find a week less hectic as the present time, our comrade Barr will prepare a statement of expenses, copy of which I shall send for your ~~consideration~~ consideration.

You see I feel keenly having to spend a lot of money, really blood money coming from the CNT, unless some response is gained. However we shall see about it when the account is made out.

There is one thing I have to mention. I hope that you will give me permission to act upon it. It refers to the F.I.S.C.I.S. <sup>- C.S.I.</sup> They have sent me lists ; but inasmuch as we have issued subscriptions lists for the SIA we have no way of getting money on the lists sent us from Paris. Yet we feel that something ought to be done on our part for the suffering ~~fallen~~ comrades in France and other <sup>countries</sup> ~~comrades~~. Please dear comrade Vasques do not use the term "unworthy". You know yourself that <sup>the</sup> comrades that rushed to Spain and stood by your side over a year have done so in the best of spirit. That your enemies and ours had then begun a system of persecution and that <sup>some</sup> ~~some~~ of them had they not left Spain would now have joined the multitude in the prisons of the Negrin and communist government. But aside of all that, dear Vasques, our view is that it is wrong to say that they are "unworthy" or to refuse to help them. I therefore ask you ~~to~~ please give me permission to send a little

## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 March 28 [London to Mariano R.] V[ázquez] Barcelona / [Emma Goldman]. — 8 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.

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8.

1938

to Paris. You may state the amount if you wish. I really feel  
sorry that I am not able to help these unfortunate starving  
I have always done in the past without asking permission from any  
organization or any group of comrades. I know that you will understand  
my feeling in the matter and that you will be ready enough to let the  
London CNT-FAI Bureau send some money to the A.I.T.

One more item You will admit that I have made up for  
the delay in writing you. I am able to do it only because the two  
comrades, comrade Barr who takes the English text and a Spanish comrade  
who will translate it. This comrade was a physician at the Aragon front  
for ten months.

Please greet all the comrades.

Fraternally,

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 March 28 [London to Pedro] Herrera, [Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman].— 4 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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19076

28th March 1938.

Dear Comrade Herrera,

Thank you very much for the material you are sending me so promptly. In all I have received from you numbers I.183/38. T.201/38 T.138/38. Circular No5. Boletins Nos 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. and one headed "National Councils". You must excuse me for not writing you earlier in response to some of the above, and of course I have also received everything signed by you and comrade Vasques together. A long letter to him in Spanish will go today as well as this, which however I am dictating to comrade Barr in English. Our good comrade who used to translate for us is not here just now - the other, a comrade who was sixteen months on the Aragon front, needs more time for correct translation. I am sorry to have kept you waiting for replies so long.

I have been in Scotland for ten days and I had to speak several times in succession on my return. In addition there was a lot of work with the enclosed bulletin we have gotten out dealing with the negotiations between the UGT and CNA. We have in preparation now a second bulletin for the GIA which will contain Frederica's appeal to women. We have made it to the English women instead of American, which we hope to be able to send out to a number of women's organisations. It will also contain the report you sent me some time ago on the different sections of the GIA in different countries. The latest report which you sent us which was received last Friday is somewhat more literate; but I am afraid we shall not be able to add it to the material already in the printers hands. It really gives the same information; but in a more concentrated form.

Dear comrades, I wish I could write you cheery news about the result of our efforts for the GIA; but it would do no good to deceive you or to create false hopes in you. I prefer to be straightforward about it and to tell you that the response to all our efforts on behalf of the GIA is so far most discouraging. The exhibition at with a poor attendance, and our appeal in the folder and bulletin we have sent you has resulted in about £86 - this outside of the amount that was collected at our first meeting. The expenditure with all our efforts to save expenses nevertheless came to about £45. Advertising here needs a bottomless tank. All that would not be so disheartening if our call for membership had been responded to. So far there are not more than half a dozen. At the five meetings in Scotland I spoke about the GIA but my appeal for members brought no return. We are still hoping for some better result from the next bulletin, which contains a strong appeal for members. Perhaps there will be a response.

The artistic affair we were contemplating and had all but completed came to a stop when some of our musicians backed out. We had to postpone it till the end of April. I hope before this letter is mailed I will be able to tell you the definite facts. On that evening we will issue membership slips and asked people to fill them in; but I rather think it will be



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19077

difficult to get members among the English people. I have written comrade Vasques that he and you and other Spanish comrades do not seem to realise the terrible difficulties in this country that is confronting our work. For one thing we are known as anarchists, and while we do not accentuate it in our work, our names are enough to make people realise who we are, and anarchism continues to be anathema to the average British worker or intellectual, and even those who know something about anarchism continue to misrepresent it; but that is not the principle reason for the many obstacles in our way. The main obstacle consists in the fact that all the Anti-Fascist societies in England, who go by all sorts of names and all sorts of slogans in their work for Spain, are either fully fledged members of the communist party or strongly in sympathy. Aside of their opposition to the CNT and the IWA, they will not permit any other body to succeed in their work. They are doing everything possible to get everything into their own hands. Moreover there is the general situation of the labour movements in this country. The Labour Party and the Trades Unions are getting their members in a vice. They do not permit them the slightest freedom of divergence from the rules laid down by these organisations. This has gone on for so long that the workers themselves are either afraid or have not the stamina to speak up for themselves or to undertake any opposition. A case in point is the bus strike last year during the Coronation. Not only was it betrayed but some of the busmen at the head were expelled from the union and some were suspended. Mr. Bevan, like "Sir" Walter Citrine are lickspittles of the Government and of the employers, and they see to it that nothing filters through their unfortunate slaves. You will probably say that there must be millions of unorganised workers who might be reached. Unfortunately unorganised workers are not interested in anything else than cinemas, dog racing and other sports. However we have begun to go to the poorest districts. We had two meetings last week in districts where the majority of workers are unemployed. Some of them did not know the meaning of Anti-Fascist International Solidarity - the Nacional Confederacion of Labor or Anarchic Federation of Iberia. It took all the time to teach them the ABC of the struggle in Spain. We intend to continue but whether anything will come out of it or not it is difficult to say.

I am telling you all this, dear comrade, so that you should realise why we have failed in creating a live interest in the splendid work you are doing through the IWA. It is hardly necessary for me to tell you that the few comrades connected with our work are deeply devoted and spare no time in doing their utmost - so it is not as if we do not try, or as if we did not wish to help you. It is just that England seems to me to be sterile ground for our ideas and for our high aims.

I can only repeat what I wrote comrade Vasques - that it is naviete on his part and yours to write to ask us to get the news of the pact between the UGT and the CNT to the Unions and Anti-Fascist organisations and to ask them to send you telegrams of congratulations. My dear comrade, how can you be so childish. I have already said that there are no Anti-Fascist organisations in your sense, and it is impossible to reach the Unions direct through the official sources. However as I have informed you comrade Vasques we have in the last few months circularised thousands of delegates to the Trade Union Congress, the Trades & Labour Councils, Trade Union Local branches, and Trade Union Journals, and next week we will circularise some more of the Trade Union Local branches. We will enclose a slip asking them to send letters.

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 March 28 [London to Pedro] Herrera, [Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman].— 4 p.; 25 x 20 cm.

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3

19078

or telegrams to the CNT and UGT of congratulations. That is absolutely the only way and may bring results.

Already we have heard from a number of these Trades & Labour Councils asking for more material and we also know that the structure of the CNT has been discussed.

Dear comrade, there is one thing I intended to write Vasquez but forgot. Will you please submit it to his consideration. It is this. In my absence in Scotland Boyer arrived with a UGT man who spoke English. Comrade Barr was in charge of the Bureau. For some unknown reason Vasquez failed to give Boyer our present address. They got it through the National Trade Union Club. They came to us after they had already interviewed all the reformists. I cannot imagine what the CNT-FAI hope to achieve by approaching these people who have paralysed the labour and trade union movement in this country - people who will support the National Government in its preparation for an imperialist war. It is a sad commentary of a condition of labour in this country when the leaders are carried away by the appeal of the Premier, the most Fascist of Fascists in this Government. The few workers who can think feel that they are being betrayed by their leaders and will be offered up as sacrifice to the insatiable monster of war, a war which by the way is intended to crush Spain and to destroy the most militant elements in the Anti-Fascist struggle. However that is for the CNT to decide. What interests us was the attitude of Boyer and the UGT men to the work we are doing. Comrade Barr was informed that it would be as well not to stress the FAI - that we might cease using the red and black colours on our paper - in other words that we should really deny you and your struggle. It interests us to know whether you had given Boyer these instructions. I can hardly believe it because if you had such a thing in mind, you certainly could have written us direct as you do in all other matters. Please understand that I do not mean to disparage the suggestions made to comrade Barr. It is merely to be clear on our own position, and also to know in a direct way rather than roundabout whether you also wish the FAI denied, and the colours we are using to be hidden under cover. As I said I cannot believe that that is your desire; but I want to make sure.

Another matter as regards the fund small as it is of the SIA. I have written and told you that last year the Independent Labour Party had taken forty one children of the Basques under its wing and that it has kept them going all the time. I understand that the I.L.P. has already spent £2000. They are supposed to be CNT-FAI children. Last year we contributed from the money I collected £50. I rather think that the I.L.P. will ask for another contribution. Naturally we do not want to respond without your consent; but as I have said the fund will not be large as we shall have to take the expenses of the work for the SIA. Still after our affair we may be "richer". There is just this - our affair may take place in conjunction with the I.L.P. There is such a suggestion; but it will depend on the artists who have promised their co-operation this time. They may object playing for a political party and as the SIA is purely humanitarian I am not so sure whether it is possible to have the affair with the I.L.P.; but if we can get the musicians to consent we will have it jointly for the 41 children's colony which the I.L.P. is supporting and the S.I.A.

Lastly is a personal request. You have always been very understanding and very helpful dear comrade Herrera. I therefore want you to have a talk with comrade Vasquez in regard to the fund erected in Paris, the F.I.S.-C.S.I. It seems that our unfortunate refugee com-

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 March 28 [London to Pedro] Herrera, [Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman].— 4 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.

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19079

4.

Prices are simply starving. It seems to me that they should be given help; but it is impossible for us to make appeals for the S.I.A. and also for the French organisation. I beg Vasques for permission to contribute in the name of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. London Bureau a sum of money merely as a proof of solidarity. I rather think it would have a good moral effect for the CNT if it became known that we working here have helped our refugee comrades in France. Please talk it over with Vasques and write me.

In conclusion I wish to say that some part of the bulletins which you sent me will be used in "Spain & The World" and if there is any room possibly also in our forthcoming SIA bulletin.

Thank you for supplying us so regularly with your material.

Please give my greetings to comrade Ilse. Tell her she is improving in her English and I am sure she will go on improving. None of us can be too perfect in our languages and the way we use them.

Fraternally,

633

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 March 28 [London to] Helmut [Rüdiger, Paris (fragment)] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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10016

March 28th 38.

My dear Helmut, I confess it is easier for me to write English than German. So if you can make out my English text I will write you in this language.

To day I mean to answer to your letters of the 18th, two of the 22nd and the one of the 25th received to day. I feel miserable about the question of E.Mc. I have always hated writing about people behind their backs or mixing in any arrangements comrades had made. Nor would I have referred to the girl if it had not been for Alfred who is a most disrupting element in our ranks and always has been. I should have waited until your first English Bulletin came out and then let you know about the faulty knowledge of E.Mc. I can only hope you have not misunderstood or that you have interpreted my objection as the usual pettiness among women though *weiss der Himmel* men are not exempt from that. Well, I will see your new publication and give you my honest opinion. Rudolf should be able to do the same, or rather Fernin who knows the language well. I will return to your request for addresses.

You say that since I represent the CNT, I should also be the representative of the I.A.A. That is kind of the secretariat to have so much confidence in me. I am only afraid it may cause the same petty jealousies as it did with Teltzer. I have actually been charged with concentrating all activities in my hands, a sort of dictator. Believe me no one would rejoice more if out hand full of comrades were competent and efficient to do the work of the London Bureau of the CNT-FAI and SIA. But there is not a soul. However you know through your own experience that the less people are capable or willing to do the more jealous are they of those who give their very life to their ideal. I am somewhat ~~worried~~ worried about acting here for the I.A.A. In any event I would have to have somekind of a credential in case I have to approach some organization for in behalf of the I.A.A. To avoid all complaints I would suggest the following; write to the ANARCHIST SINDICALIST UNION, tell them I suggested that the I.A.A. should give them representation. Tell them the I.A.A. will be willing enough to do it when they have become a real working body and when the I.A.A. has considered their declaration of principles. (they are working on that now) Meanwhile the I.A.A. desires me to represent it since I am representing the CNT. I believe that would prevent dissatisfaction and silly envy as well as mistrust. Do you not think this a good idea? Please submit it to the others and let me know the decision.

You are right my dear about the misfits in our movement and the harm they are doing. Also that their worst actions do not



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are simply incurable, they have learned nothing from experience or it is it sheer ignorance. It maybe the latter else they would have known the treatment we anarchists have always received at the hands of the socialists or the trade unionists under their control. why must they go on begging and humiliating themselves? The approach to schevenale is like the approach of Boyer to the reformists here. It is the height of absurdity to hope that Citrin, Attlee and the rest would do anything for the CNT. Why they are to blame more than the Fascist Chamberlain for the Non Intervention pact. They support it and held it up for months. If they are now against it and express sympathy with the "Republican Government and the Loyalists" it is only for political reasons. They are trying to get back in the good graces of the workers so they can be returned to Downing Street when the National Government will be defeated. In any event not on the rescue of the Spanish people, not with substantial and worth while help such as drastic measures to kill the Non Intervention pact. Much less will they do anything ~~about~~ that will connect them with the CNT. I have written Vazquez and Herrera a half dozen times exactly what I am writing you, in my last letters to them which go to day. But I am sure it will have no effect. They will probably reply as Lenin did when I told him that America is fifty years removed from a revolution. He and all the others believed it was a door in England and the States. In reply he said "you simply know do not understand real politics. Conditions are ripe in Anglo Saxon countries. They only wait to be directed into revolutionary channels and we will do it". Our comrades may also say I know nothing of real politics. Es ist zum heulen.

I see by the last English Bulletin the statement. "we are not fighting for Socialism, Communism or Anarchism. We are fighting to get Franco out of Spain. Also so weit sind wir in Spanien. Nothing more than a war of national defence. I terrible plunge from the revolutionary heights. I must confess I have not the courage to quote this. It will ~~destroy~~ destroy whatever faith our people outside of Spain still have in the ~~Spanish~~ anti Fascist war for the revolutionary gains. Yes my dear our position grows more difficult every day. The horrible bombardments and the march of Franco ties us hand and foot. I never expected to live to such a position for myself.

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Postcard] 1938 March 28 [London to Emma Goldman, London] / E[thel Mannin]. —  
2 p.; 7 × 11 cm.

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Monday

17.125

Right; I'll come along to Smith Av. by 7 on  
Wed. dear E we'll go visit artist camp after-  
wards. No word from Spender, though I sent a  
prepaid wire; am wondering if Housman has  
wired you direct, and Freddie Woodhouse ? I asked  
them both to wire. Wanted to get that  
Kalingar book (Chalmers Mitchell's) reviewed  
today, but have had so many dam' interruptions,  
and am dashing this off now before a branch  
meeting. Have bought 5 copies of Rocker's  
book and shall probably get more.  
Haste. Love.

Hear y.u. weren't well Fri;  
fear very much it was the cystitis & kidney; can't  
think why I didn't realize in time to stop it!  
I repeat to see for me to stop it!

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Postcard] 1938 March 28 [London to Emma Goldman, London] / E[thel Mannin]. —  
2 p. ; 7 × 11 cm.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

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[Letter] 1938 March 28, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / Mariano R. Vázquez [and] Pedro Herrera. — 1 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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Confederación Nacional del Trabajo  
Y  
Federación Anarquista Ibérica  
—  
Relaciones Exteriores  
—

Nº 399. E.

BARCELONA, a 28 de marzo de 1.938.

A la Oficina de Propaganda C.N.T.-F.A.I. en Inglaterra.  
L o n d r e s.

Estimada camarada Emma Goldman:

Para tu conocimiento, adjuntamos a la presente, un ejemplar del Boletín editado por el Comité Nacional de la C.N.T., para uso exclusivo de los Sindicatos.

Observarás, que es el correspondiente a los meses de enero y febrero, ya que, por error de imprenta, lleva la fecha del 1º de febrero en lugar del 1º de marzo actual.

Te saludan fraternalmente,

POR EL CTE. PENINSULAR FAI.

POR EL CTE; NACIONAL

Pedro Herrera.

Mariano R. Vázquez

COMITE PENINSULAR  
Relaciones Exteriores

CONFEDERACION NACIONAL  
DEL TRABAJO  
F.A.I.  
COMITE NACIONAL  
SECRETARIA

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 March 28, New Rochelle, N.Y. [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Harry [Kelly]. — 2 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

25 Prospect St.,  
New Rochelle, N.Y., U.S.A.  
March 28, 1938.

Dear Emma:

Your letter reached me in Florida where I had gone to get rid of my usual winter cold and as Leah puts it "build up some resistance for the balance of the year." I was in Winter Park, the little town where Rollins College is located and near where I had hoped to locate the Cooperative - which did not go over -. I was there for two weeks and then went to Orlando which adjoins Winter Park and where Amuta and I were last year. Bertha W. Howe whom you will remember as the old friend of Dr. & Mrs. Andrews had the apartment we had last year. She retired on a pension some years ago and goes to Florida every year for four or five months. Shared the apartment with her a 21 year old boy, son of some friends of hers at Staten Island. I only remained a week as Leah was't well so I came home.

I have been home two and a half weeks but my eyes have suffered me for one thing and I managed to rupture myself for another. Life is just one damn thing after another. Leah's brother the doctor has given me a choice of three things, 1. wearing a truss which he does not like, 2. Having some injections which is a new form of treatment and one he does not know a great deal about and 3, an operation. He prefers the last but says for a man of my age, size and weight are not so successful. In other words if I were younger or even if it would be more promising. I will probably sentence myself to a life for the balance of my life. So that's that.

I spoke to Minna about Starrett who was trying to organize that committee some time ago and she tells me she has not had a word from him in a long time. If I can find his address and then find out who promised to act on the committee I will write some letters to asking them to serve. I will also make a point of going to see Harry Weinberger within a day or two and ask him what he thinks and what he can and will do.

The news of the past few days has been the most heart-breaking I have had in years. To see and know the comrades in Spain are being ~~slaughtered~~ slaughtered to make a Roman Holiday for Mussolini and we are helpless is too terrible for words. I can hardly read the paper in the morning. For eighteen months I have beat my breast and repeated they can't lose, they must not lose but what can men not how heroic do against hundreds of planes and tanks? Seemingly not for the Chamberlains, Blums and Hulls seem determined to let them be murdered and we are helpless.

I have neither seen or heard from Abe Bluestein although Bannister told me last week he had heard Abe had switched back again and now declines to criticize the comrades in Spain. It doesn't seem very important at this juncture except that it will give the purists a chance to mouth platitudes about what the comrades should have done. Perhaps they should have committed suicide like those Jews in Vienna. It is about 47 years since I joined a trade union and began to take an active part in public affairs and this is the blackest period in my life that time. I eat fairly well or as well as I want too, have a good place to sleep in, a swell companion, a daughter and granddaughter any more.

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[Letter] 1938 March 28, New Rochelle, N.Y. [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Harry [Kelly]. — 2 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

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2

17673

I would be proud of and the same of my "son" but all the same I would'nt shed a tear if a cyclone hit this place and eased us all out of the picture. Such a cruel and barbarous world surely none of us ever dreamed of and when men are not killing each other they are kneeling and cringing before others that do. Here where it is still possible to express an opinion we have more than twelve million unemployed after eight and a half years of semi-starvation. I tell you the world is mad.

There is'nt much if anything to write about other than expressing opinions and as we both have for all practical purposes the same opinions it would be like talking to ourselves.

On my return from Florida I stopped off for a day to see Wally and his wife and they are both well. On the trip down I saw Leonard, the Kisluiks, Jake Baker and other friends all of whom were well. Here at home Leah, Elsie, Nat and Jessica are all well as is Minna.

If I have any news will write you soon . With much love and many good wishes to you and other comrades. Oh, had a nice letter from Simpson while in Florida telling me he attended your meeting and how you routed the "communists". Also while in Florida Bertha Howe took me some sixty miles from Orlando to visit Billy Terwilliger whom you will surely remember from the old Manhattan Liberal Club. He limes in a small place called Gloucester I think it is. Is nearly 80 Bertha tells me and has his old sense of humor. He looks pretty good considering he was nearly killed by an Auto about two years ago but alas he is on Reliefs. I tell you E.G. it is hell to get old.

Affectionately,



I forgot to mention that Bertha Howe is an ardent "communist".

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 March 28, Nice [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Emmy Eckstein. —  
1 p.; 32 x 21 cm.

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Emmy Eckstein  
American Express Co.  
NICE A.M.

7903

March 28th 38.

My dear Emma :

I received your nice letter and was very pleased. I am happy with it, since I waited for it -- a long time. YOU must know that, if I did not or do not write, that there are reasons: I am going through a horrible period. Emma. What a life.... I am fighting still all the time. uninterruptedly with getting over those pains --- and the new way of my intestines is very lazy yet. and it takes so long. so long... and waiting means suffer..

That is the reason of my silence. But I hope that my fine and doctor has done a good job, but that time is needed. as you say. but that -- unfortunately -- I will have to have another operation yet. in order to be well... or at least able to be a human being...

I have to LAUGH when you write me I have an obsession for operations. Emma. that shows me that you never have gone through what I have gone through.... I felt that there is no question of dieting, but there is a radical obstruction or something that has to be done away with... All the doctors in C.S.R. did not DARE to do the operation, they thought it might be mortal, and so thought I for a long time, Emma. I do not know yet how far it will get well, but in spite of my horrible pains all the time, I am better that way at least, that the right side where he took away a large piece of intestines and appendicitis, I have a light feeling and all is now a question of better function.... My chirurg says that will take rather a long time yet....

Oh, yes.... other people easily can "judge" give advises (of course, my dearest I do not mean you herewith) "do this, smile, forget about it", when they don't have the evil. I do not even bother with them.

Emma, let us hope that I will be better and better, I really cannot go on with this letter because it takes too much of strength and energy which I have to spare now....

And still--- how does one cling to life.... stella wrote a sweet letter which I am going to answer soon...

Love and thanks from your

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 March 29, London [to] Martin [Gudell, Barcelona] / E[mma Goldman].— 2 p.; 23 × 18 cm.

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C.N.T.

A.I.T.

F.A.I.

Representing—THE NACIONAL CONFEDERACION DE LABOR  
AND REGIONAL COMITE C.N.T.-F.A.I.—BARCELONA  
INTERNATIONAL PRESS SERVICE

London Office:

21 FRITH STREET  
SHAFTESBURY AVENUE  
LONDON, W.1

London, March 29th 38

TELEPHONE: GERARD 3636

Dear Martin. I wrote you a long letter which went via Paris yesterday. Also one to Herrera. In a separate package went copies of R.R.'s book on Anarcho-Syndicalism and all sort of clippings for you such as two copies of Posledni and other interesting things. To day I ~~wrote~~ I received yours of Nov. 436. As I have no time to write you at length I will only answer the most important questions you contained and send it in my letter to comrade Vazquez which goes via Paris to day.

First, it is utterly impossible for me to write weekly articles for "CATALUNYA". This not only because I am swamped with work, but more so because I am not in a habit of writing with a view to the censor. I have never done in my life. ~~and I am not in a habit of writing with a view to the censor.~~ Even if I tried I am sure my article would come out spiritless and without value. If the comrade editor would suggest the nature of the article outside of any bearing on the political world situation (though I cannot imagine how one can escape it) I might try to do one article. But it is out of the question to be a regular contributor for a publication that must submit to censorship. I am sorry my dear Martin but I really don't see what I could write about. Of course there could be no talk of payment for collaboration if I could comply with your request. I fear, however, that it is no use for me to even try anything knowing in advance that my article will never be permitted to appear.

You have never replied to my question in a number of letters whether you have received Living My Life. If you have the editor of CATALUNYA might republish some chapters. Another matter I am writing a report of my trip through Spain with you and S. I have only the first part finished. I hope to do the second this week. Perhaps that would be suitable. But then the Soli or Tierra may want to bring this. In that case I should prefer to let them have it. I will send you the whole thing soon and you can show it to the comrades of the Soli or Tierra.

My dear, the colis you sent here should have gone to Abe Bluestein in New York. Farrer is the secretary of the Anarchist Syndicalist Union, not a very efficient one I am sorry to say. He has nothing to do with the shipment Bluestein decided upon. The A.S.U. consists of about 20 members. They were organized last year but did absolutely nothing during the entire summer. When I returned from Spain we reorganized them. They have been for weeks working out a programme. They are nearly all unemployed, have not a sou at their command. We of the CNT Bureau are letting them use our large room for their weekly meeting and we help them all we can because we hope



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Martin Gudell.

J.A.H.

J.H.H.

1938

FROM THE ARCHIVES OF THE ANARCHIST MOVEMENT

something worth while in the way of an A.S. movement may develop of this small beginning. Since there is no movement in England whether Anarchist Communist or A.S. I feel we must help the small group to develop and grow. To come back to the collis you sent. From your description it contains old stuff, still we will take it out and give it away free. Comrade Barr will go to the Customs to get it released and paid for it.

#3) I will try to get a list of all the works on Spain published in England and the States with prices and send it to you. It will take a little time. I am glad comrade vazquez sees the importance of bying these works as a library for future use.

Yes, I realize the frightfull destruction from the murder ours hord. I have been ill ever since the horrible bombardment and so restless I could not find a place for myself. I wish I were with you all my dear heroic comrades rather than in this blood freezing country whose people remain indifferent to the great suffering and tragedy of Spain. And to days news of the mad race of Francos German and Italine hords sweeping nearer and nearer. Kraga brought that comrade back to my mind whom we met in one of the villages. And Lerida, my heart stood still in horror. I should despaire utterly if it were not my deep faith in the Spanish people, mainly the CNT-FAI. I know they will fight to the very last. But a miracle would have to happen for them to hold out against hundreds of bombing planes. May the miracle really happen.

I was shocked at the news contained in the German part of yours. Whats to be done now? Its all right about your end in re Bulletin. Of course I will read it. But this end. According to Herrras directions I am sending this via Paris. The whole situation is stifling yet we must keep up our faith and our courage. But oh, I wish I were with you all. I can do so little here.

In haste with fraternal greetings.

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 March 29 [London to] Martin [Gudell, Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p. ; 20 × 16 cm.

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19349

March 29th 38

Dear Martin. I wrote you a lon. letter which went via Paris yesterday. Also one to Herrera. In a seperate package went copies of R.R.'s book on Anarcho-Syndicalism and all sorts of clippings for you such as two copies of Posledni and other interesting things. To day I ~~write~~ I received yours of Nov. 436. As I have no time to write you at length I will only answer the most important questions yours contains and send it in my letter to comrade Vazquez which goes via Paris to day.

First, it is utterly impossible for me to write weekly articles for "CATALUNYA". This not only because I am swamped with work, but more so because I am not in a habit of writing with a view to the censor. I have never done in my life. ~~and I am sure my article would come out spiritless and without value. If the comrade editor would suggest the nature of the article outside of any bearing on the political world situation (though I cannot imagine how one can escape it) I might try to do one article. But it is out of the question to be a regular contributor for a publication that must submit to censorship. I am sorry my dear Martin but I really don't see what I could write about. Of course there could be no talk of payment for collaboration if I could comply with your request. I fear however that it is no use for me to even try anything knowing in advance that my article will never be permitted to appear.~~

You have never replied to my question in a number of letters whether you have received Living My Life. If you have the editor of CATALUNYA might republish some chapters. Another matter I am writing a report of my trip through Spain with you and S. I have only the first part finished. I hope to do the second this week. Perhaps that would be suitable. But then the Soli or Tierra may want to bring this. In that case I should prefer to let them have it. I will send you the whole thing soon and you can show it to the comrades of the Soli or Tierra.

My dear, the colls you sent here should have gone to Abe Bluestein in New York. Farrer is the secretary of the Anarchist Syndicalist Union, not a very efficient one I am sorry to say. He has nothing to do with the shipment Bluestein decided upon. The A.S.U. consists of about 20 members. They were organized last year but did absolutely nothing during the entire summer. When I returned from Spain we reorganized them. They have been for weeks working out a programme. They are nearly all unemployed, have not a sou at their command. We of the CNT Bureau are letting them use our large room for their weekly meeting. And we help them all we can because we hope

## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 March 29 [London to] Martin [Gudell, Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p.; 20 × 16 cm.

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19380

something worth while in the way of an A.S. movement may develop of this small beginning. Since there is no movement in England whether Anarchist Communist or A.S. I feel we must help the small group to develop and grow. To come back to the colle you sent. From your description it contains old stuff, still we will take it out and give it away free. Comrade Barr will go to the Customs to get it released and paid for it.

3) I will try to get a list of all the works on Spain published in England and the States with prices and send it to you. It will take a little time. I am glad comrade Vazquez sees the importance of buying these works as a library for future use.

See, I realize the frightful destruction from the murder ours here. I have been ill ever since the horrible bombardment and so restless I could not find a place for myself. I wish I were with you all my dear heroic comrades rather than in this blood freezing country whose people remain indifferent to the great suffering and tragedy of Spain. And to days news of the mad race of Francoe German and Italian horde sweeping nearer and nearer. Fraga brought that comrade back to my mind whom we met in one of the villages. And Lerida my heart stood still in horror. I should despair utterly if it were not my deep faith in the Spanish people, mainly the CNT-FAI. I know they will fight to the very last. But a miracle would have to happen for them to hold out against hundreds of bombing planes. May the miracle really happen.

I was shocked at the news contained in the German part of yours. What's to be done now? It's all right about your end in re Bulletin. Of course I will read it. But this end. According to Herrras directions I am sending this via Paris. The whole situation is stifling yet we must keep up our faith and our courage. But oh, I wish I were with you all. I can do so little here.

In haste with fraternal greetings.

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 March 29, London [to] Rudolf [and] Milly [Rocker, Crompond, N.Y.] / Emma [Goldman].— 1 p. ; 26 × 20 cm.

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A.I.T.

F.A.I.

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21 FRITH STREET  
SHAFTESBURY AVENUE  
LONDON, W.1

London March 29th 38

TELEPHONE: GERARD 2636

my dear Rudolf, dearest Milly. Why no word from you? I had intended to write you a long letter but I was disturbed a dozen times. Then too the news from Spain is so paralyzing one cannot find peace of mind to write. My dear, my dear what is to become of our people? The sweep of francos hords as far as Lerida seems to hold out no hope. Now can our comrades and the Spanish people compete with armados of 200 plane throwing hundreds of bombs on fleeing masses? It seems beyond belief that they can endure it so long. I am too ill to think and sickeningly helpless in this dreadful country. I have arranged a meeting in Conway Hall to at least raise our voices of protest. But what good will it do. The government is more fascist than the fascists. And the Labor and Trade Union leader are a cowardly lot more tory than the Tories. I tell you this country is utterly hopeless. I wish I could be in Spain at the side of our marvelous comrades, stand and fall with them. But that too is hopeless. I feel I am in a vice unable to turn to the right or the left.

I suppose Warburg sent you some copies of your book. I called him up about the numerous mistakes. He claims whoever read your proofs is to blame. Naturally he will not admit his proof readers are at fault. It is too bad. I inclose a review that appeared in the Manchester Guardian the 25th. It is superficial but well meaning. So far I have seen no other review in any of the papers. I hope it will sell well. I find that the English workers read nothing but their party or Trade Union papers. They are densely ignorant and it is like pulling teeth to sell a book.

The efforts here for either the CNT or the SLD bring no results. The only glimmer is the few answers we had from Trade Union Branches in reply to the structure of the CNT we have sent out to thousands of addresses. Now we will send out the inclosed. But it is frightful uphill work and most discouraging.

Unless I am wanted back in Spain in the summer I mean to sail for Canada in the autumn. I do not back on A. But I will try to tour Canada as far as British Columbia. I can do no worse for Spain than I do here and I must have a change.

I am so glad Polly has a visa. I hope to see her before she sails. It will be a great thing for you Milly darling, your sister and for Polly. She needs a rest and she needs to be with you my dears.

In haste. With love.

Emma



## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 March 29 [London to] Rudolf [and] Milly [Rocker, Crompond, N.Y.] / [Emma Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

25189

March 29th 38

my dear Rudolf, dearest Milly. Why no word from you? I had intended to write you a long letter but I was disturbed a dozen times. Then too the news from Spain is so paralyzing one cannot find peace of mind to write. My dear, my dear what is to become of our people? The sweep of Francos hords as far as Lerida seems to hold out no hope. How can our comrades and the Spanish people compete with armados of 200 plane throwing hundred of bombs on fleeing masses? It seems beyond belief that they can endure it so long. I am too ill to think and sickeningly helpless in this dreadful country. I have arranged a meeting in Conway Hall to at least raise our voices of protest. But what good will it do. The government is more fascist than the fascists. And the Labor and Trade Union leader are a cowardly lot more tory than the Tories. I tell you this country is utterly hopeless. I wish I could be in Spain at the side of our marvelous comrades, stand and fall with them. But that too is hopeless. I feel I am in a vice unable to turn to the right or the left.

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In haste. with love.

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 March 29 [London to] Ben [and] Ida Capes, [St. Louis?] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 20 x 16 cm.

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18126

Capes

March 29th 38

Dearest Ben, dear Ida.

I had planned to write you a long letter but the last news from Spain have made me too ill to think or decide what to do. This morning's news of the sweep of Franco's hords into Catalonia have completely unnerved me. I must hold on to myself by the force of will to be able to go on. Yet I must go on. None of us have the right to give up so long as our heroic comrades do not give up. A letter I received from Barcelona would tear your heart but also it would fill you with pride to know of the valour of our Spanish comrades, their marvelous spirit. I doubt whether the workers in Russia at any time showed such truly superhuman fortitude. Oh, my dear it is impossible to think what will happen if our people should be defeated. A frightful bloodbath would follow and the best of our comrades exterminated. But I feel that such a thing can never happen. It would be an indictment against the whole human race, especially the International proletariat. It must it cannot happen!

Small indeed dies the criticism of our Spanish people appear in the light of the horrors they are enduring and the sacrifice they have made and are making. I am so glad you my dear old pal agree with us, Rudolf and others that whatever steps the CNT FAI have taken had been dictated by the dominant issue of life and death. I do not mean to say that their compromise may in the end do them more harm than good, but it is none the less a fact that the overwhelming force of Franco left them little choice. I am inclosing copies of several recent letters I have written that set forth my stand. It has been bitter hard to take such a stand, ~~that is my inner~~ my inner turmoil often beyond bearing. But I feel it is the only stand if we are not to be guilty of the same betrayal of our comrades as the Powers have been Fascist and ~~so~~ so called democratic. Their conspiracy smelle to the heavens, it is the blackest in the history of the social struggle. It has been bent ~~and~~ to exterminate a whole people ~~which is a~~ a conspiracy that is now being played openly by this Fascist of Fascist governments.

It is impossible to make plans now what to do in the autumn but the results of my efforts in England are so meagre I am quite determined to sail for Canada. No, I have no hopes of a visa for America. But I am trying to induce the comrades in Canada and my own personal friends in a few American cities to raise enough to enable me to tour Canada as far as Vancouver. I have a feeling the West of Canada has more spirit, at any rate it has more than England. So I want to do that if it can be carried through. I wonder if the St Louis comrades could help. Jeanne Lovey has raised two hundred

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 March 29 [London to] Ben [and] Ida Capes, [St. Louis?] / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p. ; 20 × 16 cm.

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18127

dollar among personal friends, the A. Federation has raised some him, so has Toronto. But that is hardly enough to get to Canada and tour the country. You know the distances and the cost ~~of the~~ travel. Then too one needs a small capital for meetings. Also I am hoping I can induce Dorothy Glebocke to do some advance organizing, or perhaps the more revolutionary I.W.W. will help. Anyhow I have the trip in mind unless the comrades want me back in Spain. Spain, who knows what will happen to it and to its gr at people until the autumn.

Yes, I have read your letter in Spain and the World suggesting that Max Nettlau write a life of Bakunin. My dear except for his historic knowledge Nettlau is the last man who could do a life of the ~~seamy~~ netrel of the revolution, the most vivid, richest personality in our ranks in fact in all the revolutionary ranks the world has ever known. Nettlau has no understanding for such a complex, such a volcano as Bakunin. To do him justice it is not enough to have historic data. One must have that of course but also one must be a great psychologist and a ~~great~~ writer of first rate talent. Some day such a versatile writer will no doubt come along, a writer who is also a poet besides everything else. Just now Dr Kaminski a German friend of ours and his wife who is an Anarchist have been at work on a Bakunin life. He was once a Socialist, he is now closer to us. He was assistant editor to the Weltbühne and represented von Ossietzky when he was sent to prison. As far as love and devotion is concerned the Kaminskis will do Bakunin justice. But even they will not get his whole grand stature because Kaminski while being a first rate journalist has no literary ability. Still the Life he and his wife are writing will be richer than that of Carr who is a reactionary and a fool.

Rudolf's book on Anarcho Syndicalism has appeared. The Manchester Guardian has reviewed it. I am sending you a copy. It is the best on Anarcho Syndicalism we have got. I have asked comrade ~~Max~~ Carr to send you the missing copies of Spain and the world.

Thank you my dear for all the kind things about me your letter contains. It does me good to know that you among the few of my oldest friends and comrades left feel that I have chosen right in working for the C.T. - P.A.I. for their struggle and for all the wonderful work they are doing. Whatever the outcome that will remain for ever and ever and will inspire future generations.

Dearest Ida, thanks for trying your luck with the list. Our brave Spanish comrades need all the help we can give them. Affectionate greetings to your children and grand children  
With my deep abiding love to you and Ben.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 March 29 [London to J. Falk, Liverpool, England] / [Emma Goldman].— 1 p. ; 20 x 16 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

10202

March 29th 38

Dear Comrade,

Thanks for your letter. I am glad to know you have succeeded ~~in securing~~ in securing a better hall. It is too bad if people have to stand. One can never concentrate on what one hears while standing. Could you not hire some benches? People will feel better and it is also important for the harmony of the meeting, naturally I am satisfied to speak before those who understand English. But do you not think there are many Jews who do not? And they would stay away from the meeting. However you know better than I who is a stranger in Liverpool.

I did not mean that you dear comrade would object to my appeal for the unfortunate women and children in Spain. But I have made it a rule all my life never to take it for granted that I can do what I like at a meeting. I feel those who do the work to make the meeting a success should have the right to decide whatever is undertaken at the affair.

I am delighted to know that I will be welcome not only for one night but for more. Actually I will be in Liverpool two nights Sunday and Monday. I am writing the I.L.P. who may already have made arrangements for Sunday night for me. In that case I will have to go with them. If not I will go with you or whomever you have to act as my hosts. I am writing ~~the~~ the I.L.P. to night, by the way if the meeting Monday is advertised in English I think the I.L.P. will not object to announcing it for Monday and also give you the opportunity to distribute handbills there.

I will leave here Sunday April 10th at 12,10 arriving in Liverpool 4,15 P.M.

Fraternally

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938 March? 30? London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Ethel Mannin. — 2 p. ; 10 × 16 cm.

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Ethel Mannin

17130

Oak Cottage,  
Burgley Road,  
Wimbledon Common, S.W.15.

Wed

Emma dear, herewith the article on Chalmers Mitchell's Book for SPAIN AND THE WORLD. Its about 1500 words; hope that's not too long, but the quality of the book & his tributes to the Anarchists seem to justify a good long review.

I have asked Reg to ring you about the Conway Hall meeting. He feels even more strongly than I do the hopelessness of trying to rouse people - the feeling of futility of such a protest. Its difficult to know whether when one knows an effort to be futile one ~~xxxh~~ should nevertheless make it on principle. As I told you last night in the bus I've no belief in the working class movement in this country doing anything. They all pass the resolution with applause and enthusiasm - and there it will all end!. I know this as well as you do, and as Reg knows it - the question is whether its nevertheless worth having the meeting? I confess I don't know.

But if Reg doesn't want to speak or take the Chair, I wish you'd let me chair the meeting. I am efficient in the Chair, but really no good

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938 March? 30? London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Ethel Mannin. — 2 p. ; 10 × 16 cm.

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as ~~not~~ a speaker except for such small things as I have hitherto undertaken, and anything outside of that is the most frightful ordeal for me - an ordeal not justified (as in yr own case) by a good speech.

Reg said he would speak with McNair about it and then ring you today. Reg is becoming increasingly defeatist. I must admit I sometimes get that way myself; this awful apathy; we can scarcely be said to have a lab. movement in this country, let alone a revolutionary one!

I enjoyed meeting yr artist friend very much indeed, and will write him and tell him that if he wants to give me the money. I suppose I ought to offer to buy it if I let him do that? I would like to help him; the trouble is that money isn't very 'ready' just yet, and I can't seem to get that much needed 275 out of Warburg, blast him - its really disgraceful, a book that length and involving six months of damned hard work.

By the way wouldn't Recanoni review the book (mine) in Pain and the World? I feel he should, as its dedicated to you, and covers so much anarchist activity. Will you ask him? You could let him have yr copy perhaps, for the purpose, if Warburg didn't send him one for review.

Dearest Emma I enjoyed last night very much and thank you for it.

I have to go but now will have typed this in a great hurry. Very much love

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938] March 30, Haarlem [The Netherlands to] Emma [Goldman, London] /  
Wim Jong. — 2 p. ; 30 x 24 cm.  
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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Wim Jong

Haarlem, March 30<sup>th</sup>

23572

Dear comrade Emma,

I was very glad to hear from you after so long a time. Of course I quite understand that your work on behalf of Spain prevented you to write earlier. I am very glad for your sake that this has come on a moment you needed something to do.

I am not going to discuss the problem of armed revolt more than I can help, but I must say that though I understand your point of view, I am unable to share it. I think that Spain is proving our case up to the hilt. Armed resistance is possible under present-day technical conditions, if one is not prepared to accept military organization of the resistance. So our Spanish comrades have done. When you are speaking of errors committed by them, you probably mean their entrance in the government. Of course I do not agree, but under the circumstances I do not see they could have acted otherwise. It is an error, perhaps, but not so very bad. But the acceptance of armed struggle against fascism is worse than an error: it is the beginning of a new war, under the slogan of war against fascism, or perhaps we may still live to see a war to make the world safe for anarchy! You know as well as I do, that the events in Spain have completely muzzled the critical sense of the big majority of anarchist papers all over the world. ~~I know of only~~ I know of only half a dozen at the most, who have retained their sense of critical examination of facts. Borghi in the *Avanti* is among them, and Armand in his *En Dehors*, but he is an outlier always. And of course a few of our Dutch comrades. One should not criticise the actions of the Spanish comrades, it is said, they are fighting our struggle and we ought to do all we can to help them, without interfering with our theoretical warnings and criticisms. But in the mean while the workers all over the world are being prepared for a new war, and nothing is being done to stop it. Our French comrades are clamoring for airplanes for Spain. The Spaniards are introducing conscription and military law, building up an armament-industry and just as happened in Russia, during the first 5 year-plan, everything must be sacrificed to the perfection of the industry. Now you must not say, that this is the consequence of the collaboration with the other parties: our own anarchist papers are foremost in clamoring for discipline and conscription.

It is all done with the best intentions, everybody means well, nobody is to blame, everybody is being heroical and self-sacrificing, but war seems to be the inevitable result. And war means that thousands of people, who have not the faintest understanding what it is all about, will be hurried to death.

driven

V. Deceit of the CNT:  
no claims for wages  
or reduced hours in  
the whole industry.

anarchist  
not  
quite  
same



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938] March 30, Haarlem [The Netherlands to] Emma [Goldman, London] /  
Wim Jong. — 2 p.; 30 x 24 cm.  
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*But you see the talent  
enlightenment - pattern of the CNT?  
Then best bluff Cooper follow!*

With an admirable heroism and gallantry. They have chosen a tactic, now they are taking the consequences, O.K., but it is our duty to make out whether we want the consequences or not. If not, we'll have to find another tactic. And the insight of our comrades outside Spain is not sufficient, it seems, to grasp this essential point. Which is very sad and disheartening. Anyway, I suppose it won't be so very long ere the consequences will be so clear that they can no longer be ignored. Meanwhile, dear comrade, I fearfully

I would not mind it so very much, if I only could believe that those who now are standing for unconditional help to the Spanish armed struggle against fascism, do so in the conviction that this is the only way to fight fascism. If they really believe fascism can only be beaten by armed force, then they must accept the consequences. Bertoni, of the Geneva Revue, does: he advocates an alliance with the democratic countries, if possible, and even wants to utilize French and British imperialist interests to bring them to our side.

If you believe in the impossibility to beat fascism with other than armed force, then it is your duty now to prepare that resistance. Armed resistance means unity, unity of command has been the CNT slogan for the last months, and right they are. Well, you must prepare that unity now. Armed resistance means military training, well, then from now on anarchists must go and learn the job.

You speak of the exigencies of reality. Well, here they are! We must recognize that anarchism has no chance in the present day world. We must recognize that war is inevitable, we must recognize that we will not be able to stop it. Does that mean that we must give up anarchism, that we must take part in that war, believing our comrades who suffered in the last war for their refusal to be a soldier? Does that mean that we must prepare for war, so that if it has to come, we will be able to make most of it, in the direction of our ideals?

I am quite willing to reckon with reality. But if concessions have to be made, if one has to compromise, let us be honest about it. ~~Then we must say that there is~~ Then we must say that there is no social revolution in Spain, only an attempt. Then we must say that all our forces in Spain are concentrated on one aim only: to beat the fascists. Then we must say that we are willing to compromise on any point of anarchist doctrine, if only we can beat the fascists. There is one, only one, reason why we should be justified in doing so: if we rely on the victory of fascism, it would mean the end of all chances of socialist future, if fascism would mean the end of all aspirations for a better world. But so long as I do believe in the possibility of a struggle for socialism even under fascist dictatorship, I will oppose myself to such tactics. If we can beat fascism only by using the arm of fascism, by militarising our action, by sacrificing our ideals to the exigencies of modern military technique, then I can but say: better an honourable defeat, than such a victory.

Just transpose the Spanish events in another sphere. Think of a labor government in England. Think of Mosley trying a coup with German aid. I suppose you would side with the government. And now think of a German attack, without Mosley preparing the way. What would be the difference? And would it be different from 1914? Is Hitler so much worse than the Kaiser, is Atlee so much better than Grey or Asquith?

Or ask you the same questions with regard to Belgium or any country. If you do not see, that accepting armed resistance in Spain, practically binds us to policy of national defence at home, I am sorry, but I cannot help it.

Dear comrade Emma, this is rather a bitter letter. But it makes one bitter to see how poorly our movement has responded to the Spanish events. ~~Our Spanish comrades are~~ Our Spanish comrades are doing what they think right.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

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[Letter] 1938 March 30, London [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / John [McNair].—  
1 p.; 28 x 23 cm.  
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## INDEPENDENT LABOUR PARTY NATIONAL ADMINISTRATIVE COUNCIL

23741

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30th March, 1938.

Emma Goldman,  
18, Castletown Road, N.14.

Dear Emma,

With reference to our conversation yesterday,  
I confirm that I shall be very pleased to speak at the meeting  
you are organising on Wednesday, the 13th April, and note  
you will be sending me in due course a copy of the resolution,  
which will be moved at the meeting.

In view of the tragic position in Spain and the  
continued advance of international Fascism and the Fascist  
rebels, I feel it would be advisable to approach this problem  
in the widest possible sense along constructive lines with  
the definite hope, even at this late hour, of saving Spain  
for the workers.

Yours fraternally,

John

I wrote him about the resolution  
because I feared Regie would  
drop it up. When he saw me  
last night he said he would  
make a draft of a resolution to  
be used if Regie does nothing, as to  
he couldn't if he does. CB

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 March 31 [London to] Ethel [Mannin, London] / [Emma Goldman]. —  
2 p. ; 20 x 16 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17129

31st March, 1938.

My dear Ethel,

A few minutes ago I hung up the receiver after a long depressing talk with Reggie. There seems to be some misunderstanding, dearest, because he told me that you were not keen on speaking at the meeting and that you did not know what it is all about. I am sure I cannot imagine what gave him that impression. In my telegram I stated what the meeting was for. It is therefore impossible that you could not have known its purpose. With your usual generosity you called me up to say that you would speak. I wish I knew what brought about the change in your mood. Is it Reggie's own impression that has communicated itself to you? or what is it? In any event I implore you not to let me down. I should not have proceeded with the meeting if I did not have your consent to be one of the speakers.

I know that you dislike speaking in general and I hate awfully to see a poet in always drawing you into things that are disagreeable to you. My only excuse is my intense feeling about Spain, about the heart-ache of her people and the barbarism of the C.B.T. and the F.A.I. I agree with Reggie that speeches are futile, but it is also true that it takes very many words to induce an act, and since there is nothing else one can do in this country, one should at least cry out against the errors visited on our people in Spain.

If at least it were possible to get other people, but you know yourself that there are none. No one who feels as we do about the tragedy enacted in Spain. Even Fenner seems to have changed. He does not want his name used. I do not know what his reasons are. Anyway my dear, I must beg you to stand by your promise. If you would rather not speak independently nevertheless you will decide. You do ~~have~~ draw your own audience and you have a splendid effect on the audience.

Towards the end of my talk with Reggie, he said that if you will go he will also come and that he would write you to-day. I felt that it is necessary for me to reach you and I am going to send you a wire, but a letter is more expressive. My dearest, please call up Speedwell 7135 to-morrow evening. It is the last hour for having the Langhills printed. I am holding them up until to-morrow to know whether you are coming and whether Reggie has changed his mind.

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 March 31 [London to] Ethel [Mannin, London] / [Emma Goldman]. —  
2 p. ; 20 × 16 cm.

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17130

2

I am terribly disheartened from all the setbacks in every-  
thing I attempt to do. I am beginning to feel that I am making  
myself a nuisance even to my dearest friends. That also does not  
add to my cheer, and yet I feel I must go on though it is damned  
little that I achieve.

With love.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 March 30 [London to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Miles Malleson. —  
1 p.; 17 × 11 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17791

27, BELSIZE SQUARE.

N.W.3.

PRIMROSE BOSS.  
30. 3.38

Dear Emma Goldman,

Thank you for your letter. I have made a note of April 29th and hope that I shall be able to be there. But please I do not want to read anything or speak; I do neither of these things these days - and I really feel it is futile to do something badly; even in a good cause. It probably does the cause more harm than good. But as I say, I really hope to be there and will do my part as a good listener and applauder.

I enclose a small subscription - I wish it was more but I am hard up these days; and there are so many Left Wing Societies and special efforts that beg one - quite rightly! to give more than one can afford.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

Miles Malleson.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

840305864

[Letter, 1938 April?] London [to] Doris [Zhook, London] / Emma [Goldman].—  
2 p.; 29 x 22 cm.

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C.N.T.

A.I.T.

F.A.I.

Representing—THE NACIONAL CONFEDERACION OF LABOR  
AND REGIONAL COMITE C.N.T.-F.A.I.—BARCELONA  
INTERNATIONAL PRESS SERVICE

London Office

21 FRITH STREET  
SHAFTESBURY AVENUE  
LONDON, W.1

London,

*Munday*

TELEPHONE: GERRARD 2636

Dearest Doris. I took no interest  
in what me yesterday hoping  
you would be at 21 Frith St.  
was really not disappointed  
because the weather was so  
pleasant. I send it here  
with you will see that I have  
cut out the beginning. I also  
tried to put on a jacket  
around quoting the structure  
a new wave. Perhaps all  
will be made successful and  
a card as known is rather  
sensitive.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938 April?] London [to] Doris [Zhook, London] / Emma [Goldman].—  
2 p.; 29 × 22 cm.

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No-part may be sold, loaned, copied or published without the express permission of the Tamiment Library- N.Y.U.

The article is to go into Spain  
and the World Next issue  
any time this week you  
can let me have  
the article. Naturally, you  
are to change for the translation  
with love

Don't you think Emma  
critical analysis would  
be a more suitable title  
than an appraisal?

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938 April? to Emma Goldman, London (enclosure?)] / [Laurence Housman].— 1 p. ; 29 × 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

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All good wishes to the S.I.A. in its efforts to relieve the distress and suffering of the women and children of Catalonia.

The essential injustice of war, no matter for what cause, is that it always causes a huge amount of undeserved suffering. When people realize that, they will I hope cease to call wars just, for whatever cause it may be undertaken.

*Laurence Housman*

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 April 1, London [to Pedro] Herrera, [Barcelona] / Emma Goldman. — 3 p. ; 21 x 17 cm.

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S · I · A

## SOLIDARIDAD INTERNACIONAL ANTIFASCISTA (International Anti-Fascist Solidarity)

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London Office:

21, FRITH STREET,  
SHAFTESBURY AVENUE,  
LONDON, W.1.

Telephone GERRARD 364

1st April 1938.

Dear Comrade Herrera,

Yours No. T.251/39 with encloaurea reached us yesterday. We will use part of the material you sent for the bulletin. Unfortunately most of the material was already set up and we could not possibly eliminate that to make place for the new stuff received. To make room for some of it we are setting aside the appeal Frederice made, which we had intended to address to the women of England. We will use that later on, especially as we have used several chapters in our first Bulletin.

Before I take up some of your points, I want to let you know that comrade Barr fortunately had a copy of "Anarchism and Modern Science" by Kropotkin which we mailed yesterday via Paris. We were very glad indeed to be able to comply with your request.

It is not possible for me to send you texts of my talks as I have not the time to arrange my notes into proper reading form; but I am enclosing the first part of my report on my second tour in Spain. Just as soon as the second part is finished I will mail you a copy.

I hope to have copies of the preface I am writing to the collection of Bernierie's letters the Italian comrades in Paris are publishing in book form. I am having more copies typed and I will then send you one.

I did not receive the Catalan Review. It is very kind of you to tell me that even the Izquierda (Catalan Left) have fallen in love with me. I prefer the affection of my comrades, and I feel very proud indeed to have that. My only regret is that my labours, and those of the comrades with me, bring such small results.

Our concert on the 29th April is definite now. It's been like carrying water up a mountain to get the necessary talent but we have nearly all of them, and we are proceeding with our printing. We hope to have it done early next week. Naturally we will send you copies. The programme will be made up besides friends who will read poems from the Spanish and talk about some literary subject, we are fortunate in having a Spanish dancer and twelve Basque children of the group which is under the protection and support of the Independent Labour Party. The children have never appeared in London before, before the public. We are hoping that that may bring many people.

By the way, we would like the music and words of the song "Hijos Del Pueblo" and "A Las Barricadas". We have some records of



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these two songs, and we have repeatedly asked for the words and music. Besides that we need it for the concert as the children are going to sing them. Please send them at once so that we have it in good time.

The concert is being arranged with the Independent Labour Party's co-operation, not as a political party; but merely for the purpose of helping the Basque children's colony that is being supported by the Independent Labour Party. We have arranged it on a percentage basis, both for the profits or possible deficit.

Dear comrade, It stands to reason that I will not contribute money for any purpose without first consulting you of the SIA. I fear it was a mistake my mistake in suggesting that Desnard asked us to send money to the Comita Solidarite Internationale, I.I.S.-C.S.I.- that was not his object in writing. He merely sent lists and requested that Anarchist comrades should try to raise some money. I do not think that by this request he is in any way infringing on the SIA. At the same time, as I have written you in my last letter, I am hoping that you will permit me to contribute something, provided of course our concert is a success.

The frightfulness heaped upon you and the Spanish people by Hitler and Mussolini through their tool Franco has decided us to arrange a protest meeting which will take place on the 13th of this month. Not that we are deceived of the practical results of the meeting. The lethargy and inertia of the British workers as I have already written you, and comrade Vasques, are almost impossible to believe. It is true that the Labour Party has awakened to the need of some intensity. A huge demonstration has been decided upon for Sunday the 10th April in Hyde Park to bring "political pressure" on the National Government, which really means to get Chamberlain out of Office and his Government out of power, and replace him by some other person such as Attlee and the Labour Party in power. From nearly 50 years experience of the Socialist politicians I cannot muster up faith that Mr Attlee in Chamberlain's place would do any more for Spain. However I certainly welcome the noise they are making.

At our meeting I mean to appeal for direct action - possible strikes or some other effective protest that may bring results, and I think that the other speakers will stress the same. At that meeting we will appeal to the audience to send us some writing pads and pencils for the heroic militias at the front. It was my intention to ask that they be sent to us at our office and we will send them on to comrade Camara in Marseilles. We will also make an appeal for these things in the SIA bulletin which will go out in a great many numbers.

This is all for to-day, dear comrade.

Fraternally,

Emma

Dear ~~Mr~~, *Use*

I take it that you are doing all the correspondence of the SIA. I received the letter from Mercedes promising to send material for the exhibition of Mujeres Libres. Please get after her and tell her from me that material is badly needed; because what I have is not nearly enough for an exhibition. So she had better rush material, especially photos and posters and drawings. Perhaps comrade Herrera will assist her over.

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in sending the material the safest, quickest and most direct way.  
Give Mercedes my love and take some for yourself.  
Fraternally,

Emma

Please give the enclosed clipping to Martin Guggell. It will interest him. If we had any energy the best the G.D. have had might be either dead or well have left and we will be vindicated before the masses.

John Cowper Powells is one of England's greatest writers. The letter is very fine and I wish he had dealt more with your struggle than mine.  
cg

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

870930299

[Letter] 1938 April 1 [London to Pedro] Herrera, [Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman]. —  
3 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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19045

1st April 1938.

Dear Comrade Herrera,

Yours H.G.T.251/38 with enclosures reached us yesterday. We will use part of the material you sent for the bulletin. Unfortunately most of the material was already set up and we could not possibly eliminate that to make place for the new stuff received. To make room for some of it we are setting aside the appeal Frederica made which we had intended to address to the women of England. We will use that later on, especially as we have used several chapters in our first Bulletin.

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19046

2

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Dear comrade, It stands to reason that I will not contribute money for any purpose without first consulting you of the SIA. I fear it was ~~my~~ mistake in suggesting that Besnard asked us to send money to the Comité Solidaire Internationale, P.I.S.-C.S.I.- that was not his object in writing. He merely sent lists and requested that Anarchist comrades should try to raise some money. I do not think that by this request he is in any way infringing on the SIA. At the same time, as I have written you in my last letter, I am hoping that you will permit me to contribute something, provided of course our concert is a success.

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This is all for to-day, dear comrade.

Fraternally,

Dear Elsie,

I take it that you are doing all the correspondence of the SIA. I received the letter from Mercedes promising to send material for the Exhibition of Mujeres Libres. Please get after her and tell her from me that material is badly needed; because what I have is not nearly enough for an exhibition. So she had better rush material, especially photos and posters and drawings. Perhaps comrade Herrera will assist her  
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Dear comrades, I stand to reason that I will not contribute money for any purpose without first consulting you of the SIA. I fear I was mistaken by mistake in supposing that demand asked us to contribute to the Comité Solidaire International, 718-C.S.I. - that was not his object in writing. He merely told us that and requested that we should try to raise some money. I do not think that this request is in any way infringing on the SIA. At the same time, as I have written you in my last letter, I am hoping that you will desire me to contribute something, provide of course our consent is a

[illegible]

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 April 1 [London to] Ethel [Mannin, London] / [Emma Goldman].—  
2 p. ; 20 × 16 cm.

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J7140

April First 38.  
Ethel, my Dearest. Thanks for your letter and the review of  
Chalmers Mitchells book. It is beautifully done. I wish I knew  
someone as able and understanding as you to review your book  
for us. I wish there was some outstanding woman with your  
revolutionary feeling to do it. I thought at first I would send  
your book to Angelica Balabanoff, or my niece. But they are in  
America and it would delay the review for a month. And there is  
no one I know who could do it justice. Of course I will ask ~~Samuel~~  
Reschioni. But I am not sure he would do it well. What do you  
think about Steinberg? At least he knows the revolutionary history  
of the bulk of women you treated in your work. Let me know and  
I will ask him. O should we try Balabanoff, or my niece though she  
too is not versed in the ~~background~~ revolutionary background  
of your heroines.

By the way, I meant to ask you darling what made you  
think that prostitution had been abolished in Russia. It is true  
that there are no licenced houses. But at no time had prostitution  
been stopped in Soviet Russia. In point of fact ~~there~~  
~~there~~ there are two kinds of prostitution in Russia  
the proletarian kind for a mere pittance and the nouveaux rich  
caliber for commissars. However that is beside the mark. I  
was somewhat surprised thou much ~~in~~ you still cling to  
the blessings of Russia.

Dearest I appreciate your feeling of futility in doing  
anything to rouse the British workers. Nothing has ever depressed  
me so as the apathy of the masses in ~~England~~ England and the com-  
placency of the intellectuals. They are so damned comfortable.  
Laurence Housman is but one more proof of the blood freezing indif-  
ference of the British intellectuals. I know you hate the Americans.  
But I swear to you that no American of Housmans liberalism would  
have given the lame excuse of not wanting to be bothered while  
thousands of people were being slaughtered. I feel as you and  
Regie do about meetings and the futility of words. And yet it is  
not true that one must do nothing. If all the great idealists  
and revolutionists would have argued as ~~one~~ does the masses  
would be in far lower depths they are now. For it was their

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untiring efforts, their persistent work in the face of seeming insurmountable difficulties that advance the human race. I admit their heroic contribution may seem a waste in the light of the black reaction in the world, but surely we can do no less but continue the labors of those gallant fighters who have preceded us. Silence is a sign of consent. To sit back and do nothing now would make us a party to the horrors in the world. Moreover I am quite certain if Regie had his health he would not consider every move futile. Anyhow I must go on crying in the wilderness. I realize that does not give me the right to impose action on you or Regie feeling as you both do. It is only that you responded so quickly and beautifully to the wire I sent you that led me to believe you feel the need of some articulation against the frightfulness in Spain. After our concert I shall not worry you again my dear, not for meetings anyhow.

I am not so sure we should have Briand Howard after what he wrote you. He is likely to speak of the Spanish government of democracy, of the popular front which is the last thing we want. The concert is for the work of the SIA and the STEEL children. It is not for the purpose of political clap trap. If he is willing to participate it is only in the capacity of reading a ~~poem~~ suitable poem preferably from the Spanish or some of Spenders poetry. The important thing is that the copy must go to the printer not later than Monday morning. If you have a reply from Howard to your letter you said you would write to day then call me up Monday morning. Otherwise we will leave Howard off our bill and also spender since he has not had the grace to reply to your prepaid wire.

I am so glad you will permit Hammersmith to do a drawing of you. I am sure he did not have payment in mind. If you wish to pay him it can wait until you are less pressed for funds.

Goodby dearest.

With love.

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938 April 1, London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / E[thel Mannin].—  
2 p.; 11 × 16 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Friday

Dearest Emma, its the receiving of letters like the enclosed from <sup>17073</sup>  
Brian Howard, and the replying to the bloody things, that takes up  
so much time and consumes so much nervous energy! You can't  
possibly be more sick at heart and thoroughly fed up than I am today!  
My whole mail has been one bloody exasperation after another this  
morning, and it makes work ( my own literary work ) impossible!

By now, I hope, you'll have had my letter of y/day saying that I would  
prefer to take the Chair, etc. and sending the article for Spain and the  
World. I said in it that Reg had said the whole thing was futile, and  
that I felt this myself, but there was no question of my not doing my  
part in it. I don't know why Reg said he didn't know what the  
meeting was about. I can only conclude that he was being masculinely  
'difficult' for some obscure ~~reason~~. It was arranged he was to ring  
you and find out more precisely what you had in mind for the wording  
of the resolution and to tell you whether he would or would not speak.

He has been terribly defeatist lately. Even won't write articles abt  
India ( his pet ) because he says he doesn't feel he knows enough abt  
the world situation, etc. He won't come to the ILP Easter Conference  
to help fight the idea of rejoining the Lab. Party. We have had minor  
rows about it. God knows if all that bromide he took has soaked into  
his blood-stream or what. LH recently complained of his lack of spirit  
and I have often accused him of being 'slack' and he himself admits he  
is now 'defeatist'....

Well I have written to McNair as per the enclosed copy to today, and  
as Reg wrote me that he would come if I did you can count ~~him~~ on him  
anyhow for a short speech.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938 April 1, London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / E[thel Mannin].—  
2 p. ; 11 × 16 cm.

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17974  
Dearest Emma I shall be speaking to you or seeing you again before  
the 13th, so no more now, as I have so many other things to  
straighten out. I hope you and young Recchioni liked the review.

Much love - and do please count on me, my dear,  
after all I never have let you down, have I?

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 April 1, Boston [to] Emma G[oldman] Lo[n]don / Rose [Pesotta].—  
2 p.; 22 × 17 cm.  
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17375

PHILIP BRADEN, MANAGER

## Joint Board Cloak and Dressmakers Union

Representing Locals 12, 33, 39, 48, 56, 73 and 80  
International Ladies' Garment Workers Union  
A. F. of L.

Office: 28 LA GRANGE STREET  
BOSTON, MASS.

*answered  
April 12 - 8 &*

April First, 1938

E. J. Colton  
51 Fifth Street  
Shafterbury Avenue  
London W.1. England.

Dearst Friend

As soon as I got your letter I went to N.Y. and asked my mother to get for you six pairs of hose—the kind you wear, and wrote to Stella that when she comes in to see your friend Mrs. D. Hattenbach to fetch the hose along. I hope she did it.

Meanwhile we are doing our work as usual. Have seen Mrs. Florence Herrick, the Head of the National Labor Relations Board in New York who is a very sympathetic person, and she promised to see "Boss" Jackson, assistant to Attorney-General Cummings in your behalf. I went to her with Foyers - approved and both have made up to meet in Washington. Each person I meet tells the same story: the reactionaries in Washington are trying to blacken the New Deal Administration and how each is keeping his or her house clean so that nothing may be added to their "corruption". I hope that we succeed to get to the very "head" and through in to the proper person who will issue you a visa. I am told by all these people that Perkins is rotten (we use another phrase) and that she will never do anything for you or anyone else.

I am much disturbed by the latest developments in Spain. The radio keep on reporting the thousands of loyalist militiamen crossing the French border and that the defeat of Spain is a matter of days now. It is too horrid to think of a defeat in face of all the heroism our people have displayed in the past two years. Some wise acres keep on the old stuff about the "anarchists who have abandoned their traditional non-political stand to take part in the government" etc, but even this does no longer hurt as much as the feeling that our comrades may have to give up their fight now.

As soon as the Mobels began their renewed attack our ILGWU received an urgent call for funds for new arms and other supplies. Dubinsky rushed there \$5,000 and a call was issued for \$60,000, through the Labor Movement it will be coming in in large sums. This is about all we can do now. The Communists are importing all kinds of "ortholios, doctors and other scum" whom they send out on a nationwide tour. One such group is coming within a few days and committees are already visiting trade unions and fraternal organizations selling tickets, raising resolutions etc. They have perfected their technique within the last twenty years, having their own press,

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-2-

17376

in almost all languages, their many fictitious groups which grow up like mushrooms with each day, they have the means at their disposal which none other group has, not even our own unions. Hence the monopoly on all activities, and particularly now the exploitation of the Spanish revolution.

Do not worry about my conversation with Brand, it was appropriate because he brought up the question about their attitude towards Russia, and told me that he quite openly criticises the Stalin group for doing things in the name of the revolution which ordinarily is considered counter-revolutionary. Brand is a serious minded person (by the way the two girls are now waiting to be tried in Poland—they were arrested when one of them insulted a Polish guard in Warsaw—one of the girls is Brand's friend) he maintain that when he spoke to the kids in Paris, he spoke in the same manner he spoke to me, i.e. criticising some of their tactics, but never forgetting that they are in danger all the time and sometimes they have no other way out. For instance he told our comrades at one meeting, that being in jail in Barcelona he learned that the people in jail did not care to get out (he never mentioned a thing about the tunnel) on the contrary that they feel that in jail they have a community, an organization etc. He apparently understands the situation now—hearing the too many sides and their criticisms, while Sonia and Mollie hear only one person—Sonia.

You know by now that another person who wanted to run away, Louis Sugatti died in an accident in Spain, while a memorial meeting was arranged to be on Sunday March 27th, the news carried the item of the death of the Gigan delegate that very morning in the hills of Virginia. A comrade by the name Morgans I think and young chap who drove the car, had a blow out and were killed instantly, so the memorial was already held for all three comrades. Abe spoke there and Marcelino Garcia, you know him, and several others.

I never receive SUBSIDY FROM YOU and would like you to place me on the mailing list. Enclosed is your Subscription list with the money I was able to collect. There are so many of them here, and the people are so reluctant in giving (the depression has not turned into a full grown thing with thousands on the relief rolls and thousands waiting) so I got only a few who could not refuse giving this donations. As soon as I hear any good news I shall let you know. Expect to be in Washington the end of May at an Anti-War Congress so till then I am trying to get some people lined up, maybe we will succeed to find the proper time and proper person to get the consent for a visa. meantime "nie univai" keep up the good work—no matter how bad—it is still better than doing nothing.

My love to you,

Rose  
Rose

P. S. I learned while in N.Y. that there will be an INTERNATIONAL PHOTOGRAPHERS EXHIBITION in Grand Central on April 24-26, so me, Pauline and I promptly made an application and are exhibiting three (they do not accept more) of Sonia's work which I brought along with me. I shall try to be in N.Y. and find a reported to give him a write up. Maybe it will help.

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673

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 April 1 [Boston to] Emma G[oldman], Lo[n]don / Rose [Pesotta]. —  
2 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

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April First, 1938

E. G. Colton  
21 Frith Street  
Shafterbury Avenue  
London W.1. England.

Dearest Emma:

As soon as I got your letter I went to N.Y. and asked my Mother to get for you six pair of hose—the kind you wear, and wrote to Stella that when she comes in to see your friend Mrs. D. Rittenbach to fetch the hose along. I hope she did it.

Meanwhile we are doing our work as usual. Have seen Mrs. Elenore Herrick, the Head of the National Labor Relations Board in New York who is a very sympathetic person, and she promised to see "Boss" Jackson, assistant to Attorney-General Cummings in your behalf. I went to her with Powers Hapgood and both have made up to meet in Washington. Each person I meet tells the same story: the reactionaries in Washington are trying to blacken the New Deal Administration and how each is keeping his or her house clean so that nothing may be added to their "communism". I hope that we succeed to get to the very "head" and through him to the proper person who will issue you a visa. I am told by all these people that Perkins is rotten (we use another phrase) and that she will never do anything for you or anyone else.

I am much disturbed by the latest developments in Spain. The radio keep on reporting the thousands of loyalist militiamen crossing the French border and that the defeat of Spain is a matter of days now. It is too horrid to think of a defeat in face of all the heroism our people have displayed in the past two years. Some wise acres keep on the old stuff about the "anarchists who have abandoned their traditional non-political stand to take part in the Government" etc, but even this does no longer hurt as much as the feeling that our comrades may have to give up their fight now.

As soon as the Rebels began their renewed attack our ILGWU received an urgent call for funds for new arms and other supplies. Dubinsky rushed there \$5,000 and a call was issued for \$50,000, through the Labor Movement it will be coming in in large sums. This is about all we can do now. The Communists are importing all kinds of Catholics, doctors and other scum whom they send out on a nationwide tour. One such group is coming within a few days and committees are already visiting trade unions and fraternal organizations selling tickets, making reservations etc. They have perfected their technique within the last twenty years, having their own press,



## The Emma Goldman Papers

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-2-

in almost all languages, their many fictitious groups which grow up like mushrooms with each day, they have the means at their disposal which none other groups has, not even our own unions. Hence the monopoly on all activities and particularly now the exploitation of the Spanish revolution.

Do not worry about my conversation with Brand, it was appropriate because he brought up the question about their attitude towards Russia, and told me that he quite openly criticizes the Stalin group for doing things in the name of the revolution which ordinarily is considered counter-revolutionary. Brand is a serious minded person (by the way the two girls are now waiting to be tried in Poland—they were arrested when one of them insulted a Polish guard in Warsaw—one of the girls is Brand's friend) He maintains that when he speaks to the kids in Paris, he spoke in the same manner he spoke to me, i.e. criticizing some of their tactics, but never forgetting that they are in danger all the time and sometimes they have no other way out. For instance he told our comrades at one meeting, that being in jail in Barcelona he learned that the people in jail did not care to get out (he never mentioned a thing about the tunnel) on the contrary that they feel that in jail they have a community, an organization etc. He apparently understands the situation now—hearing the too many sides and their criticisms, while Sonia and Mollie hear only one person—Sonia.

You know by now that another person who wanted to run away, Louis Sugatti died in an accident in Spain, while a memorial meeting was arranged to be on Sunday March 27th, the news carried the item of the death of the Giron delegate that very morning in the hills of Virginia. A comrades by the name Menzago I think and young chap who drove the car, had a blow out and were killed instantly, so the memorial was already held for all three comrades. Abe spoke there and Marceline Garcia, you know him, and several others.

I never receive SPAIN AND THE WORLD and would like you to place me on the mailing list. Enclosed is your Subscription list with the money I was able to collect. There are so many of them here, and the people are so reluctant in giving (the depression has now turned into a full grown thing with thousands on the relief rolls and thousands waiting) so I get only a few who could not refuse giving this donations. As soon as I hear any good news I shall let you know. Expect to be in Washington the end of May at an Anti-War Congress so till then I am trying to get some people lined up, maybe we will succeed to find the proper time and proper person to get the consent for a visa. Meantime "sic uti vis" keep up the good work—no matter how bad—it is still better than doing nothing.

My love to you,

Rose

P. S. I learned while in N.Y. that there will be an INTERNATIONAL PHOTOGRAPHERS EXPOSITION in G and Central on April 24-26, so we, Pauline and I promptly made an application and are exhibiting three (they do not accept more) of Sonia's work which I brought along with me. I shall try to be in N.Y. and find a reporter to give him a write up. Maybe it will help.

675

# The Emma Goldman Papers

840305866

[Letter, 19]38 April 2, London [to] Doris [Zhook, Edgware, England] / Emma [Goldman].— 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

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C.N.T.

A.I.T.

F.A.I.

Representing—THE NACIONAL CONFEDERACION OF LABOR  
AND REGIONAL COMITE C.N.T.-F.A.I.—BARCELONA  
INTERNATIONAL PRESS SERVICE

London Office

21 FRITH STREET  
SHAFTESBURY AVENUE  
LONDON, W.1

London, April 2nd 38

TELEPHONE: GERRARD 2636

Dear Doris. Why does a fellow never hear from you or see you? I suppose if I did not call you up sometimes or write you you would never care enough to get in touch with me or let me know how <sup>you</sup> feel. Really my dear fa<sup>t</sup> a gute Yiddische Tochter you are more English than the English.

Whats become of that wedding of yours? With your usual sluggishness when it comes to carry something through you will wait until something happens to the Chosen. For goodness sake get a move on.

Inclosed is the check for 5/ for your last job.

I have been ill with the tragic events in Spain and really unfit for work. But I drag along. We have organised a meeting in Conway Hall for Wed. the 13th, handbills will be ready to day. Will <sup>you</sup> undertake to place some? Our Concert will also take place the 29th <sup>at</sup> last. It is like carrying stones up a mountain to get anybody to participate. But we will have an interesting programme though no such drawing cards as Robeson whom we have lost. Announcements and tickets will be ready Thursday when we have called a meeting at our place of all the comrades or those who claime they are to attend and help with the distribution of handbills and sales of tickets. I hope you will not fail to come,

Affectionately

Emma

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938 April 2 [London to Frances] Briggs, [London] / [Emma Goldman].—  
2 p. ; 24 × 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

April 2nd 28

Dear Miss Briggs.

I feel thoroughly ashamed of myself not having renewed my sybscription to the Drama League. The more so because I have received two reminders. B<sup>u</sup>t I have been so completely taken up with the work for the unfortunate victims of Franco and his German and Italian allies I had not thought or time for anything else. But of course I do want to continue my membership and I am inclosing a check for £1-1-0.

Please find inclosed a folder that will tell you what the SIA is and what we have done for it. We are now organising a literary and musical evening for April 29th. Among the literary artists we have Miss Ethel Mannin, Mr Herbert Read, Mr Stephen Spender, Mr Brian Howard and Mr Miles Malleson. For music we have Miss Sidonie Coocessens and Mr Fredrick Woodhouse, we also hope to have a first rate palmist and viol inist. Still more interesting we have a great Spanish dancer who ranks as high as the late Argentina and we have 12 Basque children from a Colony in STREET who had never before appeared in London. Dr Stella Clarke Ojrehill will preside. As you see a strking and interesting programme. We will send you annoucements when they are ready. Perhaps you will again be good enough to let us place a poster or two at the League's Office.

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 193]8 April 2 [London to Frances] Briggs, [London] / [Emma Goldman].—  
2 p. ; 24 × 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17967

As you see I have moved to new quarters.

Kindest greetings to Mr Whitworth and Miss

Abbott if she is still Librarian. Please plead with Mr Alec I. See your  
and Treasurer and tell him why I have not replied to his two reminders.  
I hope he will not think me rude.

Sincerely,

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 April 2 [London to] Miles Malleson, [London] / [Emma Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 24 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

April 2nd 38

Dear Miles Malleson.

Thanks for yours of March 30th. And the new contribution of 10/. On pain of being considered an awful nuisance I must again ask you to do something on the 29th other than be a good "listener", a rare quality I admit, and applaud". After all it is only a matter of five or ten minutes to say a few words about the importance of International Antifascist Solidarity and only for the masses but also for the free professions which Fascism has and will destroy everywhere it plants its iron heel on a country. Writing, the theatre, poetry, music and science all suffer alike and pay the same frightful toll as the workers. Could you not say a few words along these lines? I never knew you were so reticent. I recollect hearing you at the British Drama gathering in Birmingham I believe when you were not at all tongue-tied. I do hope you will loosen up at the affair the 29th.

May I send you some of our announcements that you might care to send out to your friends? They will be done next week.

Sincerely,

# The Emma Goldman Papers

870930335

[Letter] 1938 April 2, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / Mariano R. Vázquez [and] Pedro Herrera. — 1 p. ; 28 × 21 cm.

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Confederación Nacional del Trabajo

Y  
Federación Anarquista Ibérica

Relaciones Exteriores

Nº 415. E.

19137

BARCELONA, a 2 de abril de 1938.

A la Oficina de Propaganda C.N.T.-F.A.I. en Inglaterra.  
Londres.

Estimadas camaradas Emma Goldman:

Para los efectos de la propaganda, os adjuntamos a la presente copia de los datos biográficos del camarada Adolfo Arnal, muerto heroicamente en el frente de Teruel.

Te saludan fraternalmente,

POR EL CTE. PENINSULAR FAI.

POR EL CTE. NACIONAL CNT.

  
Pedro Herrera.  
COMITÉ PENINSULAR  
Relaciones Exteriores

  
Mariano R. Vázquez.  
COMITÉ NACIONAL  
SECRETARIA

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 April 4 [London to John Cowper Powys, Corwen, Wales] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 24 x 19 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17774

4th April, 1938.

My dear generous Friend,

It was quite impossible to reply to your good letter of February 26th. It reached me in the midst of the same agony as last year when I began the work for our concert. Our dates were changed and re-changed half a dozen times, owing to the irresponsibility of the artists who promised to participate and then backed out at the eleventh hour. I confess I am amazed at such lack of sincerity of people giving their word and then breaking it.

Well, after three months of misery, we finally are going to have the affair on April 29th. Unfortunately we will not have Rebecca West because she is leaving England on the 10th of this month and will not be back until the end of May. We have lost Paul Robeson. He has evidently gone over skin and all to the Communists. It is one of the many shocks of my life, to see a beautiful friendship of twelve years dashed to the winds, all because of the political poison injected in everybody by the communists. I dare say life means constant elimination in hopes and in people, but one just goes on. There is no stopping on the road.

The one bright ray in my experience in this country has come from you, dear friend. Your beautiful tribute, as expressed in your letter to the concert, has brought a lump to my throat. It could not have come at a more opportune time. I shall cherish that letter until the end of my days. I am not going to use banal words to express my gratitude. You are too understanding to need that.

There is one thing, however. I am afraid I cannot have that letter read in my presence. It is entirely too personal, and I really couldn't stand it. Naturally I do not want to touch a single ~~word~~ in your letter. I wonder if you will consider it burdening you too much to write something that would dwell more on the courage and fortitude of the Spanish people and their struggle. I am sure that would be more in keeping with the purpose of the meeting. As you have nearly a month, perhaps you will be good enough to send me such a letter.

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 April 4 [London to John Cowper Powys, Corwen, Wales] / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p. ; 24 × 19 cm.

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There is one other thing I would like to mention. I am planning to get out a special anti-war issue of *Spain and the World*. I wonder whether you have the time and the strength to write a contribution on the subject? I am certain you have something important to say that will interest the readers of *Spain and the World*.

With affectionate greetings,

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 April 4 [London to] Stella [Churchill, London] / [Emma Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17-399

4th April, 1938.

My dear Stella,

It is uncanny to have last year's experience of the difficulties of the concert all over again. I am not going to burden you with all the painful details except that Laurence Houseman will not participate. We have instead the poet, Stephen Spender, and a young writer, Brian Howard. The affair is definitely fixed for Friday, April 29th, in Friends' Hall. The printing was ordered to-day and some of it will be ready on Thursday. I hope it will not be too late for you to send out the folder to your circle of friends and acquaintances. You will surely have it by Friday morning, may be earlier. I forgot to say that we are going to have twelve Masque children of the forty-two in the street colony. They have been under the protection and the care of the I.L.P. They will give dancing and singing. So that is something to be thankful for. We must do our utmost to make the affair a success, although at this moment it is difficult to say what will happen to the gallant people by April 29th. The news is certainly heartbreaking, especially when one realises that the blame for the sacrifice of the Spanish people will rest for ever with the so-called democratic countries, and especially the National Government. However, let us hope that the valour which kept Madrid safe from Franco for twenty months will also conquer in the rest of Spain. It is this hope which gives me courage to continue my work.

Dear Stella, in the midst of so much wholesale misery, one is prone to neglect the ~~xxx~~ individual tragedies. I try not to. I have in mind the artist who helped with our exhibition. I don't know whether I told you that he is crippled as the result of spinal meningitis in childhood which had been terribly neglected. But though so handicapped he has been and is doing marvellous work. I am very anxious for you to see it. I wonder whether you have time to let me bring my friend, Hannes Hammermith. Perhaps you would also send your car for him. I would come along. I should not ask it, except that my friend is unable to carry his canvases, and a taxi from Golders Green would probably be too expensive. That, however, is a minor matter. The main thing is I would like you to bring the canvases for you to see. Will you write me or 'phone the most convenient time for you.

Always affectionately,

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 April 4 [London to] Rebecca [West, London] / [Emma Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 20 × 16 cm.

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17395

4th April, 1938.

Dear Rebecca,

I have not acknowledged your note, while still being in the midst of trying to get together the people who will participate at my co-far ill-fated literary and musical evening. I realize that you cannot at this time send a note to the affair which will actually take place on the 20th of this month. Every day so many dreadful things happen, one cannot say anything much in advance. But as you are going away for two months, and you will be taken up with so many other things, I am writing again to remind you not to forget to send a few lines for the affair. Perhaps the black clouds hanging over all of us will prevent your going abroad. Do not think I am mean enough to wish for that, much as I should love to have you, of all people, at the evening I am arranging. But if your trip should be delayed, I hope you will let me know. We can always advertise you through the press, even at the last few days in advance. Please write me then, will you?

There is no saying what might happen till the 23th of April. We may have to turn the affair into a funeral dirge, a funeral not only of the gallant Spanish people, but of all libertarian ideas and ideals that will be crushed with them should Franco really conquer. I can't bear to think of it. I am holding on for dear life to my faith in the will to win, the determination to make Fascism impossible of the gallant Spanish people.

We are planning a anti-war number of Spain and the World which I am hoping to publish. I do not know if you have seen the number. It is the only publication in this country that represents the C.N.T. and the F.A.I. in this country, and it is doing splendid work. I wonder, would you let me have a short article, setting forth your stand on the criminal conspiracy of the National Government to bring the peoples of the world over the brink of war. I am sure that among all the women writers in this country you will have something vital to say. It is needed much more now than even before the holocaust in 1914. Please let me hear from you.

Affectionately,

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

870919100

[Letter] 1938 April 4 [London to W.S.] Van [Valkenburgh, Scotia, N.Y.] / [Emma Goldman].— 3 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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11512

4th April 1938.

Dear Van,

You have developed into a rotten correapondent. You received a letter from me in January and you delay answering until the 23rd March. How do you expect me to keep up writing you. Aside of the tension as the result of the dreadful situation in Spain, I am as usual a very sick woman in that I see no results of the many jobs I undertake; but I would go mad if I were to stop and sit back with folded hands, so I keep busy about, trying ever so many things, all of which are like carrying a heavy weight up a high mountain. The longer I live here the more difficult it becomes to arouse people to get them to participate. Even if they promise they back out at the last moment. This has happened to us again this year with the literary and musical event we were trying to organize for the last three months. It is now definitely set for the 29th April. Heaven only knows what will happen in Spain by that time. Most of our comrades may be exterminated and the others forced to flee to France. Judging from the letters I receive the comrades are more determined than ever to fight to the last man; but it does not seem thinkable for them to hold out against a barrage of bombs from the air, land and sea. I shudder to think what the end is likely to be. Any way I keep busy, in fact so busy that I cannot devote so much time to my correspondence as I did in the past, and I am particularly loth to write when I know that my friends permit months to pass before they even acknowledge receipt of a letter. You may have been ill or prevented by other reasons; but still a post card requires no time.

My dear, I cannot tell definitely when I expect to sail for Canada. I don't know what is going to happen in Spain, and my movements depend entirely upon the events in that country. With the German and Italian monsters sweeping down our people I haven't the time or patience to go into some of the compromises that they made in order to finally get the co-operation of the UGT. By the time this reaches you, you will probably have seen their pact with the UGT and the minimum programme they have consented to. It has come down from the heights I admit; but it is as appropriate to sit in judgment over our comrades now as it were to sit in judgment on a man condemned to death. All theories must be set aside at present, and our efforts increased to do our utmost to help the comrades, though heaven knows the help we are giving them will make no particular difference in their life and death struggle. If there were any way I could help to destroy that farcical scrap of paper Non-Intervention - if I could do so by giving my life, I would not hesitate to do so for a second. I could not imagine a more worthy end to my fifty years struggle, than to give my life to enable our people to match the forces given to Franco by Hitler and Mussolini. Much to my regret there is nothing I could do that would turn the tide. Mass action alone could achieve that, and the masses here are in a strait jacket of the Labour Party and Trade Unions and entirely void of will or determination. Every little thing counts of course. Milk is needed in Spain, and food supplies;

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 April 4 [London to W.S.] Van [Valkenburgh, Scotia, N.Y.] / [Emma Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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2

11513

but more needed are arms, aeroplanes, and the workers in England will make no move to open up the frontier to enable the Spanish people to buy whatever they need.

Anyway I am not able to tell you when I will definitely sail. If I do, in September. Rose is working in her own way to get me a permit for re-entry. I am not banking on it. If I go to Canada it will be necessary to tour the whole of that part of the North American continent as it would be sheer folly and waste to sail for Canada and have only a few meetings in Toronto. I understand that Montreal is doubtful now owing to the power of the Catholic Church. It is for this reason I want to go to the east of Canada if possible to Vancouver. The workers in British Columbia are always more militant than in eastern towns. The tragedy is that we have no connections there except perhaps the I.W.O. I have written Dorothy Gleesocke to get in touch with them. I feel that if I had a little capital to guarantee the railroad expenses and initial expenses for meetings I could cover Canada. Dorothy would probably act as my advance manager. She is a very efficient woman and she would be a great help. Anyway I have written Friedman and Jeanne Lavey and Ben Capes asking them whether they could not raise 200 dollars for that particular purpose. As I have already written you there will be my fare and the necessary money to have on hand at the border. I therefore wish you would get the comrades together again and put the plan before them, so they can continue their appeals for the fund. I think Jeanne has collected 200 dollars from her personal friends - that is without the anarchist groups. Dorothy has I believe 50 dollars and the promise of 25 from the Workers Circle. Jeanne has gone to California. I wrote and asked her to impress the comrades there the importance of the Canadian tour, and I have asked Ben Capes to do the same with the St Louis comrades. It ought not to be so terribly difficult to raise the necessary amount between all these groups.

Whatever should happen in Spain the money should be raised. I mean if the comrades are interested in my project and in helping me to carry it out.

Dear Ven, as I have already said, I cannot discuss the mistakes and the compromises our Spanish comrades have made. I feel too intensely about the frightfulness meted out to them, and about their supreme courage to fight it to the bitter end. I am enclosing a copy of my talk at the Congress. That will give you an idea where I stand. I don't want to deceive you. I am not very happy over the concessions made. In fact I have gone through a terrible inner struggle and still am; but I feel I must go on and give to the utmost for the struggle our comrades are making. Sufficient until the day when they survive to argue differences.

I suppose Rose was too busy to call a meeting as she had planned on her arrival. She was immediately sent to Boston where she now is. As to Abe Bluestein, he too is going through inner torment; but he probably realises, as many of us, that it is impossible to join the chorus that is raising to the very skies from all parties in all countries aiming at the crucifixion of the CNT-FAI. I understand that he is helping the delegation (Spanish) with the English bulletin.

Please dear Ven don't wait so long with your reply. What has happened to you that causes your silence for months and what are you

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 April 4 [London to W.S.] Van [Valkenburgh, Scotia, N.Y.] / [Emma Goldman].— 3 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.

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3.

Being. Believe or not I am interested .

Give my love to Bessie and take some for yourself.

Affectionately.

P.S. Whats the dollar for which you enclosed in your letter?

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 April 4 [London to] Harry Rosenberg, [New York] / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p. ; 20 × 16 cm.

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18140

4th April 1938.

Dear Harry Rosenberg,

I am sorry to have delayed acknowledging your letter of February 25th and the enclosed dollar.

First of all I wish to tell you that while I appreciate your kindness, I wish you had not deprived yourself of the bill you sent. Life is rather hard I admit; but not so hard yet that my friends need deny themselves anything for my sake, Since this is what you have done, I am contributing the dollar to the S.I.A. fund. You have my thanks just the same.

Please do not bother your friend Sonia any more. I have not heard from her and she probably finds it hard to carry out her good intentions of sending something for the Basque children. Yes I realise that people in America are hard pressed. They are certainly more so here. You see when one feels very intensely about such a tragedy that is being enacted in Spain, one makes special efforts to help these heroic people; but of course everybody does not feel so intensely, if they did the struggle would have been over by now, and our comrades would continue their magnificent constructive work. However each one must do as he feels the need. One cannot impose one's own feelings upon others.

Thank you for the address of Mrs Penlissier. I don't think I will write her. I am really crowded with work as you will see by the enclosed handbill and also by the organising of a concert for April 29th - besides

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 April 4 [London to] Harry Rosenberg, [New York] / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p. ; 20 × 16 cm.

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a hundred and one other matters.

When I hear from Mrs Penliesier I will write her.

Yours sincerely,

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938 April 4, London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / E[thel Mannin]. --  
3 p. ; 10 x 16 cm.

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Ethel Mannin

Oak Cottage,  
Burgley Road,  
Wimbledon Common, S.W.  
17096

Monday

Emma dearest, thanks for letter; herewith I return McNair's letter, also cheque duly endorsed. Bills were rec. from Barr this morning, for which also thanks. R. says McNair is more up-to-date politically than he is at the moment, as he has been 'out' of things for so long, so if he is willing he had better do the deed. He is willing to speak on the 13th.

Regarding my book (I am going through yr letter answering matters as they occur therein) I think Dr. Steinberg would be a suitable person to review the book if he'd care to and is able to. (not everyone is able to - witness the well-intentioned but very badly done review in this week's New Leader. The reviewer even refers to Soviet Revolutionary when she means Social Revolutionary!) I really don't mind who does it, though. The only thing about Steinberg doing it is that he is pro-Zionist these days whereas I am very strongly pro Arab and anti-Zionist, and he might take exception to that in the book. I expect the best person to do it would be yourself - though maybe you'd not

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938 April 4, London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / E[thel Mannin]. — 3 p.; 10 × 16 cm.

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17097  
feel able to, being as its dedicated to you. Why not just let young  
Recchioni do it, or give it to who ever he thinks best? He after all  
is the editor!

I didn't say prostitution had been abolished in the USSR, dear, only  
that it was in process of being abolished, that it was being taken as  
a social problem and sensibly handled. I shouldn't think it can ever  
be entirely eliminated in any State... You really misjudge me if you  
think I still 'cling to the blessings of Russia'. That they have  
achieved certain improvements and reforms seems to me undeniable; that  
these blessings might have come in the natural course of evolution  
seems beside the point, because there is no doubt that the revolution  
hastened them. Then again I don't feel that because one is supposed to  
a regime one should see no good in it whatever if there is any  
good to be found. I am quite prepared to find even that the Nazi  
regime has effected some social reforms; I don't know of any, but I  
like to think that if I know of any I'd have to concede them. I  
feel, too, that merely to attack Russia at every point, sweepingly,  
is to weaken one's case against the things we hate in it.

Regarding my review of Mitchell's book and the reference to 'from  
Solon to Bakunin', this is correct. Solon was a Greek philosopher  
chap, and a judge. I don't know how Mitchell links him up with  
the history of anarchy; perhaps there was an element of anarchism  
in his administration.

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938 April 4, London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / E[thel Mannin]. — 3 p. ; 10 x 16 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

-3-

17090

I have no reply from Brian Howard. You'll have got by now the copy of the letter I wrote him? I don't know whether having asked him and he having consented to do something we can now cut him out - can we? Spender we certainly can as I have only heard at second hand through Howard that he will appear, and it's so damn rude when I have written him twice and ~~praxix~~ wired him reply-poid. He deserves a snub. But I suppose if we snub him Howard would drop out anyway. On the whole it might be best as God knows what either might say once up on the platform, and it would be embarrassing to have to cut them short if they ~~starkidpax~~ started making speeches about the Popular Front. (Which Howard seems burning to do!)

Dear Emma, it's true that public speaking is hell to me, and it's true I get fits of depression from the sense of futility, but what I am able to do I am willing to do, in the future as in the past. Need I say more - except that I agree with you that however despairing and hopeless-seeming we who believe must battle on, since silence is acquiescence. Its only that sometimes the lack of response gets one down. You must surely know the feeling? The Spanish news today is terrible and beyond comment.

No more now as this will cross anyhow with my letter of Fri. in the  
My devoted love as always

What a.s.u.

692



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 April 4, Liverpool [England to Emma] Goldman, [London] / J. Falk. —  
2 p. ; 14 × 18 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

18284

N=2

נאם היום ביום וואס זיין זעלבן פאן  
וואס וויל קומען זעלבן צום  
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ווי גוט נאם פאן זעלבן  
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# The Emma Goldman Papers

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[Letter] 1938 April 4, London [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Frances Briggs.—  
1 p. ; 24 × 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

## THE BRITISH DRAMA LEAGUE

INCORPORATING THE VILLAGE DRAMA SOCIETY

President:

LORD HOWARD DE WALDEN

Director:

GEOFFREY WHITWORTH

Chairman of the Council:

VISCOUNT ESHER

Hon. Treasurer:

ALEC L. REA

Secretary: Frances Briggs

Central Office: 9 Fitzroy Square, London, W.1.

Telephone: Euston 2666

4th April, 1938.

Dear Miss Goldman,

Thank you very much for your subscription  
to the British Drama League. It is very good of you to  
continue this.

Thank you also for the folder about  
the S.I.A. If you will let me have some announcements  
of your literary and musical evening on April 29th,  
I will give them to people likely to be interested.  
Please let me have these as soon as possible.

With renewed thanks and kindest  
regards from Mr. Whitworth and Miss Coates, the Librarian,

I am,

Yours very sincerely,

M. Frances Briggs

Miss Emma Goldman,  
S.I.A.,  
21, Frith Street,  
Shaftesbury Avenue,  
W.1.

695

# The Emma Goldman Papers

891109093

[Letter] 1938 April 5, London [to] Rudolf [Rocker, Crompond, N.Y.] / Emma [Goldman].— 3 p. ; 26 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Rudolf Rocker Archive.



C.N.T.

A.I.T.

F.A.I.

Representing—THE NACIONAL CONFEDERACION DE LABOR  
AND REGIONAL COMITE C.N.T.-F.A.I.—BARCELONA  
INTERNATIONAL PRESS SERVICE

London Office

31 FRITH STREET  
SHAFTESBURY AVENUE  
LONDON, W.1

London, 5th April 1938.

TELEPHONE: GERRARD 2636

My dear Rudolf,

I sent you a letter with the last mailing but forgot several things. The news from Spain is so crushing I don't remember one thing from another. I am at the very pitch of nervous excitement, and it is only sheer force of will that I keep going at all. The situation grows blacker and blacker, and one can hardly hope that our people will come out from the horrors surrounding them on every side.

The most heartbreaking thing to me is their constant appeal to the international proletariat and their expectation that they must give immediate help. There is no way of reaching the international proletariat in reality, not even the British. Certainly I have no way of reaching them. It is true that the leaders of the Labour Party are pestering the Government to leave the Non-Intervention Pact. They have called a huge meeting in Hyde Park for Sunday, and a demonstration in which all the important Labour M.P.s will march, and by this morning's paper the Amalgamated Engineers Union have taken an encouraging stand that they will not negotiate with the armament gang unless the Government takes some definite stand regarding Spain - this being one of their demands. But even that I am afraid will not help. The National Government is more fascistic than it has ever been, and the pressure brought to bear on Chamberlain by his fascist capitalist friends will probably weigh in the scales much more than anything the workers can do, save a general strike, and that seems to me very far removed in this country. Besides as I have already said we have no way of reaching the national labour bodies.

I cannot make our Spanish comrades understand that we are a group of no more than half a dozen people - actually as anarchists only three - comrades Barr, Sonia Clemente and myself, and though Sonia is very helpful, she is not actually in the movement dedicated to that one thing. All the others have neither the will nor the intelligence to do much, though there are a few comrades who are helpful - so how can we hope to develop a wide spread propaganda that would influence the more militant workers to undertake practical measures. I have written that ever so many times to Vaeques and Herrera.

I suppose that they are in such desperate straits that they must deceive themselves with the hope that the international proletariat will surely respond to their life and death struggle. They seem to be burning up with their passionate determination to fight to the last man. Their courage is beyond belief. In the midst of all their dangers they get out editions de luxe of books and magazines, and write me directions about the work for the S.I.A? as if there were no monsters in the air striking death and destruction everywhere. Just because of it one feels one's hopelessness - one's inability to ward off the frightfulness coming nearer and nearer.

While have no other thought than the struggle of our comrades

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 April 5, London [to] Rudolf [Rocker, Crompond, N.Y.] / Emma [Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 26 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Rudolf Rocker Archive.

2

Roc

I am yet terribly impatient with them. Here they go on appealing to the international proletariat and yet they are unwilling to expose the criminal Negrin-Pasato government. They sent me a letter which made my hair raise on edge and yet they wanted it to be confidential. At the same time I see by the German bulletin issued by the A.I.T. that the corruption in the ranks of the Government is being exposed. I am therefore at a loss to understand what to do about the matter. It is absolutely certain that the C.N.T.-F.A.I. will be blamed should there be a defeat. In point of fact they have already been blamed ten times over. Would you not think that for their own protection it would be necessary to give a clear picture of the inefficiency and contemptible sabotage practiced by the Government against our people, and in the prosecution of the war. I am writing Rudiger to make clear some of the facts that appear in the German bulletin, and why the letter to me was sent "confidential".

When this reaches you you will have received the final agreement between the C.N.T. and the U.G.T. Well I realise that one cannot sit in judgment upon our comrades to-day; but it does seem a terrible collapse of all that the C.N.T. ever stood for. Urteil Araquistains in his comment on the pact ~~and the weaknesses~~ over the change of attitude to the state on the part of the C.N.T. You will have seen the German bulletin so its no good going into lengthy quotations. The fact remains that our people have gone over to the stand of the U.G.T. and there is no saying what terrible price they will have to pay in a moral as well as an economic sense.

All this lies like a nightmare on my chest and really poisons the days and weeks for me.

I want you to write me dear Rudolf how you interpret this pact. May be I am too emerged in our old ideology to be able to harmonise any of the concessions made with in this pact by the C.N.T.

I realise that by the time this reaches you there may not be any need for discussion. I shudder to think what will become of our comrades if Franco gets to Barcelona.

Who is Ralph Borsodi and Kettering? - also Abbott. A letter Aldous Huxley maintains much is to be learned from the theoretical and practical work of Ralph Borsodi and the inventions of Kettering - Kettering's work on small Diesel power plants for domestic purposes. Abbotts work on a machine for making direct use of solar energy.

I wish you would enlighten me on this. Spain has so completely absorbed me that I have't paid the slightest attention to works of that nature or any other writings. No doubt you are keeping in touch with these things. Please do write me about it as soon as possible. You see that Huxley himself claims to be a "philosophical" anarchist - whatever that may be, and he claims that these people whom he mentions are making it possible to realise the libertarian ideals in practice if intelligent were to desire this consummation.

Perhaps I had better enclose the letter so that you can read it. I must have it back so I can write Huxley. He is certainly worth while cultivating; but I cannot see how fundamental social changes can be brought about by just a few persons experimenting with new inventions.

There is another thing "Spain & The world", really the only publication in English of some importance. It could do a great deal more but it is woefully poor off in contributors. I know how difficult it is for you to do writing when you are lecturing - nevertheless

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 April 5, London [to] Rudolf [Rocker, Crompond, N.Y.] / Emma [Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 26 x 20 cm.

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Rec

I am glad to hear of your business in writing an article for the "New World". We want especially as soon as possible to have your opinion on the situation in relation to the Spanish Revolution. You are in our opinion the one who is so clear and logical in your subject as well as many others as you are. I cannot depend upon your mind too much the help you would give.

Send it to me. The "Spanish Revolution" is not reliable; but it has nothing to do with the scope of Spain & The World. This being our only paper we ought to certainly to try to keep it going by contributions. Send it in German which will be translated at this end.

Please dear Rudolf write me soon and be sure to send back Huxley's letter.

With love to Klara and Fernia.

Affectionately,

Emma

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698



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 April 5 [London to] Rudolf [Rocker, Crompond, N.Y.] / [Emma Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 20 x 16 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

18499

5th April 1938.

My dear Rudolf,

I sent you a letter with the last mailing but forgot several things. The news from Spain is so crushing I don't remember one thing from another. I am at the very pitch of nervous excitement, and it is only sheer force of will that I keep going at all. The situation grows blacker and blacker, and one can hardly hope that our people will come out from the horrors surrounding them on every side.

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[Letter] 1938 April 5 [London to] Rudolf [Rocker, Crompond, N.Y.] / [Emma Goldman].— 3 p. ; 20 x 16 cm.

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15500

2

I am yet terribly impatient with them. Here they go on appealing to the international proletariat and yet they are unwilling to expose the criminal Kappa-Gamma government. They sent me a letter which made my hair raise on edge and yet they wanted it to be confidential. At the same time I saw by the German bulletin issued by the A.I.T. that the corruption in the ranks of the Government is being exposed. I am therefore at a loss to understand what to do about the matter. It is absolutely certain that the C.N.T.-P.A.I. will be blamed should there be a defeat. In point of fact they have already been blamed ten times over. Would you not think that for their own protection it would be necessary to give a clear picture of the inefficiency and contemptible sabotage practiced by the Government against our people, and in the prosecution of the war. I am writing Rudiger to make clear some of the facts that appear in the German bulletin, and why the letter to me was sent "confidential".

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 April 5 [London to] Rudolf [Rocker, Crompond, N.Y.] / [Emma Goldman].— 3 p. ; 20 × 16 cm.

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3.

18881

I appeal to you to make it your business to write an article a month at least for Spain & The World. We want especially as soon as possible an article on the European situation in relation to the imminence of war. There is no one in our movement who is so clear and is so well informed on this subject as well as many others as you are. I cannot impress upon your mind too much the help you would give Spain & The World.

I don't mean to say that the "Spanish Revolution" is not valuable; but it has neither the get up or the scope of Spain & The World. This being our only paper we ought to certainly to try to keep it going by contributions. Send it in German which will be translated at this end.

Please dear Rudolf write me soon and be sure to send back Maxley's letter.

With love to Millie and Fernin.

Affectionately,

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938 April 5, London to Rudolf Rocker, Crompond, N.Y. (enclosure)] /  
[Emma Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

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140 N. Laurel Avenue  
Blythe, Calif.

 Roc

Dear Miss Goldman:

To my mind, the urgent problem at the moment is to find a satisfactory technique for giving practical realization to the ideal of philosophical anarchism. If we were to have decentralisation, if we are to have genuine self-government, if we are to be free from the tyranny of political and big-business bosses, then we must find ~~thant~~ some satisfactory methods by which people can become autonomously independent at any rate in large measure. I am trying to collect relevant informations on this subject and am convinced that the technique for realizing the libertarian ideal in practice could be formulated and would work perfectly well, if intelligent people were to desire this consummation and were to set their minds to it. Much is to be learned from the theoretical and practical work of Ralph Borsodi while certain contemporary trends of invention -- Kettering's work on small diesel power plants for domestic purposes, Abbotts work on a machine for making direct use of solar energy -- point clearly to the possibility of realizing that economic independence which must be the material basis of a libertarian society. Borsodi has demonstrated that about two thirds of all production can actually be carried out more economically in small domestic or cooperative units. But so obsessed are modern men by the idea of centralisation and mass production that they can think in no other terms. I feel stringly that this purely practical, material side of anarchism is the side that in the immediate future, requires the most intensive study, together with practical application wherever possible.

Yours sincerely

Sd. Aldous Huxley



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938 April 5, London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Ethel [Mannin].—  
2 p.; 10 × 16 cm.

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Tuesday

17107

Dearest Emma,

Thanks for yr letter. I think the letter you have sent out excellent. The loss of the Spanish dancer is yet another blow.

I have now heard from Brian H in reply to mine. You will see that he is coming along to the Conway Hall meeting. He seems open to 'conversion', and says he and Spender are both politically dissatisfied. Note that Nancy Kurnard is a rigid Communist! Spender is also a Communist but a dissatisfied one.

It's a little disconcerting after insisting that the SIA is 'purely humanitarian' and 'non-political' to have it pointed out that the SIA posters in France are militant - calling for arms for Spain and end of non-intervention. When people (like Brian Howard) discover this sort of thing they naturally think they have been deceived abt the SIA - got into it under false pretences. I suppose that to have been strictly accurate we should have said that the SIA in this country was purely humanitarian and non-political? Of course, as I told BH its work is that. But the fact remains that a lot of people supporting us would not do so if they saw the French SIA posters and knew that the parent organisation was political. I begin to wonder if we wouldn't have done better to have been frankly anarchist in the beginning; we should not then have

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938 April 5, London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Ethel [Mannin]. —  
2 p.; 10 × 16 cm.

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attracted these people who have come to us for purely popular-front-  
against-fascism reasons.

I wonder if Howard is right now about coming out into the open on  
militant lines - supplying 'the long-felt want' for people who are  
dissatisfied with Communism and the Lab. Party? There certainly seems  
room for us.

Emma dearest, I do appreciate your feeling abt wanting to be near yr  
comrades in Spain in their death agonies, but isn't it a comfort of  
sorts to know that there you could probably do nothing, whereas here  
you can plead their cause, be a voice for them, and do what practical  
things there are to do - such as propaganda work and money-getting? It  
may seem trivial in the face of death and horror, but what could you do  
one half as useful there? They themselves urged that you could best  
serve them over here - and they should know.

The news seems to be progressive worse... by the way will you make a  
collection on the 13th, and who will do it? McNair might be good - or  
course I will do it if you would like me to, gladly, but if there is  
anyone present you think could do it better by all means let us have  
him or her. Haven't you got too many speakers? I feel you have - it  
depends how long you intend to speak for yourself.

-10n

I must get back to work. I wrote you yesterday. The depress/ n yr letter  
adds to my own; I don't know what to say more than I have said; indeed  
there is nothing more to say, or to do, it seems, beyond what we try to do.

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 April 6 [London to J. Falk, Liverpool, England] / [Emma Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 19 × 16 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

10205

April 6th 38

Dear Comrade, I received your letter but had no time to answer it yesterday. I have no objections to handbills with my name hanging in Synagogues. But that will not attract the people we want, the younger generation of liberal and radical leanings will it? It is for this reason that I have wired you to place an advert into the Jewish Times. I hope you understood and that you sent the copy to the Times. I am sure the Liverpool Jews must be reading the papers since it is the only Jewish Daily.

I was rather surprised when you write the Jews have moved away from the ~~main~~ Jewish centre. Do you mean there are no Jewish shops any more, provisions shops, clothing, etc? I cannot imagine that to be the case. And if there are then they should be covered with your handbills. How does the Workers Circle do when it has speakers? Anyhow I hope you will do your best to make my lecture known.

I do not quite understand what you mean when you say we can announce the meeting on Sunday. What good would that do if the Monday meeting is advertised in Yiddish. Perhaps I do not quite understand your letter. I will arrive Sunday at 4.15 P.M. at Lime Street Station. Thank you for having arranged for my stay for the two nights and Monday.

Sincerely,

705

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 April 6 [London to] Ethel [Mannin, London] / [Emma Goldman]. —  
5 p.; 20 × 16 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

April 6th 38

Ethel, my Dearest. Our letters seem to cross each other. But it does not matter. As we are both busy women we must write when we have a moment. This happens to be the case now. So I decided to answer your two letters in one sitting.

First about what you have written in regard to prostitution in Soviet Russia and your general attitude to its achievements. If I have misunderstood you please forgive me. I did not mean to. I only wanted you to know that not only was prostitution not eliminated in Russia but the so called effort made was like everything else the Soviet government did which merely defeated the end. You see I happen to be in Russia when the first attempt was made to drive the unfortunate women and girls off the streets of Petrograd and Moscow and to drive them into institutions as drab and more confining than the former brothels. The woman in charge was then the lover of Sinoviev incidentally one of the most earnest among the Soviet officials. We live in the same house and I know her tireless labors. It was she herself who admitted that the methods to clear the streets from the prostitute was cruel because it robbed them of the pitiful chance of saving themselves of starvation. Actually all effort to drive them off had failed. I saw them again and again, in alleys, doorways and various hiding places because hunger was more powerful than the danger of being arrested and put in prison which happened only too often.

On the other hand the so called reform of prostitutes were like all reforms stupid and heartless. They were stuck in old houses, ~~far from the center of the city~~ literally kept as prisoners and made to work long hours without much care or nourishment. And while this was going on an army of new prostitutes were being created who used to be called Soviety barishni, Soviet ladies. In point of historic fact no woman with any looks or figure could get a job, a room, or some rations unless she submitted to the commissar or the man she worked with. And I am certain nothing has changed since. Rather must it have become worse because of the increase of the new bureaucracy. The fact that women in Soviet Russia have never at any time and do not now receive equal pay with men must needs have ~~increased~~ increased the number of prostitutes as also the new marriage laws which make both marriage and divorce much more difficult than in the past. Besides, the increase of the army and the C.P.U. ~~affairs~~ hence the greater demand of ladies of joy has certainly not contributed to the elimination, or reduction of prostitution.

Darling, I hope you do not think me a zealot that would blind me to real achievements in Russia because of my hatred of the murderous Soviet gang. ~~Remember~~ believe me that is not the case. It is only



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5 p. ; 20 x 16 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

It is only that my values as regards "achievements" differ from most people, especially Marxians to whom machinery count for more than human life and freedom. True, Russia has achieved a lot in the increase of a powerful army, a powerful secret police, huge machines and other technical results. But in the first place it was done at the expense of the Revolution, in the second by turning Russia into a fortress and the workers into cogs in the Soviet machine. The price seems far too high for what the workers could have gained through their own efforts had not the Soviet regime crushed their aspirations and their revolutionary zeal. To wax hot over Soviet achievements seem to me like waxing hot over Mussolini's achievement in having brains run on time, or Hitler's in having decreased unemployment by forcing labor into convict camps. I cannot imagine that you so sensitive as you are to the deadly weight of mechanised ~~work~~ life and work really think that the ~~industrialism~~ transplantation, of American, British or German industrial production and drill can be considered an achievement in a revolutionary country whose very aim it was to decentralise production so that the mass could find time and leisure to benefit by what they are creating. ~~However~~ However we will talk more about it when we meet again. It is impossible to do it in a letter.

About the review of your book, darling I could not possibly do it, not only because of your dedication and your ~~particular~~ sketch of me. But because I would have to go into your Marxian arguments which seem utterly wrong and since you have it in the dedication I could not very well pass over. Macchioni is willing to review it. But he ~~admits~~ said exactly what I wrote you that he knows nothing about any of the women in your book with the exception of Louise Michel and that not very much. After all the boy has no knowledge of the revolutionary background of any of the women. ~~Macchioni~~ What then could he say? Steinberg what would it matter if he took issue with you on Palestine? You could easily reply and by so doing strengthen your position regarding the Arab side. I have tried to think whom else we might get in England. But I know no one. As I said I could send it to the States, either to Angelica Blabanoff, or to Rudolf Roemer. No one is so steeped in revolutionary history and traditions as these two, besides they can both write. It is up to you my dear to let me know.

Now to your letter of yesterday and that of Brian Howard. First we have him on our folder. I had also given James Harrison Spender's name but have reconsidered it. As you say yourself the man has not had the decency to reply to your prepaid letter. He has also failed to reply to mine which I wrote him directly I heard from you that you had seen Howard and he had assured you Spender would come. I felt therefore it was both unfair and unwise to announce the man. He would be sure to protest against us and make us look ridiculous. It really does not matter as we have a nice musical ~~programme~~ programme artists known in their own sphere.

It is just like a Communist to hail the most despicable Jesuit method to gain his point and to complain as Howard does that the SIA in England is misleading the public because we say the SIA is non political but only humanitarian. We are doing nothing of the kind. If our posters do not call for arms for Spain while the French did it is because the French SIA is dealing with the French masses whose revolutionary traditions have made them militant. While the English masses have not a grain of revolutionary feeling and are completely

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 April 6 [London to] Ethel [Mannin, London] / [Emma Goldman]. — 5 p. ; 20 x 16 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17100  
in the meshes of their trade union and labor party snare. Besides, I do not remember having seen any call for arms for Spain in the Communist press. Why should Howard expect the SIA to make such calls? Popular front, fiddlesticks. The Communist screams for a popular front for no other reason than to get the International proletariat to stand by Russia in case of war. It has shown no real interest in the revolutionary struggle in Spain. Its very cry for democracy is only to combine the most reactionary elements such as Catholics, liberals, and even tory if they can get them all to enable Stalin to remain in power and to continue exterminating whatever is left of the old Bolshevik guard, or indeed of all who dare think aloud.

I see Howard calls your attention to German lost to Hitler because there was no popular front there. In the first place this wasn't the main cause. It was the paralyzing social democratic machine machinery and the lack of a militant trade union forces that made Hitler possible. But granted Howard is right how is he going to explain Franco's success in Spain though there is a "popular front"? Of course he will tell you it is because of the unequal supply of arms. That is only one side of the picture. The other side not yet given to the world is the counter-revolutionary nature and activity of the Spanish popular front. Only yesterday I received news of the reeking corruptions in government ranks the partiality, bribe rewards and honors for Negro Communist and Republican officers and other military sections. The CNT SIA has never let up its protests against this political rotteness. It has wellnigh compromised its entire past to hold the "popular front" and to bring unity between them and the U.G.T. And what have Mr Brian Howard comrades done to maintain the "popular front"? They call for so long? Destroyed many collectives, filled the prisons with your and my comrades and disintegrated the anti-Fascist front. The trouble with the Howards, Spenders and the rest of their kind is dense ignorance of the real tragic situation in Spain. Perhaps the fact that Prieto has at last been forced to retire after his inefficiency and criminal inefficiency has sacrificed Malaga, Teruel and now the stretch taken by Franco will convince the Howards that their "popular front" has everywhere done no end of harm.

Yes, a popular front, I would welcome it with all my heart. But not with people who know we know undermine the popular front the moment they find that they cannot use it for their political and party scheme. Use the International proletariat not so much against Fascism in each country as exclusively for Stalin's hold on 175 million people in Russia and the continuation at all cost of his power. I am not so sure

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 April 6 [London to] Ethel [Mannin, London] / [Emma Goldman]. — 5 p. ; 20 x 16 cm.

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I am not at all sure that Hitler or Mussolini would be more inhuman than Stalin, or that their regime has fettered their people more than Stalin has. I want all these barbarous rulers destroyed utterly. There is no difference between them whatsoever. Actually Stalin is my estimation is a greater menace because he poses as the revolutionary symbol of 1917. We know at least who his Italian and German confederates are. No one is deceived in them. But the howards and tens of thousands of his caliber in England and the rest of this world are deceived. That is the danger.

Barling you say while we might not have gotten the people we have had the SIA come out political we would have gained others. In the first place we have no one or very few. I do not believe more than a dozen people have responded to the SIA appeal and Bill. In the second place there is the CWT-NAI, certainly outspoken enough in our activity for it. Well, after nearly 20 months of strenuous efforts, of great expense for printing meetings what not we do not have much more response than with the SIA. Besides the very fact that my name is on our stationary and on every letter that goes out shows that Anarchists are back of the SIA. There is therefore no deception in our work. You ask whether calling for arms is humanitarian? It is when a whole people are being slaughtered before your very eyes while the world sits supinely by. It were different if the SIA had been launched as a ~~pure~~ pacifist organisation. But there is a vast difference between pacifism as Housemans kind for instance, and humanitarianism. The latter does not imply militancy, or widespread support by all methods to the kind of things Franco is doing in Spain. One more thing, the struggle in Spain certainly requires arms first of all. But it also has a thousand tasks to do in the rear. The new Bulletin contains an account of the diverse efforts of the SIA. ~~These~~ These are assuredly humanitarian. I could go on and on but again I we can best discuss these matters rather than write about them.

The speakers next Wed. will have to be kept to time, no more than five minutes or the highest ten. I want Ms Naire to be the principal speaker and I will speak an half hour. Time will have to be allowed for the appeal and collection. By the way, Ralph who saw Ms Naire a week ago reports that he prefers you to do it and so do I. But if you would rather not than I will do it.

The A.S.U. is a small group of young people who were organised last year as the Anarchist Syndicalist Union. They are exclusively workers and while they are few we are hoping they may be the beginning of an Anarcho Syndicalist movement in this country. Brown is I understand their ablest member and so I consented to give him a chance to appear in public next Wed.



## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 April 6 [London to] Ethel [Mannin, London] / [Emma Goldman]. --  
5 p. ; 20 x 16 cm.

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17108

I know I could not do much in Spain. But at least I could share the danger of the comrades, I could help to take care of children, the wounded and the sick. And if they are defeated I could and would joyfully go down with them. Here I achieve nothing and for the little I do achieve I have to go down in the dust before every snob and self-satisfied person for the slightest help. But there is no use talking what I would prefer most since I must carry out the wishes of my comrades who are foolish enough to think the people here can be moved. I cannot repeat too often that you are the only one who has helped to hold up my spirit by your friendship and your response to every thing I undertake.

With love.



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 April 6 [London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / E[thel Mannin]. —  
2 p. ; 10 x 16 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

April 6th 1938

17117

Dearest Emma,

I seem to write you everyday these days 1 1/2/day I wrote you sending Brian Howard's letter. I don't think you've acknowledged the letter before that - I only mention this in order to keep track of the letters and the replies to them.

I am writing now to say that last night at a postoffice workers affair I met a very nice young entertainer who says he is prepared to work free for any Left organisation provided it fits in with his dates. He's been doing entertainments for the Basque kids at different homes - though the last two places he inquired of the Central Cttee about haven't written to him, nor has he heard more from the Cttee itself, which is a dam' shame, as the kids enjoyed his show, he said, and he was told it was the first entertainment they'd had. He'd worked out a program that didn't involve any talking. I wish I knew who to get on to, as it seems a shame the children should be robbed of some pleasure just because of the damned negligence of the Committee!

I was wondering if he could be of any use to us on the 29th - do we need anyone else? He does very clever card tricks, and a 'mind-reading' act, and some very amusing impersonations. He might 'lighten' the show - I mean it might be a bit heavy with so much 'good music' and

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 April 6 [London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / E[thel Mannin].—  
2 p. ; 10 × 16 cm.

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literary readings, mightn't it?

If you think anything of the idea let me know at once and I'll get in touch with him. It's nice to have an artist offering services, isn't it - actually offering ...

Dearest Emma, this is a crowded and exhausting week one way and another, so forgive that I don't write more now. I feel moreover so depressed by the Spanish news and the feeling of helplessness and hopelessness. But I mustn't add to yr own depression

I shall ring you up or be seeing you before the 13th.

All love and devotion as always my dear

*Let me know  
at once if you think  
we could use this  
young man - He is  
a professional &  
quite well known -*

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 April 6, Corwen, Wales [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / John [Cowper]

Powys. — 2 p. ; 21 x 26 cm.

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17776

rel of Car Coed  
Corwen  
Merionethshire  
N. Wales  
April  
6<sup>th</sup> 1938

My dear Emma Goldman  
I am so touched

by your letter  
Oh dear — what things  
you must have  
some times, & what  
obstacles & evil, if  
my poor wrist had  
permitted sympathy (however  
it may be deeply felt)  
can be of any real  
lift to your heart!  
over-wrought heart!

# The Emma Goldman Papers

870929151

[Letter] 1938 April 6, Corwen, Wales [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / John [Cowper]  
 Powys. — 2 p. ; 21 x 26 cm.  
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17777

ps merely I'll  
 write something for  
 the reading of a  
 ladies' journal kind in  
 return for the new  
 date April 29<sup>th</sup>  
 You must fill in  
 a little later what  
 special points you  
 would like to  
 stress for  
 anti-war issue of  
 Spain & the world  
 but I'll let you  
 have the letter (for  
 the 29<sup>th</sup>) first anyway:  
 and then we'll  
 see about this  
 other thing.

I know what  
 terrible trouble  
 of mind you  
 must be going  
 through now  
 with Lerida fallen  
 and the enemy  
 in Catalonia.  
 But it's no good  
 talking about your  
 feelings: they  
 must have been  
 hammered and forged  
 by now into fine  
 steel!

Yours ever  
 J. Cowper  
 John Powys



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 April 6 [London to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Miles Malleson. — 1 p. ; 17 × 11 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17792

27, BELSIZE SQUARE,

N.W.3.

PRIMROSE BOSS.

6. 4.38

Dear Emma Goldman,

On pain of being thought  
very obstinate and difficult, I  
repeat my 'No'!

I may not have been tongue-  
tied at Birmingham but that was many  
years ago and one gets out of the  
way of speaking, and inevitably for  
want of practice, does it very badly.

Surely the people who come  
to an S.I.A. Meeting know as well as  
I do the threat of Fascism to the free  
professions. And if they don't,  
it wants a practiced speaker to tell  
them. Truly, this is not merely being  
obstinate - it is sticking to my  
point that for a progressive people  
to do things they can't do, badly,  
doesn't do anybody any good at all!

With very best wishes,

Miles Malleson

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 April 6, Edgware [England to] Emma [Goldman, London (fragment)] /  
[Doris Zhook]. — 1 p. ; 18 × 21 cm.

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71m4146

From PZ

12 Hillside Gardens,  
EDGWARE.

April 6th. 1938.

Dearest Emma,

Thank you for at long last remembering me. Also for the enclosed cheque. It is curious that about the same time I have been thinking: Emma has quite "eliminated" me - has no longer any need of me". I must say I felt somewhat hurt although I know there is precious little that I can do for you, but I am always ready and willing to put myself out as much as I possibly can if there is anything I can do for you. Please, Emma dear, do not misjudge me. Even if I did not look you up, you were ever in my thoughts, and I was often thinking, and even expressing it to those I saw, that if the happenings in Spain cause my heart to ache so much, how must you feel about it! The fact is my office is moving on Saturday, and I have been (and still am) working like a galley-slave. And when I did come to Frith St. about a fortnight ago, you were not there. Of course, I know what a busy woman you are, and I being so terribly rushed, too, and moreover not having the use of the phone just when I have got a spare moment - that, my dear, is alone the explanation, and not coldness or indifference.

Well, of course, I am coming on Thursday (whatever happens) and will certainly try all I possibly can to help make those undertakings as successful as we possibly can. It is the least one can do for our poor Spanish martyrs.

dear

# The Emma Goldman Papers

881027005

[Letter] 1938 April 7, New York [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Samuel Freedman. — 2 p. ; 30 x 24 cm.

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## Freie Arbeiter Stimme

NEW YORK WEEKLY

45 WEST 17th STREET

New York City

April 7, 1938

Dear Emma:

I received your letter of March 21st. I read the letter you sent to Mark and received the greeting through him. I have a complete picture and understanding of what you have to go through doing work for the C.N.T.-F.A.I. under such conditions in England. If you would at least have people help you, it might not be so bad or so discouraging. But when you have to do the work yourself without any cooperation it really breaks my heart because I know what it means to do such work without any results. The latest events in Spain is simply breaking everyone's heart. I can't sleep nights thinking about what our comrades are going through and the hell the Spanish people in general are experiencing.

I learned from your letter that Rose Pesetto is trying to interest people connected in Washington to get a visa for you. I hope that she will succeed in doing so, because I know that she likes to talk a lot, and in this case it is a question of action, not talk.

I heard about Dorothy Giesecke of Toronto who is very active in the Libertarian Group in Toronto. As a matter of fact, I communicate with her from time to time. I believe that she could be of great assistance towards your Canadian tour. As far as your advance expenses are concerned, I don't believe it will involve much and I think we will be able to cover it. I don't believe it is necessary for Dorothy Giesecke to go out *personally*... it *to arrange things* can be done by mail.

I will get in touch with Comrade Starrett and call a meeting in a week or so to take up the question of completing the work *in behalf of your Canadian tour*. I have also written to Jeanne Levey of Chicago and Desser. I'll try to get a lump sum to complete the sum necessary for your tour.

In reference to your statement that it is difficult to sell Berkman's A.B.C. for more than 50¢, here is the actual cost of the book - more than 40¢ for the printing and binding of each book, plus 18¢ express charges to England. You can therefore see that it is impossible to charge you 50¢ when the book costs us 58¢. Although we printed the book NOT for a profit, but for propaganda purposes, we would at least like to cover our expenses so that we can continue publishing another book. The least the A.B.C. should be sold in England is 60¢. I'll leave it to your judgment. "Prison Memoirs" is the next book we are thinking of printing. The publishers, Covici, Friede want to print the book for \$2.50 per copy. Our idea is to print a popular memorial edition and if we will be able to manage it ourselves will sell it for \$1.00. What do you think of it?

Regarding Rocker's book "Anarcho-Syndicalism", which appeared

## The Emma Goldman Papers

881027005

[Letter] 1938 April 7, New York [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Samuel Freedman. — 2 p. ; 30 x 24 cm.

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### Freie Arbeiter Stimme

NEW YORK WEEKLY

45 WEST 17th STREET

New York City



- 2 -

in England, I would ask you to kindly get in touch with the publisher for me, as I haven't their address and tell them to send us 25 copies on a wholesale dealers price. I'll start with 25 and if I'll need additional copies will order it directly from the publisher.

I'll close this letter with fraternal and comradely greetings from all the comrades to you.

Comradely yours,

*Samuel Freedman*

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 April 7 [London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Stella Churchill. —  
1 p. ; 20 × 13 cm.

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14 Park Village East

17491

Regent's Park, N.W.1

London 1814

7th April, 1938.

Dear Emma,

I was hoping to have the printed material today as the meeting is in three weeks time, but I will distribute them.

I met a friend of yours at a luncheon yesterday; be sure and send him the notice of the meeting:

John E. Grant Esq.,  
3 Catherine Road,  
Surbiton.

I would much like to see your friend Hennes Hammersmith of whom Ruth has spoken, but I now have four foreign guests and cannot do anything until after Easter. I hope then that two of them will be at school and it will be possible for me to fetch your friend as you suggest.

With love and hoping to see you as well in the near future.

Yours ever,

Stella Churchill

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 April 8 [London to Eileen] Blair, [Wallington, England] / [Emma Goldman].— 1 p. ; 20 x 16 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17461

8th April, 1938.

Dear Miss Blair,

In your letter of March 17th you said you would be glad to attend the entertainment we have arranged. As you will see by the enclosed folder, it had to be postponed until April 29th. I am hoping that Mr. Orwell is improved. I should be very happy indeed if he were quite recovered by the 29th and could be with us as well as yourself.

I wonder if you would care for me to send you some folders which you might mail to your circle of friends and acquaintances. Or if you are busy, perhaps you would let me have a list of their names and addresses. We are meeting with no end of difficulties and obstacles, and every little help from friends interested in the work of the S.I.A. would lighten the burden.

I see in the advertisement of Socker and Warburg, in the Manchester Guardian of April 5th, a quotation from your husband's review of Anarcho-Syndicalism by Rudolf Socker. I am so very glad he considers this work "something towards filling a gap in English political consciousness. Of great value". I sold your husband's review of the book. I wonder where it appeared? Please tell me, because I want to send it to the author.

Please let me hear from you at your earliest convenience.

Yours sincerely,

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 April 8 [London to] J.C. Little, [London?] / [Emma Goldman].—  
1 p. ; 24 × 19 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17829

8th April, 1938.

Dear Sir,

You will see by the enclosed copy of my credential from the Confederacion Nacional del Trabajo that I have been active in London at the C.N.T. Bureau. In this capacity I have followed closely the stand of the British Trade Unions on Spain. My comrades of the National Confederation of Labour have repeatedly expressed the hope that organised labour in England would respond not merely in words, but by some firm action that would help them in their anti-Fascist struggle. Unfortunately there was no sign of real decisive activity of the workers in this country that would have enabled me to give the Spanish people the encouragement they needed almost as much as they needed arms. I was therefore pleasantly surprised to read in the Press of the splendid stand your organisation has taken on behalf of Spain. It was a magnificent gesture to tell the National Government that you wished to make sure to what purpose the arms you are expected to produce will go to. Equally heartening is your call on the members of your trade union to contribute an hour of their time to the production of necessary articles for the Spanish people. I have already communicated this to my friends, and I am certain that they will be overjoyed to find such response at this end.

May I congratulate you and express my deepest thanks for your stand? I have been in Spain twice, close to the Spanish people, close to their heroic attempt to destroy Fascism, and I am delighted to find that at last British Labour is rising to the occasion of the supreme battle now being fought by the gallant workers of Spain.

Yours truly,

J. C. Little, Esq.

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# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938 April 8, London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / E[thel Mannin].—  
3 p. ; 10 x 16 cm.

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Friday

17133

Dearest Emma, thank you for yr two letters. Cheque returned herewith. Tell Barr I will certainly come and see how the account is mounting next time I am in town with a little time to spare. Perhaps I had better try to come in Wed. a/noon, then you & I can plan out the speeches for the evening (the time for each speaker, etc). First, about the entertainer: I didn't ask if he was free on the 29th. I thought there was no point in asking him unless I knew you'd take to the idea. I can still ask him if you decide at the last minute you could do with him. I think you misunderstood him about entertaining the children: he didn't want to amuse the children on the 29th, but to get around to the various Basque children's homes, but two of these homes haven't let him know that they would like his services, and the central Committee doesn't answer, though he had a warm welcome at the home he did get to. It was this success which made him feel he would like to go round all the homes.

It was you yourself, you know, who maintained that the revolution in Russia had done something for women - ~~raised~~ raised their general status. As a matter of fact before you said this I had been very much more condemnatory in my book. I modified it somewhat after you'd made that assertion.

Serge would be allright to review the book if he 'd like to do it, but



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938 April 8, London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / E[thel Mannin].—  
3 p.; 10 × 16 cm.

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17134

I don't know if he ~~xxxx~~ reads English: he certainly doesn't speak it; ~~and~~ his books are translated here. If he won't do it, I should send it to America. After all there is no hurry on it. (*As 7 mins to be published in America by Dileston's*)

Won't you and McNair have to be joint principal speakers on Wed? You say you will speak for 30 mins. If McNair is to be 'principal' speaker he can't speak for less, and that's an hour; then you've got Sonia, Barr, Reg, Brown, and now, I hear, Peter Addison. If these all have only 10 mins each that's even so another 50 mins. The speech and collection will take at least 15 mins. Sonia, Barr and Brown had better try to cut to five minutes - but it's terribly little time to say anything worth saying in: ten minutes isn't so bad. Those who can manage in five minutes will be a great help. I'll be to Chair pretty strictly to fit em all in. I honesto God its not as rowdy as last time, that's all.

I had better write and tell Howard we definitely don't want Spender, hadn't I, and then perhaps he will drop out? Anyhow they are both coming on the 13th: you could have a word with Howard then. In the meantime I will tell Howard that we heard too late about Spender to bill him.

I mustn't stop for more now. I seem to do everything these days except write books! I wish I could ask you to come and rest here over Easter, but Reg will be here and would resent as a third person: he has been most insistent about our havin' Easter to ourselves actually.

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723

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938 April 8, London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / E[thel Mannin].—  
3 p. ; 10 × 16 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

-3-

17138

wanted to go to the ILP conference at Glasgow, but he is very much against it. I wanted him to go as our branch delegate to protest against McGovern's utterances about returning to the Lab. Party fold, but he says it would be all too exhausting, and his defeatism is against it anyway.) But he will be going home to Somerset some time this month I expect, and then I can ask you to come and have a quiet restful weekend here, or anyhow come out and have a long day here with Lisa. How hard it is to be a really free person, Emma, without cutting out all people from one's life! All people with claims on one, I mean. Peg and I live semi-detached and are freer than most couples, yet even so not really free.. Ah well.

My love to you dear

67

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724

## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 April 9 [London to] John [Cowper] Powys [Corwen, Wales] / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p. ; 24 x 19 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17784

9th April, 1938.

My dear John Powys,

As always, you are prompt in your replies and very moving in your sympathies. I appreciate both more than I can express in words.

I am so glad that you will send another message to the concert on April 20th. As you will see by the enclosed, our printing is actually done and it will go out to about a thousand people. If only half would attend the affair, it would be a great recompense for the misery of organising it.

Thank you, my dear, for promising to write an article for Spain and the World, anti-War issue. I really don't know what points to suggest that you wish to stress. I prefer to leave it to you, because I am certain that you will then be able to do your best. Perhaps it might be an idea to stress the false hopes of the non-interventionists that by their pact they will ward off a new world conflagration. Quite the contrary is taking place. The devastating march of Hitler and Mussolini in Spain is leading the world with terrific speed "over the top" as they used to say in the last war. Or, if you wished, you might emphasise the tragic fact that the powers in the world have learned nothing from the last wholesale butchery, that they have remained blind among the blind. Really, my dear, it is foolish of me to suggest anything, because with your spirit and your great talent you will know the right words to say, I am sure.

Yes, I feel heartbroken over Lerida. I visited that city a dozen times and all through the provinces of Lerida where I found some of the most successful collectivised villages. Some weeks ago I began a report of my tour through Spain, but now that I have come to record my impressions of Lerida all the heart and spirit have gone out of me. It seems so flat and meaningless to write about what was four months ago when

## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 April 9 [London to] John [Cowper] Powys [Corwen, Wales] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 24 x 19 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

the frightfulness of Franco has crushed besides human  
also the efforts of my friends to build something new that  
had never been before.

The only thing that keeps me going now is the fact  
there seems to be some awakening in Labour ranks — really  
I must say. Still, it might help if there such a feeling  
body as the Amalgamated Engineers' Union demands to be taken  
the National Government for whom they are expected to be the  
weapons of destruction. It is really the first step that  
not express itself in mere talk, as is the case in the British  
Commons. Spain is fighting her last supreme battle and it  
be the crime of crimes to stand by while idly. As you can see  
thing to every straw is my passionate desire to help my country.

With kind greetings.

Your friend,



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 April 9, Corwen [Wales to] E[mma] G[oldman, London] / J[ohn] C[owper] Powys. — 1 p. ; 20 x 12 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

PP See enclosed Letter  
for Meeting.

17778

(Corwen  
April 9? 1938

Dear E. G.

I trust this  
letter (when it is  
typed or made  
more readable!)  
will serve your  
purpose at the  
Meeting. I've

tried to continue it  
to the lines, if I could  
have right, which you  
wanted.

Yours ever

J. C. Powys

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938 April 9, Corwen, Wales to Emma Goldman, London (enclosure)] /  
[John Cowper Powys]. — 4 p. ; 20 x 12 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Corwen

17779

Merionethshire

N. Wales

April 9<sup>th</sup> 1938

My dear Emma Goldman

~~Dear Emma~~

~~My dear Emma~~

From my heart I

wish all success to this

timely Meeting of yours to

help the victims of the Spanish war.

~~Spain~~ Spain is fighting

for the future of humanity - she

is fighting for the preservation of all

in civilization that is most precious.

Spain has always, above

all countries, possessed a

tragic and invincible soul;

and a soul that the evil

hovers of a cruel

and blood-sucking

despotism in church

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938 April 9, Corwen, Wales to Emma Goldman, London (enclosure)] / [John Cowper Powys].— 4 p. ; 20 x 12 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

and State have never been  
able to destroy.  
Times that with us are  
concealed from view  
come openly into the light  
in Spain, where the living  
hands of desperate individual  
Liberty have been for centuries  
struggling to push  
back from the throat of  
the dead hands of a  
life-draining ruling church  
and a life-draining ruling  
Class, both of <sup>new</sup> ~~woollen~~ <sup>woollen</sup> ~~and~~ <sup>disseminated</sup>  
~~that~~ in fact blood they  
have vampirized from  
the veins of the people!  
Spain gave the world our  
noblest and most Christ-like  
character in all fiction; and  
Cervantes, the creator of  
Don Quixote, got himself

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938 April 9, Corwen, Wales to Emma Goldman, London (enclosure)] / [John Cowper Powys]. — 4 p. ; 20 x 12 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

... in 1770  
... Western  
~~... irregularity -~~  
This battle is still being  
fought; for the spirit of  
... is not dead;  
... is being fought  
more desperately than  
at the Battle of Lepanto.  
... is just far more  
deadly and insidious  
enemies! History has  
declared that never  
any people struggled —  
while the world looked on —  
against odds so cruel  
and unfair. ~~... ..~~  
~~... ..~~  
And it is all abhorring to  
near to us! Across a few  
leagues of water, across a  
few miles of mountains, at  
this actual moment, this  
old and proud ~~... ..~~ ~~... ..~~  
individualistic race — ~~... ..~~  
~~... ..~~  
~~... ..~~

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730



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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

loving liberty as harmoniously as we do ourselves  
 — is making its supreme effort,  
 and hope against hope efforts  
 to shake off incubus that has  
 been strangling it and mchng its  
 blood no longer. But by the aid of  
 every sort or means at  
 our disposal, every sort of foreign  
 murderous invention, that foreign  
 despotism can provide  
 This Incubus of an  
 oppressive Church and an  
~~addl~~ Class is  
 getting its  
 repulsive-smelling dead hands well  
 into place again upon  
 The living heart of the  
 people. And what more dangerous  
 the most precious inheritance of  
 all human  
 Civilization! The right to  
 feel, to think, to speak  
 as our individual conscience  
 bids us!  
 Well, my dear Emma Goldman,  
 I certainly do from the depths  
 of my heart wish  
 your Meeting success!  
 Yrs as ever  
 Jno Cowder Powys.

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## The Emma Goldman Papers

850702260

[Letter, 1938 April 9, Corwen, Wales to Emma Goldman, London (enclosure)] / [John Cowper Powys]. — 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

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*For socx mags meeting  
April 13/38*

My dear Emma Goldman,

From my heart I wish all success to this timely meeting of yours to help the victims of the Spanish war. Spain is fighting for the future of humanity. She is fighting for the preservation of all in civilisation that is most precious. Spain has always, above all countries, possessed a tragic and invincible soul; and a soul that the evil powers of a cruel and blood-sucking despotism in Church and State have never been able to destroy.

Issues that with us are concealed from view come openly into the light in Spain, where the living hands of desperate individual Liberty have been for centuries struggling to push back from the throat of mankind the dead hands of a life-draining ruling Church and a life-draining ruling class, both of them swollen and diseased by the very blood they have vampirized from the veins of the people!

Spain gave the world our noblest and most Christ-like character in all fiction; and Cervantes, the creator of Don Quixote, got himself maimed for life in the struggle to save Western civilisation.

This battle is still being fought; for the spirit of Cervantes is not dead; but it is being fought more desperately than at the Battle of Lepanto, and against far more deadly and insidious enemies! History will declare that never has any people struggled - while the world looked on - against odds so cruel and unfair.

And it is all happening so near to us! Across a few leagues of water, across a few miles of mountains, at this actual moment, this old and proud individualistic race - loving liberty as passionately as we do ourselves - is making its supreme, its hope-against-hope effort, to shake off the incubus that has been strangling it and sucking its blood for so long! But by the aid of every sort of mechanical weapon, every sort of murderous invention, that foreign despotic efficiency and foreign despotic ambition can provide, this Incubus of an oppressive Church and an oppressive class is getting its sepulchre-smelling dead hands well into place again upon the living throat and the living heart of the people. And what they are destroying is the most precious inheritance of all human civilisation, the right to feel, to think, to speak as our individual conscience bids us!

Well, my dear Emma Goldman, I certainly do from the depths of my heart wish your meeting Success!

Yours as ever,

(Sgd.) JOHN COWPER POWYS.

April 9th, 1938.

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938 April 9, Corwen, Wales to Emma Goldman, London (enclosure)] / [John Cowper Powys]. — 1 p. ; 24 x 19 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.  
Institutional Location: Rudolf Rocker Archive.

COPY.



For our Mass Meeting, April 13th.

My dear Emma Goldman,

From my heart I wish all success to this timely meeting of yours to help the victims of the Spanish war. Spain is fighting for the future of humanity. She is fighting for the preservation of all in civilisation that is most precious. Spain has always, above all countries, possessed a tragic and invincible soul; and a soul that the evil powers of a cruel and blood-sucking despotism in Church and State have never been able to destroy.

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Well, my dear Emma Goldman, I certainly do from the depths of my heart wish your meeting Success!

Yours as ever,

(sgd.) JOHN COWPER POWYS.

April 9th, 1938.

# The Emma Goldman Papers

871001164

[Letter] 1938 April 9 [Los Angeles to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Jeanne [Levey]. —  
1 p.; 28 x 22 cm.

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19693

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34 WEST 37TH STREET

NEW YORK

CABLE ADDRESS:  
"HAYMAN" NEW YORK

CHICAGO OFFICE  
NICHOLSON BLDG  
ROOM 1819

April 9, 1938.

Emma, dear:

Your letter was forwarded to me to Los Angeles, but I have been rather walking around in a daze the last two weeks with all the unhappy events taking place all over the world. Somehow the business of living seems so futile in the face of all these horrible things which have been going on.

I am afraid to think what the frightful results will be for those heroic souls. Right now I am engaged in a membership drive for the American Civil Liberties. I believe this is one of the most important organizations at this time. It is to protect the rights and freedom the American people have always enjoyed.

You know dear how eager I am to see. If I have not written as often or as lengthy letters as you would like, please forgive me. It is difficult to concentrate when one is so disturbed. The copy of the letter from Buxley is very interesting. It is at least an encouraging note when one receives something like that from a man in his position.

Please dear let me know just what is happening in Spain at the present time. Even the papers we cannot tell just what is going on, but it always helps me to get your viewpoint on it.

Received a letter from Fitts in regard to Jesse's "Prison Memoirs" and I have written her that I will try to dispose of about one hundred copies. She needs five hundred copies at an advance price of \$1.00, and the Free Arbitrator Studio will publish the book. I believe that is a better arrangement than with some other publishers.

Covichi Friede would have been satisfied with a contract like the one with Barker whereby they get all the money and no one else gets an cent at all. Jay stopped in to see Mr. Kerguelis, but he was out of town.

When do you intend to start out on your trip. Let me know so we can plan an Eastern trip and no doubt we will be able to meet you at some point.

In regard to Amy's sister, I am going out to see her and believe me I won't mince words with her. It is too bad about her. She is not at all interested in Amy and told Julia that she does not want her life disturbed because of her sister's condition. Tell I am going to tell her what I think of her anyway. I will try to be tactful, so I can get something out of her. I will let you know as soon I have any definite word.

Otherwise, dear there is nothing new. Jay is on the road and expects to be home within the next couple of weeks. Let me know how you are getting along and how everything is with you. Jay joins me in sending our sincerest love to you. Our friends here also send their love.

Always,

Jeanne

734



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 April 10, Beaconsfield [England to Emma] Goldman, [London] / Herbert Read. — 1 p. ; 20 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

HOUSE SEER GREEN BEACONSFIELD

JORDANS 2194

10th April

Dear Miss Goldman,

I have arranged to review Rucker's "Nationalism and Culture" for the "Criterion". It is our best quarterly, and though it has not a wide circulation, it reaches the right kind of reader. I am afraid the next number does not appear before the end of June.

My own short book, which I have called "Poetry and Anarchism", has gone to the press. I shall, of course, let you have a copy as soon as it is ready.

How are the arrangements for the meeting on the 29th going ahead?

With all good wishes

Yours very sincerely,

Herbert Read

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938 April 11, London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / E[thel Mannin].—  
2 p. ; 10 × 16 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17131

Monday

Emma dear,

I have yr letter this morning. First of all, I can't come to the office as early as that on Wed. I thought I'd just look in on my way to pick up Reg and B and a few other comrades at the Leic. Corner to have a snack before the meeting. I didn't realise you weren't going to be there. But there's no need for me to go to the office, for as you say we can discuss anything in the Cttee room before the meeting: I shall be there by a quarter to eight.

I can't help thinking it would be a great pity to put a good speaker ~~on~~ like McNair on first, with people still coming in and not properly settled down. We need to kick off with a less important speaker in my opinion - someone like Sonia, who is not a good speaker at best. Or Barr, perhaps would be good, as he has experience and could perhaps speak sufficiently to get the house settled down and ready for McNair. All things considered I think it think it think he would be best for first speaker, then McNair, then Sonia, then Reg, then Brown, then I will make the appeal, then you can wind up. I think it's a good idea you should speak last, for this very reason, that you can ~~wind~~ wind up, and people will go away with your words in their ears - your message. It gives

736

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1938 April 11, London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / E[thel Mannin].—  
2 p. ; 10 × 16 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17132

you a chance, too, to add anything missed by the other speakers.

I am writing McNair to day about the resolution.

No more now, my dear: this is one of those days of endless interruptions: I really think that after Easter I must go off somewhere by myself and make up for lost time and get some work done. Easter itself is an interruption - but I hope to persuade Reg to regard the Friday and Sat. at least as normal days: I've not the time nor inclination to take 4 days off in succession just because the rest of the country is doing so.

Yes, we'll have a peaceful evening ~~xxxxx~~ together some time soon: perhaps we shall be able to arrange something here.

My love to you, dear.

# The Emma Goldman Papers

870929079

[Letter] 1938 April 11, New York [to] E[mma] G[oldman], London / Jack White. —  
2 p. ; 27 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.



17688  
VANGUARD HALL  
22 W. 17th St. N.Y.C.

## VANGUARD

A LIBERTARIAN COMMUNIST JOURNAL

45 WEST 17th STREET  
New York City

April 11, 1938

E.G. Colton  
CNI-FAI Office  
21 Frith St.  
Shaftesbury Av  
London W.1  
England

Dear Comrade:

The letter which you addressed to the group will be answered by our secretary but the editorial board of the magazine wishes to take this opportunity to express its appreciation for the kind remarks you made about the magazine. We wish, too, to thank you deeply for your cooperative answer to our precipitate cable. You will easily understand the importance of the issue when Lev, himself, has to give an answer. His seemingly careless answer disposing of the entire issue and his almost studious avoidance of the basic meaning of the entire event is significant of his concern about it.

We have sent you several items dealing with Kronstadt including Trotsky's own article and Berkman's KRONSTADT REBELLION, the latter in case you have not a copy available. It provides a great many facts which we would like to have presented as we wish the article as factual as possible so as to convince his many followers who are shaky on the point. Please use your own discretion as to the amount of words in your article. We mentioned 3,000 words because the magazine is, unfortunately, so small.

We are thinking of following up the Kronstadt business with the facts surrounding the betrayal of Makhno by the Bolsheviks. We would very much like to have you do this but still we do not wish to impose upon you as we know how hard you are working. Can you get one of our comrades to write it for us? We were thinking that some of our comrades in France were in a position to do so. We believe

738



## The Emma Goldman Papers

870929079

[Letter] 1938 April 11, New York [to] E[mma] G[oldman], London / Jack White. — 2 p. ; 27 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

-2-

37686

that if you broached the topic to them that there would be better prospects of an affirmative response. You ~~can~~ <sup>can</sup> explain to them why we need the article and the necessity of having the article as factual as possible, as those to whom the article will be particularly ~~will be~~ more or less familiar with our analysis. What is required is greater substantiation—dates, names, places etc. We will not need the article until the end of ~~May~~ <sup>June</sup> so that if you will not be able to write it, will give you ~~time~~ to get in touch with someone who can.

One of the great difficulties we experience in publishing ~~the~~ the VANGUARD, besides financial, is our lack of correspondents. This is also an indication of the disorganization of our movement. The magazine would be so much authoritative and would invoke much more respect if we had correspondents on the spot who would write to the magazine regularly. We need someone in France and another in England, at least, to keep us in touch with the latest developments in those countries. You are familiar with the situation in both these countries, what would ~~we~~ suggest in the matter of contacts?

We look forward to hearing from you soon. We hope the business tone of the letter will not be too oppressive. We send you our warmest greetings and best wishes.

Faternally

*Jack White*

for the Editorial Board:  
Jack White

739

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 April 11, New York [to] E[mma] Goldman, London / Clara Freedman. — 3 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Telephone  
Citizens 3-8887

17663  
VANGUARD HALL  
22 W. 17th St., N.Y.C.

## VANGUARD

A LIBERTARIAN COMMUNIST JOURNAL

48 WEST 17th STREET  
New York City

April 11, 1938

E.G. Colton  
c/o CNT-FAI Office  
21 Frith Street  
Shastebury Avenue  
London, W. 1, England

Dear Comrade Goldman,

I want to express on behalf of the group our sincere appreciation for your kind letter. We do hope you'll excuse us for the long delay in answering. It certainly makes us feel happy to know that you appreciate the work we are doing. When one considers what ~~xxx~~ a terrific struggle we have to keep things going it is indeed a great help to get a word of encouragement.

We were very glad to get your splendid article describing your recent visit to Spain. We would have liked to use it for the VANGUARD, but felt that it would be more suitable for the SPANISH REVOLUTION, which is printing it in full and is devoted to Spanish news exclusively.

Although our magazine is small both in size and in circulation (our last issue sold almost 2500 and this issue has a press run of 3000) we are beginning to exert a considerable influence. This is due partly to the fact that we are the only English language group in the country which has for several years laid the ground work for organized English propaganda. We started several years ago with six members (only two of whom had had any experience in the movement) and absolutely no support, in fact, hostility from the rest of the movement. When we started publication of the VANGUARD it was a little mimeographed booklet with a circulation of less than 300. It seems that ~~xxx~~ most of the comrades in the movement did not appreciate the need for organized English propaganda in the anarchist-communist movement, nor did they realize how important it was to draw into our ranks the younger native American element. And unfortunately, we still have to ~~xx~~ contend with the lethargy and aloofness on the part of most of the older comrades, although gradually they are beginning to realize how important our work is. This is not said with a view of boasting, as we have made many mistakes and have suffered from them. But we have made some real progress by having ~~xxxxx~~ ~~xxxx~~ stuck to our guns--remaining for the time being a study and propaganda group instead of scattering our forces in spectacular or sensational undertakings; drawing in, and training young people on the fundamentals of anarchism; slowly but steadily plugging at the task of building a solid foundation for a movement. At present we have the New York Vanguard Group with a membership of about 40, most of whom are under 25 years of age, students and young workers--a ~~few~~ *few*

740

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 April 11, New York [to] E[mma] Goldman, London / Clara Freedman. — 3 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

-2-

17664

professionals, and about 25 of whom are quite active. We have also organized a youth group in Brownsville (Brooklyn, N Y) which has 12 members, and we have started, for the first time in the history of Stelton, N. J., a vigorous militant youth group. Besides this, nuclei of groups in many other towns in New England. During the coming week, the Easter vacation, we are sending comrades to do organizing work in Boston and Fall River, Mass., Youngstown, Ohio, and Philadelphia, Pa.

Among the many activities of the Vanguard Group are the following:

1. Publishing and distributing our magazine--quite a job in itself.
2. Maintaining a hall (together with the I.W.W.) where we hold lectures, & discussions, socials, sell literature, etc.
3. Doing work for Spain in cooperation with the U.L.O which includes mass meetings, putting out and distributing the SPANISH REVOLUTION (most of which is done by Vanguard members)
4. Studies and discussions with the view of formulating and printing the principles and program of our organization.
5. Carrying on active work in the student anti-war movement.

Besides these major tasks there are innumerable little things, which come up in the daily courses of events. We have made many contacts and "converts" in the Stalinist and Trotskyist youth. So you can see, we are kept quite busy.

If we could find some way of getting more substantial, help both financial and moral, from the older comrades we could expand at a much more rapid pace. But we are not banking on that, for we know that if we do our job properly, eventually such support will be forthcoming, and even now, it has begun to show itself.

We'd like to know whether you can suggest any sources for distributing <sup>our magazine</sup> in England. We are ~~sending~~ sending you 15 copies ~~which~~ to give out free. Do you know any comrade who would be willing to act as British distribution agent for the VANGUARD?

In our next letter we will be glad to write you other news about the movement besides the Vanguard. In the meantime, may we make several requests:

1. In your comments on our magazine and work we are anxious to hear your criticisms and suggestions for improvement.
2. If you have any contact with Herbert Read, the British writer, recently turned anarchist, would you ask him if he would be willing to write for VANGUARD,--
3. Give us a brief account of the movement in Great Britain.

Let us state again, that we are greatly encouraged and stimulated by your comradely cooperation with us. We are anxiously awaiting the article you are writing for VANGUARD and feel that it will add inestimable value to our publication.

At present our hearts, our thoughts and our efforts are with--as we know you are too--our supremely heroic Spanish comrades.

741

## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 April 11, New York [to] E[mma] Goldman, London / Clara Freedman. — 3 p. ; 27 × 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

With best wishes and most affectionate greetings, I am

Yours for freedom,

*Clara Freedman*  
Clara Freedman  
Secretary, Vanguard Group



# The Emma Goldman Papers

870929141

[Letter] 1938 April 11, London [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Elisabeth Wilkinson. — 1 p. ; 24 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

## NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON SPAIN

17762

Save Spain . . Save Britain . . Save Peace

Queen's Hall

Saturday, April 23rd, 10 a.m.

### CONVENED BY

Richard Acland, M.P.  
Duchess of Atholl, M.P.  
David Grenfell, M.P.  
Hogan Lloyd George, M.P.  
Geoffrey Mander, M.P.  
Hon. Harold G. Nicholson, M.P.  
Philip Noel-Baker, M.P.  
Blanche Rathbone, M.P.  
Winifred Roberts, M.P.  
Ellen Wilkinson, M.P.

### CORRESPONDENCE SECRETARY

Elisabeth C. Wilkinson  
125 New Bond Street  
London, W.1

TELEPHONE No. MAY 44 817

April 11th, 1938.

Dear Emma,

Thank you for your letter. I am glad you are coming to the conference and enclose you a consultative delegate's ticket. The prices for the evening meeting are 1/- and 6d. each.

Yours,

*Elisabeth Wilkinson*

*I hope you'll get to the evening meeting well.*

Miss Emma Goldman,  
21 Frith Street,  
Shaftesbury Av., W.1.

SAVE SPAIN . . . . SAVE BRITAIN . . . . SAVE PEACE

743

# The Emma Goldman Papers

810519049

[Letter, 19]38 April 12, London [to] Rose [Pesotta, Boston] / Emma Goldman.—  
2 p.; 28 x 22 cm.

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Telephone GERard 2636

April 12th 38

Dearest Rose. I just came back from Liverpool where I had two terribly strenuous meetings with a mob of communists doing their damndest to interfere. The meeting Sunday was under the auspices of the I.L.P and attended by a thousand people. The other by the Workman's Circle small and attended by more gentiles than Jews. As I said I am frightfully tired and really should go home, take a bath and go to bed. But tomorrow being a fast sailing I decided to write you even if it won't be a long letter.

My dear Stella had no intention of going to New York to meet Mrs Huttenbach. It is difficult and costly for Stella to go to New York often. Pauline Turkel was the only one who got in touch with her and sent her two pairs of stockings Mrs Huttenbach brought with her. She came back Saturday. Another friend of mine, this time a man is sailing May 7th. So I want you to arrange, but quickly, that the stockings your mother bought should be sent to him. His name is Mr Caesar Searschinger, Mayflower Hotel 15 Central Park West. See that he gets the parcel as soon as possible.

To come from the ridiculous to the sublime, after stockings the struggle in Spain. The situation is certainly acute and heart breaking but ~~xxx~~ all is not yet lost. Our people are more than ever determined to fight on. In fact from their letters the spirit is even more aflame than it was until very recently. It is a god sent that Prieto was kicked out. If only he had never been placed in the position of minister of defense. It is his inefficiency and his ~~crudeness~~ that lost the anti-fascist forces much ground. There seems to be a more militant spirit among the workers here. The refusal of the Amalgamated Engineers Union to support the government in its armament scheme until Spain is helped with arms is very encouraging. The work must go on to tear the non-intervention pact. If the Spanish people could only buy arms they would still win. There is to be a National Conference the 23rd for Spain. I have

744

## The Emma Goldman Papers

810519049

[Letter, 19]38 April 12, London [to] Rose [Pesotta, Boston] / Emma Goldman. — 2 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

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its launched by the Communists I am sure. Nevertheless I will attend it. I have received a credential at my request of a consultative delegate. I don't know what will be decided but I will insist it should be the threat of a general strike unless arms can be sent to Spain, or some other drastic measure.

We have a meeting tomorrow but not much will come of it except that the appeal will be made for arms for Spain. Then there is the concert April 29th and our participation in the First of May. It means an awful lot of work and few to do it.

Yes the Communists have unlimited means, first rate organizers and now that all the blood has been drained from their slogans they can enlist all sorts of idle people. Democracy it is to laugh. But it draws the middle class and blinds the workers.

I am sure dear heart you will leave no stone unturned to get me back to the States. Should you fail I will know it will not be your fault. That is all one can do is to try. Yes, I can see that the reactionary element in and out of Congress are trying to back R back. It is therefore very surprising that he made the gesture of ~~submitting~~ asylum for the political refugees. The unfortunates from Austria now added to the tens of thousands from Germany, Italy and Russia are among the most pitiful tragedies in our time.

You have been put on the subscription list of Spain and the World. To day we are sending you a copy of the current issue, several of the SIA Bulletin and folders and handbill of our meeting tomorrow. Also a copy of the pact between the CNY and U.G.T. You will see to what extent our people have gone, they have sacrificed all of their past. I was sick and heart-broken when I got their text. But what can one say now with death staring them in the face. If only they would crush the Fascist monster, they would I am sure soon get back to their fundamentals. But if they should fail and all their sacrifice be in vain it will be most difficult for them to clear themselves before the world. It makes me tremble to think of it.

I will write more soon.

With love.

Emma

copy goes to  
your NY address  
would write you  
Mike had know if she goes under Pesotta.

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 April 12 [London to] Rose [Pesotta, Boston] / Emma [Goldman].—  
2 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

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April 12th 38

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I will write more soon.

With love.

Emma

Original sent to  
Baslar

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Receipt] 1938 April 12, London [to] Rose Pesotta, [Boston] / Emma Goldman. —  
1 p.; 27 x 21 cm.

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S.I.A.

No. 10.

(Solidaridad Internacional Antifascista)  
ENGLISH SECTION INTERNATIONAL ANTIFASCIST SOLIDARITY.

London Office:

21, Frith Street  
Shaftesbury Ave.  
W.1.

The Object of the S.I.A. in this country is to coordinate all anti-Fascist sympathy in the direction in which it can find most valuable expression, which is at present in assistance for Catalonia, overburdened with refugees, and receiving quite inadequate relief.

IF YOU WILL HELP IN THIS WORK, ADD YOUR CONTRIBUTION TO THIS LIST  
NOW, WITHOUT ANY FURTHER DELAY!

Emma Goldman  
Secretary.

NAME	ADDRESS	AMOUNT
Rose Pesotta	Route 4 - Box 438, Inglewood	5.00
W. E. B. DuBois	306 E. Main St. Durham	2.00
	P.O. 5.	50
Indefinite	3999 Jefferson	5.00
W. E. B. DuBois	433 W. 34 St	5.00
Rose Pesotta		30.00
		11.50



Received with thanks.

Hon. Secretary.

12th April 1938.

Emma Goldman

# The Emma Goldman Papers

870925584

[Letter] 1938 April 12, Wallington [England to Emma] Goldman, [London] / Eileen Blair. — 1 p. ; 20 x 16 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17459

Wallington,

Near Baldock, Herts.

12th April, 1938.

Dear Dr. Goldman,

Thank you for your letter of April 8th. I am sorry not to have answered it sooner but I have just been to see my husband and could not have the mail forwarded.

I am afraid after all it will not be possible for me to be in London on April 29th, as it is almost impossible for me to leave the cottage - we have a small but inconveniently varied collection of live stock and no one to look after it. My husband is getting on quite well but must stay where he is for some months. I will certainly forward some folders however to friends who might come to the S.I.A. entertainment. I am enclosing a small cheque which I hope you will not take as the measure of my husband's interest. He would like very much to know more of what you are doing and if you have any literature I should be very glad to buy it.

The note on Anarcho-Syndicalism was not published as a review. Mr. Warburg sent an advance copy to my husband and asked him to comment on it.

Yours sincerely,

Eileen Blair.

749

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 April 12 [London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Stella Churchill. —  
1 p. ; 20 × 13 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

14 Park Village East  
Regent's Park, N.W.1  
London 1814

17489

12th April, 1938.

Dear Emma,

Thank you very much for  
the notices. I must tell you how  
much I admire these and you must  
have worked hard to get it all  
arranged and planned out.

With all best wishes,

Yours ever,

Stella Churchill

845 Please ring me  
up after April 25<sup>th</sup>  
to discuss final  
plans!



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 April 14 [London to] Ethel [Mannin, London] / [Emma Goldman].—  
2 p. ; 20 × 16 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

14th April, 1938.

Dearest Ethel,

I believe you said you would call up. No doubt you either forgot or you were too tired or out with your daughter and therefore did not 'phone. It is all right.

I enclose a letter just received with a cheque for Twenty Pounds contribution to S.I.A. and for our fund for arms. It is the first bright spot for a long time. I am writing Mrs. Joachim to thank her for her contribution and to ask her whether she would use folders to send out to her friends, but of course you will also have to write her.

I am also enclosing other cheques made out to you. Ralph just tells me the three cheques are for tickets, not contributions.

The meeting last night was terribly discouraging. after the thousands of bills distributed last Sunday, 400 posters, adverts in The New Leader, Reynolds News and the Daily Herald - such a nearly audience. I felt paralysed and though I tried damnably I wasn't able to muster up enthusiasm. Of course I know people have been flooded from all sides and I dare say the amount we collected, considering the size of the audience, was not bad. I suppose I am foolish to expect the same interest and the same burning indignation as from the average person as we feel in the face of the desperate situation in Spain. But I really hoped that the mere mere to a call for money for arms would arouse the audience to a pitch and would morally force them to give their very last. That is my mistake of course. Nevertheless the work must go on. Every effort must be made for the concert to make it a success. We have sent out

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751

## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 April 14 [London to] Ethel [Mannin, London] / [Emma Goldman].—  
2 p. ; 20 × 16 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17137

2

from 600 to 800 letters and folders and I am now in the midst of dictating a number of personal letters and begging people to give us names and addresses to whom folders might be sent. The personal way seems to be the most direct. Of course we will advertise. We really have a splendid programme that should attract people, but who knows what attracts them?

My dear, I must have the copy of the resolution which you have got. I want it for Spain and the World and also to send copies to our people in Spain.

I will be in the office on Saturday between 11 and 2 p.m. in case you want to talk to me, and in the evening I will be at home.

with love,

752

## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 April 14, London [to Mariano R. Vázquez and Pedro Herrera, Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

19123

London April 14th 38

Dear Comrades. I am writing this to you both to save time and also because I want this to be translated into Spanish. Our comrade who used to do this job was away on a holiday and has just returned.

~~xx~~

I wrote you at length about two weeks ago but as I receive no reply I was beginning to be frightfully uneasy about you, the other comrades and also the situation at your end. Tow days ago I received your short note N.415 E. with a circular inclosed telling me of the great loss of comrade Adolfo Arnel. ~~Thx~~ We also had the staggering news of the death of our two comrades in America. As if we did not lose enough splendid comrades already the latest news of those who met their death is very poignant indeed. And yet the living must go on without a stop until our enemy is conquered. I know without having direct news that you are determined to fight until the last. I cling to the hope with every fiber of my being that you my brave heroic comrades will triumph.

If only we here could achieve more for you. It is not as if we do not try. We ~~wix~~ leave nothing undone to rouse interest. But the response is small. Our meeting yesterday was disappointing although it was not badly attended. We decided that it is highest time to make a straight appeal for money for arms. It is supposed to be "illegal" but it is no use until the Fascist government of this country will give us permission to call for money for arms or arms as such. I feel that it may call more wide spread attention to your gallant fight if some of us did break the rotten law and were to go to prison for it if need be. Anyhow we made our appeal for money for arms. The response was £31 a ridiculously insignificant sum. But in view of the fact that so many appeals are made by all sorts of so called Spanish groups and that our audience was not large we feel the collection was not quite as bad. The main thing to me was that a few people were found sufficiently interested in your struggle to contribute for arms knowing as they do that we may be held by the rotten law for having broken it. Now dear comrades I am very anxious that the entire amount should go for the purpose collected. Please let me know by return mail whether I am to send this to Camara 1 Marseille or to comrade Galve Paris. We have to collect about three pounds in addition to the £31. As soon as we get this we will send it.

For the first time in the 21 months of your gallant fight there is a ray of light from the dark sky of British labor. The Amalgamated Engineers have boldly refused to make any promises to the British rearmament scheme until ~~they~~ they will be told whether arms will also be sent to Spain. This is one of the most powerful trade union organizations. Its stand has roused other labor bodies to make the same declaration. If only the Amalgamated Engineers will stick to the position they have taken it may do more than all the talks of 21 months to tear the farcical scrape of the Non Intervention apart into shreds.

## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 April 14, London [to Mariano R. Vázquez and Pedro Herrera, Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.

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1-9 1 2 4

At Sundays huge demonstration the Labor Party demanded arms for Spain. I could not attend it because I had to sprak in Liverpool but several comrades reported that the spirit of the masses present was ready for the most drastic direct actions. I wish I could believe that the leaders ~~were~~ are sincere when they demand arms for Spain and that they will relax the iron hold on the workers. The past of these men at the heqd of the trade unions and Labor party does not fill one with too much hope. And the British workers though deeply stirred by your great example of valår have not the strenth to proceed over the head os their leaders. Therein lies the tragedy in this country.

I am sending you samples of our posters for last nights meeting and handbills. Soon I will send you a copy of our resolution ~~passed~~ unanimously passed at our meeting last night. I am also sending you copies of our folder to our concert and the new issue of the SIA Bulletin. Let me know if you want more. We are distributing and sending out the SIA Dulletin by the thousands. If it would only help. But as I have so many times written you England is hard soilmall rocks ~~and~~ it takes time and tremendous energy to phough it up and then one is not sure whether the seed will bear fruit. Please dear comrades do not think me pessimistic, or defeatist. I have passionate faith in you and your struggle. But I admit my faith in the British workers has been shaken. It freezes my blood to know that the whole savage Fascist and Imperialist world against you and yet no one in this country moves to bring you the aid you need. It is exhasperating and one feels so utterly helpless.

Dear comrade Herrera I am sending you herewith copies of our folder for the concert April 29th also some handbill. If you need more let me know.

All the circulars sent by your both in Spanish and English have arrived. They are doublicates which seem to be a waste. Some of the material has already appeared in Spain and the World as well as the SIA Bulletin. That about the death of comrade Arnel will go into the next issue of Spain and the World. I am not sure I will get ou another SIA Bulletin. It is a very large expanse and after May there are not very many things going on where they can be distributed. We are going to participate in the First of May Demonstration when we will be able to talk about the SIA as well as the general struggle in Spain.

My meeting in Liverpool arranged by the I.L.P was very well attended and the audience very enthousiastic. But as usual the Communis madmen were there and did their utmost to break up the meeting. However they were kept in check and all went off safely.

This is all, for to day. I forgot one important mather There is a call for a National Conference for Spain. While I have no ho hopes that the "Ladies and Lords" who will attend will help your strugg I am going as your delegate. I will report the actions decided upon.

Fraternally



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 April 14 [London to] Eli[s]abeth Wilkinson, [London] / [Emma Goldman].— 1 p. ; 24 x 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

W. H. H. H.

14th April, 1938.

Dear Elizabeth,

That was a pleasant surprise to find you as the Secretary of the National Conference on Spain. Thank you for sending me the delegates card. It was good of you let me be a consultative delegate.

I am trying to get Ethel Mannin to represent the S.I.A. as per the heading of this letter. I will then give her a credential as the representative of the S.I.A. As you will see, I am also the Secretary of it.

I do not suppose you would be broad enough to let me have a list of people to whom I can send the folder of our concert, or would you undertake to send out a few if I sent them to you. Let me know.

Enclosed find an order for 4 shilling tickets and 4 sixpenny ones, with my cheque.

Sincerely,

P.S. Please do not take any offence, but you know yourself how set your comrades are. It is in this sense that I use the word 'broad'.

Do I understand that the Conference is also in Queen's Hall?

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 April 14 [London to Frederick] Woodhouse, [London] / [Emma Goldman].— 1 p. ; 20 × 16 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17401

14th April, 1938.

Dear Mr. Woodhouse,

Thank you so much for your letter, cut and programmes. Our programmes will be ordered directly after Easter. I will then send you one. Besides that, I will also ask you to autograph as many as you can for me. I am asking all the artists to do it, as we intend to have the programmes on sale at the concert for the same purpose as the concert itself - for the unfortunate women and children of Spain.

I have not been able to get in touch with Miss Bidonie Goossens. I was under the impression that she had written you. Perhaps you will get in touch with her yourself.

About an accompanist - do I understand that you do not have your own? Artists usually insist on that, since they prefer to practice with the accompanist before they appear. Please let me know.

I wonder if you would care to give me a list of your circle of friends to whom I might send the enclosed folder? Or would you prefer me to send you some folders for your use? Perhaps you will be good enough to telephone me or write. We will take good care of the cut and send it back to you after our programme is completed.

Sincerely,

P.S. We shall be pleased to include both the groups you mention in the programme.

756

## The Emma Goldman Papers

870925554

[Letter] 1938 April 14 [London to] May Harrison, [London] / [Emma Goldman].—  
1 p.; 20 × 16 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17480

14th April, 1938.

Dear Hadan,

Thank you so much for your note and the programme of the pieces you are going to play. Your book arrived a week ago. Our programme will be ordered right after Easter. I will then send you some. In fact, I shall want some autographed by you and all the other artists, as we wish to sell the programmes at the concert for the same purpose as the affair - for the unfortunate women and children of Spain. I am sending you a dozen of the folders. Please let me know should you want more.

Have you your own accompanist? Let me know by return mail.

Thanking you for your co-operation, which I am sure will help to make our concert successful,

Yours sincerely,

Miss May Harrison,  
647, Bell Gwynn House,  
Sloane Avenue,  
Chelsea, S.W.

757

## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 April 14 [London to Thomas?] Burke, [London?] / [Emma Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 20 × 16 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

18222

14th April, 1938.

Dear Mr. Burke,

You have no doubt received our "regulation" letter and our folder about the concert on April 29th. To-day I am writing you to ask whether you would be good enough to let me have a list of names of your circle of friends, or if you would care to mail them folders I will send you some if you let me know how many you could use.

It is by this direct way that we hope to make our literary and musical evening a success. Of course we have other methods of advertising, but you will agree that the personal appeal carries more weight. Of course I hope to see you at the concert and in that way to meet you personally.

Hoping to hear from you soon,

Sincerely,

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758



## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 April 14 [London to Max] Pirani, [London?] / [Emma Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 20 × 16 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17482

14th April, 1938.

Dear Mr. Pirani,

Thank you for your letter and the out. I am very glad indeed to get your programme. That will enable us to go ahead with our printing directly after Easter. Of course I will return the block.

I am sending you under separate cover fifty folders. Should you not be able to use them all, you can return them to me. Just as soon as our programme is ready, I will ask you kindly to autograph some. I am asking all our artists for the same favour. We are hoping to seal the programme for the same purpose as the concert - the unfortunate women and children of Spain.

Yours sincerely,

759

## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 April 14 [London to] Herbert Read [Beaconsfield, England] / [Emma Goldman].— 1 p. ; 24 × 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

14th April, 1938.

Dear Herbert Read,

By this time you must have received our letter and folder in regard to the concert. In case you haven't, I am writing to you again. You will see that we have quite an array of artists. Among the poets we have been assured that Mr. Stephen Spender will come. It was his friend, Brian Howard, who saw Ethel Mannin and myself at last night's meeting and he was positive that he could bring him along. I hope he comes.

Can you help with the folders - I can circularise your friends with it. If you would be good enough to send me a list of names, we will do it at our end. Otherwise I will send you folders. Please let me hear from you soon as time is so short. Perhaps I had better take a chance and send you two dozen of the folders. It will save time. In case you have no use for them, you can send them back.

I am delighted to hear that you will review Rooker's "Nationalism and Culture" for the Criterion. I know that it is a first-rate magazine. It cannot be helped that it will be delayed.

Thank you so much for having me in mind with your book on "Poetry and Anarchism". I am looking forward to reading it. I have been so frightfully busy beating my wings against the wind that I haven't found time to read your "Art and Society". Early in May the rush will be over, and I will then have more time.

We are planning a special anti-war issue of Spain and the World. I wonder whether you will be good enough to let me have an article for it. We want to make it as representative as possible.

Yours very sincerely,

## The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1938 April 14 [London to Eileen] Blair, [Wallington, England] / [Emma Goldman].— 1 p. ; 20 x 16 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17460

14th April, 1938.

Dear Miss Blair,

I am frightfully sorry to learn that Mr. Orwell is still ill. I understand perfectly how impossible it would be for you to get away.

Thanks very much for your kind contribution. Indeed I do not judge people's desire to help by the fact that they can only send a small contribution. I only wish there were more who would help to the best of their ability, for that is all one can expect of one's friends or sympathisers.

Thank you for offering to help with our folder and our bulletin to send out to your friends. You do not say how many I might send you, so I will just mail fifty of each. Use as many as you need and you can return the rest.

Again thanking you for your kind spirit, and with best wishes for the speedy recovery of Mr. Orwell,

Yours sincerely,

# The Emma Goldman Papers

870929144

[Letter, 1938 April 15? London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Elisabeth [Wilkinson]. — 1 p. ; 24 x 18 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.  
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Dear Emma

I'm up to my eyes.

Let me know what you

concern I will circulate  
the people.

Yours truly

Elisabeth



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 April 15, Barcelona [to Emma Goldman], London / P[edro] Herrera. —  
1 p.; 27 × 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Barcelona, Via Durruti  
15-4-38

International  
Anarchists

English Section of S.I.A.  
National Council  
21 Frith Street  
LONDON W.1.

Dear Comrades:

As we noticed lately, there seems to be in England a certain movement working towards the repatriation of Basque children, refugees in England, to the fascist territory of Spain. This would be an entirely unjustified process and must be avoided at all costs, because many — if not most — of the parents of these children are on the side of the fascist people of loyalist Spain.

The National Council of the English Section of S.I.A. must do all in its power and use all its influence to prevent the sending back of these children to France. It will be one of S.I.A.'s humanitarian task to spare the anxious parents the sorrow to see their children delivered into the claws of fascism.

Hoping for success in this campaign, which we have very much at heart, we greet you fraternally

For the General Council of the S.I.A.

P. Herrera - Secretary

# The Emma Goldman Papers

870930169

[Letter, 1938 April 15] Barcelona [to Emma Goldman, London] / P[edro] Herrera. —  
1 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.  
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S. I. A.

COPY.

No439/38.

18768

Barcelona, Via Durruti 30, 6º

Solidaridad Internacional  
Antifascista.

-----  
Consejo General.

English Section of S.I.A.  
National Committee, Council.  
21 Frith Street. -W.1.  
LONDON. W.1.

Dear Comrades,

As we noticed lately, there seems to be in England a certain movement working towards the repatriation of Basque children, refugees in England, to the fascist territory of Spain. This would be an entirely unjustified proceeding and must be avoided at all costs, because many - if not most - of the parents of these children are on the side of the anti-fascist people of loyalist Spain.

The National Council of the English Section of the S.I.A. must do all in its power and use all its influence to prevent the sending back of these children to Franco. It must be one of S.I.A.'s humanitarian task to spare the antifascist parents the sorrow to see their children delivered into the claws of fascism.

Hope for success in this campaign, which we have very much at heart, we greet you fraternally.

For the General Council of the S.I.A.

Sd. P Herrera - Secretar. 68.

PH.



764

# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 April 15, Eastbourne [England to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Stella Churchill. — 2 p. ; 20 × 13 cm.

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17492

WICH AND OVER,  
EASTBOURNE,  
NR. EASTBOURNE.  
VOL. EASTBOURNE 251.

\*7/4/38

Dear Emma,

I am coming  
back to London today  
& will you meet me  
tomorrow morning?  
You are sure to find  
me at home Ems 1314  
between 10 & 11 am!  
I can come & see you  
at In the st on Tuesday  
afternoon - about 3.30 -  
if that suits you?

765



# The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]38 April 15, Eastbourne [England to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Stella Churchill. — 2 p. ; 20 × 13 cm.

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19498

I feel rather mean  
to have taken 10 days  
down here. but I  
really was at the end  
of my tether! a week  
of complete solitude  
& then some charming  
guests has been very  
restoring. You must  
come & see my cottage  
this summer.

With love

Yours ever

Stella Churchill.



The  
Emma  
Goldman  
Papers

*A Microfilm Edition*

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Reel 42

Correspondence

January 16, 1938, to April 15, 1938

Edited by  
Candace Falk  
Ronald J. Zboray  
and  
Alice L. Hall

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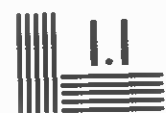
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Cambridge, England

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